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LONGMANS & CO.; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO.; HAMILTON & CO.;
HOULSTON & CO.; SMITH, ELDER, & CO.; E. BUMPUS;
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1882.

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LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

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ANNUAL REGISTER.

FOR THE YEAR

1881.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

The New Year—Letters and Speeches on the State of Ireland—The Opening of Parliament—The Debate on the Address—Protracted Discussion in the House of Commons.

THE general feeling of contentment and security which pervaded public opinion at the opening of the New Year seemed hardly justified by the condition of affairs at home or abroad. Whether this optimism was due to general confidence in the Ministry, to the marked increase of national prosperity, or to general indifference to home, foreign, and colonial politics, it is difficult to determine. It might have been thought that the year opened under circumstances so inauspicious as to justify the most gloomy predictions. In Ireland the state of affairs showed that the power of maintaining order had, for a time at least, slipped from the hands of the Executive; and if the social war which had been formally proclaimed against the dominant class by the mass of the people had not broken out into civil war, it was rather because the Irish leaders hoped to obtain more from passive resistance than from active rebellion. The news from the Cape of Good Hope which arrived on New Year's Day pointed to a general sympathy of the Dutch population with their fellow-countrymen in the Transvaal who had declared against the British rule; the Orange Free State taking the lead in the display of fellow-feeling. The rising in the Transvaal served to furnish an occasion, for which the Dutch had long been waiting, to make a trial of strength with the British Government. From Eastern Europe, news arrived at the same

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time, that neither Turkey nor Greece was disposed to accept the Arbitration Scheme offered by the Powers, as an escape from the appeal to arms towards which both disputants seemed drifting. The Turkish Government, emboldened by the apparent paralysis of Europe, announced its intention of taking its stand on the basis laid down in the Porte's Note of October 3, whilst the Greeks refused to enter upon any negotiations which did not accept as their starting point the frontier suggested in the Berlin Treaty.

The appointment of Mr. L. Courtney as Under-Secretary for the Home Department, which was announced on New Year's Day, was much canvassed by his political friends and opponents. The former attributed his acceptance of office, at this juncture, to an almost Quixotic desire to support an Administration which, in the management of its Irish and Cape policy, had turned a deaf ear to his warnings, but which now seemed to call upon every section of the Liberal party to help it to carry through its measures of reform. On the other hand, Mr. Courtney's appointment was interpreted as evidence on the part of the Government of the desire to relieve itself of an independent critic, who, in the previous session, and during the recess, had condemned the annexation of the Transvaal, asserted the need for strong, if not for coercive, legislation in Ireland, and on other points had expressed dissent from the policy of the party, in a fearless manner and with uncompromising logic. His admission to office after a comparatively brief Parliamentary career, coupled with the well-known fact that, on the formation of his Government, Mr. Gladstone had offered a post to Mr. Courtney, was accepted as further evidence that the Gladstone Administration had once more broken with the traditions of the Whig party, and was recruiting its strength by men rather of political importance than of social influence.

The condition of Ireland continued to attract both criticism and suggestion from numerous irresponsible statesmen. Foremost amongst these were Earls Grey and Dufferin. The former, in two long letters to the *Times*, explained at length his objections to the Land Act of 1870, and the principles on which agitation for its repeal ought to have been founded. He complained that the Act, "instead of allowing the owners and occupiers of land to settle for themselves upon what terms it should be held, took away altogether freedom of contract with regard to small holdings, and by a sweeping enactment all proprietors of land were made liable to claims from their tenants which largely diminished its value." The sort of divided ownership between the landlords and tenants created by the Act, was, he held, unfavourable to enterprise and improvements by either, and that to remove the effects of the deadly blow given to security, without which prosperity was impossible, a bill should be passed speedily restoring freedom of contract to those who desired it, and at the same time giving facilities for making voluntary agreements as to the occupation of the land, as afforded by Mr. Hamilton's bill.

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Lord Dufferin's recommendations took the shape of a memorandum addressed to the Besborough Land Commission just before his return to St. Petersburg. Whilst thoroughly opposed to the change of tenure known as "the three F's," Lord Dufferin admitted the need of drastic legislation; he would substitute forced sales of encumbered and other property, and associate the peasantry in the good government of the country, by lending them money, on proper security, to purchase the lands thus brought into the market. He would regard the interest on the capital sum employed as a rent charge or land rate, to be collected by the authorities, with power to levy a rate in and over any limited area in which the farmers were in arrear. With reference to the question of "fair rent," Lord Dufferin would allow a special tribunal to be appointed, before which both landlords and tenants might be heard in support of claims for raising or lowering existing rents.

In the brief interval between the opening of the New Year and the re-assembling of Parliament, there was but little opportunity for Members to meet their constituents and to indicate their views as to the business of the approaching session. Mr. C. Stuart Wortley, at Sheffield, and Colonel Taylor, at Dublin, represented the unofficial and official views of the Conservative party, whilst Mr. J. Cowen, at Newcastle, expressed in his usual vigorous style the opinions of his own school of Radicalism. Colonel Taylor, referring to the disturbed condition of the country, attributed it to a wave of Communism which was sweeping over Europe, and blamed the Government for not having acted with greater promptitude. He maintained "that disaffection and disloyalty, and the upsetting of all social relations, ought to be put down before what were called remedial measures were brought forward." Mr. Stuart Wortley in like manner found fault with the "inactive philanthropy" of the Government, and complained that whilst public opinion was thoroughly roused on the subject, the Ministry gave no clue as to the policy adopted or about to be applied to Ireland.

Mr. Cowen, in his address at Newcastle, entirely confined himself to the discussion of the various projects for dealing with the Irish Land Question. He admitted, at the very outset, that the Government proposal must, from the very nature of the case, be a compromise; but he expressed an earnest hope that one of its features would be the initiation of a scheme of arterial drainage and reclamation. If only four out of the six millions of acres of waste land which existed in Ireland were brought under cultivation, employment and food would be given to the half-starved population, and the spirit of disaffection would be removed. To achieve these results, he thought that the half-million tenant-farmers of Ireland who were tenants at will, should be made to feel themselves secure from arbitrary increase of rent or eviction. Rather than extend the Ulster custom to the rest of Ireland, he preferred a plan which

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would make the occupiers owners at once; for he saw in the system of dual ownership many obvious disadvantages.

The Postmaster-General (Mr. Fawcett) was the only Member of the Government who during the brief interval broke silence. At Manchester he addressed a large number of persons assembled at the Reform Club, and congratulated them on the success of their efforts in Lancashire during the elections of the previous year. Without pretending to indicate the measures which the Cabinet had decided to introduce, he expressed his confident belief that the Government would spare no effort to maintain law and order in Ireland. He defended Mr. Forster from the sweeping condemnation passed upon him in turns by the Conservatives, the Irreconcileable Radicals, and the Home Rulers. He held him to be possessed of those two qualities most requisite in governing Ireland—calmness and courage. With regard to the action of the Lords, Mr. Fawcett held that they were not solely responsible for the defeat of the Irish Compensation Bill of the previous session. The Government majority, exclusive of the Home Rulers, was, on the meeting of Parliament, 112; but the second reading of the Compensation Bill only obtained a majority of 78; whereas, had it received the combined support of the Irish and Liberal parties, it should have been carried by a majority of at least 140; and the third reading was voted by the still more diminished majority of 66, in spite of the interval during which it might be presumed members had learnt the feelings of the electors with reference to the measure. He deprecated the position taken up by some advanced Liberals, who from their dislike to coercion would never sanction, with regard to Ireland, any exceptional measure having for its object the maintenance of order or the restoration of authority in that country. The pre-eminent question of the day in England, Scotland, and Ireland he held to be the Land Question, which he thought should take the path of freedom of sale. This should be the aim of all true Liberals, instead of discussing the size of farms or the conditions and limits of State-protection or State-help. Agricultural prosperity concerned the whole country; and agriculture, like commerce, would best flourish when released from feudal institutions and from statutory fetters.

Thus, on Jan. 7—too tardily for the advocates of a spirited policy of coercion, too soon for those who maintained the existing laws to be sufficient and special legislation needless—the second session of the tenth Parliament of the present reign was opened by commission, and the Queen's Speech, which ran as follows, was read by the Lord Chancellor:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have called you, at a period earlier than usual, to the resumption of your labours, as some affairs of more than common urgency demand your attention.

"My relations with Foreign Powers continue to be friendly and harmonious.

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"The main question relating to the frontier between Turkey and Montenegro has been settled.

"The Powers are now engaged in communications which have in view the determination of the frontier between Turkey and Greece.

"Some important portions of the Treaty of Berlin, which have so long remained without fulfilment, continue to form an object of my anxious attention.

"A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed upon me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority; and has of necessity set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs, without prejudice to the interests of the natives, which I had been desirous to confer.

"I regret that the war in Basutoland still continues, notwithstanding the efforts of the Cape Government. It would cause me much satisfaction if a suitable occasion should present itself for friendly action on my part with a view to the restoration of peace.

"The war in Afghanistan has been brought to a close, and, with the exception of the Candahar force, my troops have been recalled within the Indian frontier. It is not my intention that the occupation of Candahar shall be permanently maintained; but the still unsettled condition of the country, and the consequent difficulty of establishing a Native Government, have delayed for a time the withdrawal of the army from that position.

"Papers on the several subjects to which I have adverted, as well as further correspondence on the Military Estimates of India, will be presented to you.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The Estimates for the Services of the coming year are in a forward state of preparation, and will be speedily laid before you.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"There has been a gradual, though not very rapid, improvement in the trade of the country; and I am now able to entertain a more favourable expectation of the Revenue for the year than I could form at its commencement.

"The anticipation, with which I last addressed you, of a great diminution of the distress in Ireland, owing to an abundant harvest, was realised; but I grieve to state that the social condition of the country has assumed an alarming character. Agrarian crimes in general have multiplied far beyond the experience of recent years. Attempts upon life have not grown in the same proportion as other offences; but I must add that efforts have been made for personal protection, far beyond all former precedent, by the police, under the direction of the Executive. I have to notice other evils yet more widely spread: the administration of justice has been frustrated, with respect to these offences, through the impossibility of procuring evidence; and an extended system of terror has thus

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been established in various parts of the country, which has paralysed almost alike the exercise of private rights and the performance of civil duties.

"In a state of things new in some important respects, and hence with little of available guidance from former precedent, I have deemed it right steadily to put in use the ordinary powers of the law before making any new demand. But a demonstration of their insufficiency, amply supplied by the present circumstances of the country, leads me now to apprise you that proposals will be immediately submitted to you for entrusting me with additional powers, necessary in my judgment not only for the vindication of order and public law, but likewise to secure, on behalf of my subjects, protection for life and property, and personal liberty of action.

"Subject to the primary and imperious obligations to which I have just referred, I continue to desire not less than heretofore to prosecute the removal of grievance and the work of legislative improvement in Ireland as well as in Great Britain.

"The Irish Land Act of 1870 has been productive of great benefits, and has much contributed to the security and comparative well-being of the occupiers of the soil, without diminishing the value or disturbing the foundations of property. In some respects, however, and more particularly under the strain of recent and calamitous years, the protection which it supplied has not been found sufficient, either in Ulster or the other provinces.

"I recommend you to undertake the further development of its principles in a manner conformable to the special wants of Ireland, both as regards the relation of landlord and tenant, and with a view to effective efforts for giving to a larger portion of the people by purchase a permanent proprietary interest in the soil. This legislation will require the removal, for the purposes in view, of all obstacles arising out of limitations on the ownership of property, with a due provision for the security of the interests involved.

"A measure will be submitted to you for the establishment of County Government in Ireland, founded upon representative principles, and framed with the double aim of confirming popular control over expenditure, and of supplying a yet more serious want by extending the formation of habits of local self-government.

"Bills will be laid before you for the Abolition of Corporal Punishment in the Army and in the Navy.

"You will be asked to consider measures for the further Reform of the Law of Bankruptcy; for the Conservancy of Rivers and the Prevention of Floods; for Revising the Constitution of Endowed Schools and Hospitals in Scotland; and for the renewal of the Act which established Secret Voting; and for Repressing the Corrupt Practices of which, in a limited number of towns, there were lamentable examples at the last General Election.

"I trust that your labours, which will be even more than

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usually arduous, may be so guided by Divine Providence as to promote the happiness of my people."

In the House of Lords the address in reply was moved by Lord Carrington and seconded by the Earl of Yarborough; the former of whom referred to the condition of Ireland, which country had coercion written on almost every page of her history, whilst the Legislature had but too rarely interfered to remedy the patent evils of the people. Lord Yarborough, after referring to the progress of the settlement in South-Eastern Europe, expressed the hope that the Bankruptcy Bill would have a more successful lot than so many of its predecessors, which had failed to become law, and would give greater satisfaction to the trading classes than the measures of Lords Brougham, Westbury and Hatherley. The Earl of Beaconsfield followed immediately, and in a speech which showed that his powers of sarcastic criticism were in no wise impaired, attributed the gloomy condition of affairs in Ireland, the critical state of things in South Africa, and the anxiety produced by our foreign policy, to the complete reversal by the Liberal Government of all that had been done by their predecessors. "In every manner, and on every occasion, it was announced that the change of Government meant a change, not merely in every part and portion of the Government, but that everything which we considered concluded was to be reopened, and everything that had been consummated was to be reversed, and that on the most important questions, either our Foreign relations, our Colonial situation, and our domestic position with reference to Ireland—on all these questions the utmost change was to be immediately and rapidly accomplished. Perpetual and complete reversal of all that has occurred was the order that was given and the profession of faith that was announced." In Foreign affairs, although it was impossible to repudiate the Treaty of Berlin, yet at the instigation of the Government a Conference had been held in the same capital with the object of modifying, changing, and superseding the resolutions of the original Congress. The result of that Conference was that the war in the east of Europe and west of Asia was on the point of reviving, and that in that war England was to be a belligerent against her old ally; no one could say that the peace of Europe was even now insured, and there was no doubt that in the course of twenty years events might occur which would imperil the present settlement. On the question of Afghanistan Lord Beaconsfield touched but lightly, saying that if the country decided upon the withdrawal of its troops from that country, the step should have been taken with greater prudence, and have been done gradually, whereas Her Majesty's Ministers had gone on the housetops and proclaimed their peril and their perplexity. Turning to the Irish Question, Lord Beaconsfield paid a tribute to the beneficent rule of the Duke of Marlborough when Viceroy, and expressed his belief that under his administration, and by the aid of the Peace Preservation Act, it would have been possible to govern the

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country satisfactorily. The warnings contained in his letter of March 3, 1880 (on the occasion of the dissolution of Parliament), addressed to the Irish Viceroy, although scoffed at by Mr. Gladstone, had been abundantly verified; and the evil results of declining to renew the Peace Preservation Act—as the Conservatives would have done had they remained in power—were manifest in the lawlessness to which Ireland was at that moment a prey. "We know well what is the general condition of that country now. Europe knows it; Asia knows it. It is no longer, unhappily, a merely English question. The honour and perhaps the existence of England depend upon our rallying our forces, not only with regard to Ireland, but to the other scenes of disquiet and danger which have been created by what has occurred in Ireland." Instead, however, of proposing any amendment to the address, as under the circumstances would have been thoroughly justifiable, Lord Beaconsfield urged his colleagues not to place themselves at the head of the people in indignant remonstrance to the Minister, but to pause before taking any steps to weaken the movements of the Administration. He felt sure that the Bills proposed for restoring peace and order in Ireland would be equal to the occasion, and trusted that they would be proceeded with *de die in diem*, and he concluded by saying that whilst the Opposition would be ready to consider all remedial measures relating to Ireland which the Government might bring before Parliament, yet it would be mere mockery to discuss any question until the reign of law was restored and the sovereignty of the Queen re-established. Earl Granville replied by remarking that on previous occasions he had been taunted with servilely following the policy of the late Government, and that he was therefore unable to understand the weight of the accusation that he had departed from its lines. The general elections, by an enormous majority, condemned the Conservative policy, so that it could hardly be expected that the present Ministry would feebly follow the example of their predecessors. The Conference of Berlin was a proposal from France, not a device of the English Cabinet. With regard to Ireland, the draft bill left by the late Ministry was merely a renewal of the Peace Preservation Act, which had altogether failed to keep agrarian crime in check. In reply to the question why Parliament was not assembled earlier, the duty of the Government, he contended, was to consider whether all the circumstances of the case were such as would justify a demand for coercive measures without any remedial proposals. The history of the present reign gave numerous precedents in England of dangerous agitation and violent class-revolts, but in each case the ordinary laws had been found sufficient to punish the law-breakers, and the wrongs against which they rose had been carefully examined, and, when recognised, were redressed. The Ministry, moreover, found justification for any hesitancy on their part in a saying of Sir Robert Peel, "There is great evil in coercive measures. You cannot rely on them for permanent

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good, but they may relax the energy of the ordinary law, and may embitter the feeling between different classes." Lord Granville further defended the Government from the charge which had been made against it of wishing agrarian crime to increase in order that it might bring in a more drastic measure of land law reform. Instead of taking Lord Beaconsfield's gloomy view of the future, Lord Granville expressed his belief that, armed with the powers they sought from Parliament, and with the help of measures for improving the relations between landlords and tenants, peace, order and prosperity would be speedily restored to Ireland. The Duke of Marlborough, the late Lord Lieutenant, followed. He held that the increase of lawlessness was due to the apathy of the Government, and their disregard of the warnings from the constabulary and other officials as to the inadequacy of the existing laws. The Duke of Abercorn, who had also been Viceroy in a former Conservative administration, characterised repressive measures, accompanied by remedial proposals, as a system which would not succeed in Ireland; any Land Bill proposed under such circumstances would be thrown back by the Home Rulers. The law must first be vindicated, and then a Land Measure might be brought forward as an act of justice not of fear. Two Irish peers, Lords Donoughmore and Dunraven, concurred in blaming the Government for their inaction, which had demoralised previously well-disposed tenants, whilst the latter declared that no reform of the land laws would quell an agitation of which the real object was the repeal of the Union. Earl Spencer and Lord Kimberley, Liberal ex-Viceroys, replied on behalf of the Government, the former showing that the Land League came into existence during the Conservative administration, which had never attempted to interfere with its acts or deliberations; whilst the latter, announcing the intention of the Ministry to precede all remedial legislation by such measures as were requisite for the protection of life and property, expressed the belief that to refuse to consider and to redress the just complaints of a people was to play into the hands of conspirators and professional agitators. The motion for the address was then agreed to without a division.

In the House of Commons, the course of events did not run so smoothly. Immediately on its assembling, Mr. Forster gave notice that, on the following day, he should move for leave to bring in a bill for the better protection of persons and property in Ireland; and another to amend the law relating to the carrying and possession of arms, and for the preservation of public peace in that country. Mr. Parnell's notice of opposition to both measures was drowned in cries of "Order!" and Mr. Gladstone at once rose and gave notice of a motion which should confer precedence of all other business on Mr. Forster's bills. Some seventy or eighty notices of bills and motions from private members followed, and at length Mr. Stewart Rendel rose to move the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, which was seconded by Mr. J. Slagg,

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both of whom expressed the repugnance of their party to coercive measures, and the belief that in a wide measure of justice would be found the best and surest means of restoring order and prosperity. Sir Stafford Northcote scarcely touched on foreign and colonial questions, because of the want of any official information thereon, but passed at once to the paragraph in the Royal Speech relating to Ireland. He traced the rise and progress of disorder to the action of the Land League, which had been allowed to assume the real government of Ireland. The League might have been broken up at the beginning, but it had coerced all classes of society into joining its ranks, and was now beyond the reach of suppression; and the mischief it had caused would require many years of steady government to repair. The scarcely disguised objects of the League were proclaimed by Mr. Parnell, who, at a public meeting, had said: "I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement of the regeneration of our legislative independence." After sketching the power and wide extension of the Land League, Sir Stafford Northcote concluded by promising that the Opposition would consider any rational measures for the relief of agricultural depression, if they were good in themselves, and not because they would give satisfaction to men who were openly defying the law, and subverting all principles of liberty and justice. Mr. Gladstone, rising immediately, expressed his surprise that any Member of the late Administration should complain of want of information as to the foreign and colonial policy of the Government, and suggested that the real desire was not to know what had happened in Montenegro, but what was going to take place with regard to Greece. He followed Sir Stafford Northcote's example of avoiding all comment on the Boer insurrection, but disclaimed all intention on the part of this country to mix itself up with the Basuto War, except so far as to seek for an opening for friendly action towards both belligerents. Turning to the Irish Question, he assured the House that the Government in no way regretted the course of their Irish policy, and had they to repeat it they would act as they had hitherto acted. With reference to the non-renewal of the Peace Preservation Act, which had been charged against him, he argued that the blame, if any, rested with the Opposition, who, by the selection of the time for the General Election, had rendered the passing of any measure impossible before the date of the expiry of the old Act, on June 1. The meetings of the Land League were not suppressed, because the law officers of the Crown advised that, unless attended by certain conditions, they were not illegal; but that wherever those conditions appeared the meetings had been and would be prohibited. Mr. Gladstone then recounted the history of the recess in Ireland, and the attempts of the Government to govern by means of the existing law. As regards the State trials, as far back as September 13 previous, the Government had inquired if the acts of certain leading agitators consti-

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tuted a breach of the statute law, and soon afterwards they determined to institute these State trials. The expectations formed of the result of the arrests were not fulfilled, for outrages increased alarmingly throughout October and November, and at length the Cabinet recognised that, although it was necessary that the State trials should proceed, yet the existing laws were ineffectual for the protection of life and property. He appealed to the precedents of Sir Robert Peel in 1814, and Lord Grey in 1833, as reasons for not precipitately demanding extraordinary powers, and repeated the assertion of the former statesman that repressive measures would be no remedy for the wrongs of Ireland. Acting on this, they had framed a measure which would remove the objections to the Land Act of 1870; and although he refused to give any clue as to the new Land Bill to be brought forward, he showed that the provisions of the Act of 1870 had been inoperative or ineffectual in bringing about the reduction of exorbitant rents where they prevailed; that the confiscation of the whole of the tenant's right for disturbance was too severe; that undue and frequent augmentation of rent was not precluded by the Act; that the assignment of the tenant's interest in his occupancy was not fully recognised; and, finally, that the clauses intended to create a peasant tenantry had been not only ineffectual, but wholly inoperative. Mr. Gladstone thus concluded his speech: "I will only express the hope that, approaching, as we have now approached, the gravest and most difficult task that has for centuries been presented to the notice and care of Parliament, we are sensible of the great responsibility weighing upon us, and shall, I hope, in the discharge of our duty, disregard every personal motive, be it what it may, as well as every party motive, and address ourselves to the task in which through human weakness we may fail, but which will redound to the honour and the happiness of all if by the blessing of Providence we may succeed." Immediately afterwards, the House was practically emptied; and when Mr. T. P. O'Connor rose to speak there were only seven Members present. He said that the Land League was powerful because it represented the wishes and feelings of the Irish people, and that any attempt to put it down by force would prove futile. Mr. A. Moore thought that the state of the country, though serious, was not hopeless, and that wise legislation would soon restore peace and happiness to the country; the coercion threatened was a mistake, and would not help the landlords to obtain their rents. The Solicitor-General for Ireland (Mr. Johnson) defended the action of the Government in prohibiting certain meetings of the Land League, whilst it permitted others. The debate was continued by Dr. Commins, Mr. J. D. Sullivan, Colonel Coulthurst, and Mr. Finigan, who argued that outrages were the results of coercion, and that most of them were exaggerated, if not manufactured, by newspaper correspondents. After some remarks on the state of affairs in South Africa by Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Labouchere, the debate was

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adjourned. The second night's proceedings were preluded by an animated criticism on the action of the Irish Executive in proclaiming two meetings at Brookborough, Co. Fermanagh; one called by the Land League, and the other by the Orange party. The Chief Secretary (Mr. Forster) said that sworn information having been received that the meetings, if held, would endanger public peace, they were prohibited. Mr. O'Kelly said that the Government were misinformed in supposing that there was any danger to be apprehended from a collision between the two bodies, as the Orangemen were in full sympathy with the objects of the Land League. This view, as well as the contention that police interference with a meeting called to discuss a constitutional question was illegal, was supported by the Home Rulers; Mr. Forster defending the Dublin Executive, by citing cases where disturbance had arisen in other districts between Orangemen and the Land League. The discussion then took the form of a complaint as to the insecure foundations on which the right of public meeting rested in Ireland—the will of the Irish magistrates; who were denounced as responsible for a large share of the ill-will with which British rule was regarded by the Irish people. Mr. Forster next stated that during the recess five counties had been proclaimed: Galway, Mayo, Kerry, Limerick, and Leitrim; the West Riding of the County of Cork, and the barony of Innishowen, Co. Donegal; he promised to lay forthwith upon the table a return of the number of agrarian outrages, but would not promise them during the debate on the Address. According to the figures communicated to him, the number of outrages up to the end of December had been 2,573, including, as he afterwards explained, 1,327 cases of threatening letters; whilst special police protection was afforded to 153 persons.

The debate on the address was then resumed by Mr. Parnell, who rose from the front Opposition bench below the gangway to move the Amendment of which he had given notice in a speech (which the spokesman of the Conservatives, Mr. Gibson, afterwards described as one of the most adroit, intelligent, sagacious speeches he had heard in the House of Commons). Mr. Parnell complained first of the conspiracy of the London press against the good name of Ireland, and then passed on to explain the objects of the action of the Land League, denying that that organisation had either excited to outrage or had failed to reprobate it where it occurred. As to the necessity of coercive measures, he quoted statistics to show that at the present moment the state of crime there was below the average of the last forty years. Coercion would contribute to crime and outrage, by encouraging the landlords in the practice of eviction. The question was whether the House would have an open organisation or a secret conspiracy. What the Land League had done was to organise the Irish people to resist unjust laws by constitutional means, and this course had been forced upon them by the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in the last session of Parliament. In Ireland the people

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had, unfortunately, an evil and unhappy history. They had been tempted and driven too much in the past to rely upon murder and outrage for a redress of their grievances; and the politician who attempted to originate a movement in that island must do so with the knowledge that there would be crime and outrage where there was distress, and where there was eviction, and that he would be accused and made responsible for the results of the unhappy experience of the country. Resistance to unjust laws sometimes became a high duty, and he could conceive of no higher duty on the part of the Irish people than a willingness to go to gaol, to endure hard labour, to encounter other sufferings, rather than surrender their rights. Those for whom he spoke had undoubtedly called upon the Irish people to resist—constitutionally, without violence and by organisation, by refusing to take farms from which tenants had been evicted, and by refusing to deal with the persons who kept those farms, or to supply them with provisions—the unjust laws which were the result of the legislation of England. But the emergency was such that there was no other course open to them after the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. From 1796 to 1823 there were nine Coercion Acts, of which three were for the suspension of Habeas Corpus. From 1830 to the present time there had been 48 Coercion Acts, including seven suspensions of Habeas Corpus. The Government said that they could not get evidence, and that coercion was necessary to enable them to do so. He was reminded by that of the old saying that one man could lead a horse to the water, but many could not make him drink. It was not intimidation, but the force of public opinion, that was influencing the people of Ireland. He regretted that many tenants, owing to the dread they had of their landlords, had not the courage to say that they would not pay their rents. He regretted that some of them went to the landlords and said that they could not pay for fear of the consequences to themselves, that their cattle would be houghed, or some other punishment visited upon them. Intimidation was not the work of the Irish National Land League.

In conclusion Mr. Parnell entreated the House of Commons not to be again made the catspaw of the landlords; and amid loud cheers from the Irish members, moved, as an amendment to the Address, the words: "But we humbly assure her Majesty that we are convinced that the peace and tranquillity of Ireland cannot be promoted by suspending any of the constitutional rights of the Irish people."

Mr. Tottenham, Orangeman, and the Conservative representative for Leitrim, declared Mr. Parnell's representation of the state of Ireland to be absolutely misleading and inaccurate. The English newspapers, far from exaggerating the condition of affairs, were altogether ignorant of a tithe of the violence and lawlessness in the country. He declared that tenants not only refused to pay a fair rent, according to Griffith's or anyone else's valuation, but avoided all payment whatever. He thought that the Government

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were to blame for having "for four months permitted the state of things in Ireland daily to grow worse, until it had reduced that country to a pandemonium of crime and outrage which was a disgrace to civilisation, and had made both England and Ireland the laughing stock of the civilised world." The State trials were a lame, impotent attempt to restore strength and vitality to the law, which had fallen into contempt because the Government, in a state of coma, had allowed the Peace Preservation Act to drop, and neglected the warnings which he (Mr. Tottenham) had given them before the close of the previous session. Mr. O'Connor Power in a spirit of prophecy characterised the Coercion Bill as strong, and the Land Bill as inadequate. In the latter he professed to discover merely an amendment of the Act of 1870, together with some proposals for the reclamation of waste land, and assisting emigration. As regarded the last palliative, Mr. O'Connor Power held that emigration only meant the removal of the young and able, and the leaving of the old and infirm; and that to properly carry out a scheme of reclamation, the Government should in the previous autumn have advanced the sum of ten millions, by the help of which 100,000 tenants from over-populated districts might have been earning their livelihood and increasing the wealth of the country.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. W. E. Forster) then rose to defend the Government policy and course of action during the recess. Although no coercive measures would, he admitted, redress the wrongs of Ireland, it was nevertheless the first duty of any Government to protect life or property. If Mr. Parnell had shown in his speeches elsewhere the moderation he had displayed in moving his amendment, the task of the Executive would have been easier. Unfortunately, experience had shown that the Land League meetings, instead of preventing outrages, as Mr. Parnell stated, were usually followed by attacks upon persons or property. Quoting from that member's speech at Ennis, Mr. Forster found in it a clear recommendation not only not to take farms from which others had been evicted, but a threat that those who took them should be cut off from all social intercourse and treated as lepers. From this and similar advice he concluded that it was the object of the member for Cork and his party to replace the law of the land by the unwritten law of the Land League. He did not charge Mr. Parnell with having himself incited to the outrages which occurred, but he held that he must have known very well what would be the result of his speeches and of his action. This remark drew forth an angry protest from the Irish party, but Mr. Forster, only slightly altering the words, declined to withdraw the charge he had brought against Mr. Parnell. He recapitulated the long list of outrages committed during the closing months of the previous year, dwelling especially on the widespread cases of intimidation. He next passed on to show by reference to dates at, had the Conservatives remained in office after the General

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Election, they would have found it impossible to pass a new Peace Preservation Act, or to continue that which was in force down to May 31, 1880; and he defended the existing Government from the charge of dilatoriness on the ground that he had come to the conclusion that every officer of the law in Ireland, from the Lord Lieutenant to the youngest policeman, had been taught to rely too much on British power. His interview with a deputation of Irish magistrates convinced him that there was a very sorrowful reliance in Ireland, not upon Irish determination to support the law so much as upon English help to see that the law was carried out. The desire of the Government was to exhaust every means by which the existing laws might be enforced before applying for extraordinary powers; and to do this they had strengthened the police in all the disturbed districts, and raised the number of troops in the country from 19,000 to 26,000. To 217 applications for enforcing rights, assistance had been given in all but three cases; and in some instances as many as a hundred men were sent to support the sheriffs or their officers. Sir Stafford Northcote had alleged that in not putting down the meetings of the Land League the Government had been guilty either of want of foresight or of criminal negligence. As these meetings had been going on since April 1879, such a charge recoiled upon the Conservatives, who, when in power, made no attempt to stop them. The concluding portion of Mr. Forster's speech was received somewhat coldly by all sections of the House, for, not unnaturally, in his wish to satisfy the reasonable desires of moderate men, he disappointed alike the extreme views of revolutionists and reactionaries.

Mr. Gibson, who had ably filled a responsible office in the previous Government, insisted that the state of the country was far worse than was represented in the Queen's Speech. He was confident that had the Conservatives been returned to power after the General Election they would have found no difficulty in continuing the Peace Preservation Act; at any rate the Liberals could scarcely claim want of time as an excuse, seeing that they had claimed credit for the abandonment of the measure in the Queen's Speech of the previous session. The consequences of the supineness of the Government had led to a condition of things which was that of organised lawlessness and an ostentatious terrorism that sought unjustifiable ends by unscrupulous means. The agitation was not only not constitutional, but was adverse to the best interests of the Empire. Its real object was not the reform of the Land Laws. The want of Ireland was resident landlords and capital, yet the League had adopted a machinery which would make every landlord in Ireland an absentee. This state of things was known to the Government when the Prime Minister spoke at Guildhall on the 9th of November, and if Parliament had been summoned then two precious months might have been gained from the agitation, and the Irish people saved from allowing themselves to be misled by expectations that would never be realised.

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The Conservative Government had not interfered with the Land League, because in its earlier phases that association offered no peculiar dangers, and had not enounced the principles with which it subsequently became identified. Mr. Gibson concluded by expressing his regret that what were called remedial and protective measures were mixed together in the Queen's Speech. "There is," said he, "a real and double danger in it—that these remedial measures may be taken by the tenants as a concession to fear, and that many landlords may think it is rather like a reversal of the old conditions of Magna Charta—that as justice has been delayed and denied them so long, this is something like an endeavour to sell justice to them."

The debate on the Address was then again adjourned, to be resumed on the following Monday (Jan. 11) by Mr. Shaw, elected the leader of the Home Rule party on the death of Mr. Butt, but subsequently deposed by its more eager members in favour of Mr. Parnell. Mr. Shaw strongly resented the views put forward by Mr. Gibson as to the "unmitigated anarchy" said to be prevailing in Ireland. Public excitement, especially in England, was aroused by the exaggerated reports which appeared in the newspapers. But there was, he admitted, a very general excitement with respect to the Land Question. Since 1848, the Irish had, out of a sense of self-preservation, made every effort to save money, but the three last years had been so bad that their efforts had been thrown to the winds. In the crisis produced by the deficient harvests of three years, culminating in the catastrophe of 1879, the Irish landlords had not come forward to help the people, whilst the Government of the day had equally failed to realise the necessities of the farmers and labourers. Mr. Shaw declared, moreover, that the leaders of the Land League agitation had no cause to take credit to themselves for having by their eloquence brought the people to a sense of their position; for the people had been brought by suffering to such a state, that anyone who could suggest a remedy for their sufferings would be sure of a following. He further expressed his belief that none of the agrarian outrages of the preceding months could be traced to the meetings of the Land League. Mr. Davitt, he knew, ever since his return from America, had earnestly set himself to the task of discouraging anything like crime, arguing that crime must be detrimental to the people's cause. Nevertheless there was an immense deal going on in connection with the local Leagues that was not at all creditable, and most injurious, to the real interests of the people. The country as a rule was absurdly and cruelly over-rented, and the outcome of this policy was the permanent pauperisation of the people. He was prepared to wait and see what was to come; but he could assure the right hon. gentleman, on the part not merely of the working farmers of Ireland, but of the landlords, with whose feelings he was acquainted, that it would be better not to touch the Irish Land Question at all than not to deal with it finally

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and effectually on a basis calculated to secure the prosperity of the country. Measures of coercion might be pressed forward, and might after a few weeks or months of struggle in that House become the law of the land, but the seeds of suspicion and distrust would be sown and would not fail to produce results which would be most prejudicial to the success of any legislation of a remedial character which might be proposed. As to coercion, what, he would ask, was the use of it in dealing with 500,000 or 600,000 farmers and with the whole people of a country banded together? The speech of the Prime Minister might reflect the views of some antediluvian Whigs, but it did not, he could assure him, reflect the opinions of the people of Ireland, either landlords or tenants, and he therefore hoped to see a better Land Bill than that which the right hon. gentleman seemed to foreshadow. Mr. Shaw was followed by Lord Randolph Churchill, who, in a long and pungent speech, smartly criticised the conduct of the Government, whose object was not to protect the lives and liberties of the Irish people and to uphold the supremacy of the law, but to avoid all chances of endangering the unity of the Liberal party. He ridiculed the State trial going on at Dublin—"the first State trial in Ireland in which the jury had not been packed by the Crown." He read, to the amusement of the House, the instructions issued to the Constabulary for their guidance at meetings of the Land League; whereby a feeling was created among the police that over-zeal and activity would be displeasing to the Executive. Mr. Charles Russell, Q.C., the chief representative of the Irish Liberals, who were members neither of the Land League nor of the Home Rule party, felt forced to support Mr. Parnell's amendment, because he gathered from the Royal Speech that there was to be strong coercion and weak land reform. Whilst admitting the existence of many good landlords in Ireland, he thought that the temptations to bad landlordism were very great, and that therefore the tenants, in many cases, were justified in taking measures for their own protection, both in joining the Land League and in electing representatives who would regard the wrongs of Ireland as the disgrace of Great Britain. As to the present representatives of Ireland, it needed no close scanning to see that there was at the bottom of their action a feeling of patriotism justifying their proceedings, however much the majority of the House might think their conduct improper. The Irish representatives were neither as to position nor as to age the natural leaders of the people; but they were sent there by what was a revolution in Ireland—a revolution carried on by constitutional means. The Land League, he contended, in its aims and means was perfectly legal; the outrages attributed to its influence had been grossly exaggerated; and the general concurrence with which it was adopted by the whole people was conclusive proof that its propagandism was not the result of terrorism. The Land League would have been powerless had it not received the hearty support of the people. The Govern-

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ment, in prosecuting its leaders, had attempted to frame an indictment against the whole nation. The remedy he held to be a large and generous measure of land reform; but if the Government bill were narrow and inadequate, framed in a spirit of compromise, it would be better to leave the question alone altogether. The O'Donoghue followed in much the same tone, declaring that Mr. Parnell's policy had united all his countrymen, and that every day increased their confidence in his leadership. He deplored the murders of Lord Montmorres and Mr. Boyd, but asked what more could have been done to discover the murderer had the Habeas Corpus Act been suspended. The substitution of despotism for liberty would not of itself suppress crime; and the Radical members, in following the Ministers in a course which would suspend constitutional law, were abandoning their position, and on them would rest the responsibility of denying justice to Ireland. Mr. Bradlaugh, as an English Radical, said that grievous disappointment would be felt by many if, after Mr. Bright's speech at Birmingham, repression were to take precedence of land law reform; but though he justified the proceedings of the Land League in a way which its representatives in the House received with delight, their gratitude to their champion was (as subsequent events prove) barren of any tangible fruits. Mr. Litton and Mr. Richardson, on behalf of the Ulster Liberals, declared that nothing short of the three F's—fixity of tenure, fair rents, and free sale—would satisfy the people; whilst the former entirely subscribed to the programme of the Land League, and thoroughly approved of its constitution, though condemning its measures and the terrorism which it exercised. He would not vote for Mr. Parnell's amendment, nor, on the other hand, would he vote against it; for, knowing the injustice and suffering undergone by Irish tenants, he could make every allowance for the outrages which had occurred. Mr. Plunket, as an apologist for the previous Government and the chief representative of the Irish Conservatives, described the speeches of Mr. Shaw and Mr. Russell as attempts to "Boycott" the Whigs, and, refraining from asking why Ministers had so tardily taken steps to restore law and order in Ireland, announced his intention of supporting them. He promised on behalf of his party to give a fair consideration to the Government measure of land reform; for the Conservative party had, on more than one occasion, proved their willingness to consider the grievances of the Irish tenantry. He then went on to contrast Mr. Parnell's speeches in and out of Parliament, and to point out that never since the days of Jack Cade had such political morality been preached as in the platform utterances of the member for Cork and the leaders of the Land League. They told their hearers that they should be judges of what they should pay their landlords, after having paid their trades-people and provided for themselves. "If the Government," he added, "gave way to the agitators they would drive out of Ireland all the most educated. But if, on the

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other hand, they even now, at the eleventh hour, would only act with firmness and, treating these operations as criminal, would meet them with punishment, they would rally round them many men who were now suffering from an intolerable tyranny, but who would flock to the standard of law and order. They had, no doubt, to deal with a most difficult and dangerous conspiracy. But other conspiracies more difficult and dangerous had before now been overborne by Governments having the courage to believe in the justice of their country's cause and to enforce the authority of the law intrusted to their keeping." Mr. Mitchell Henry, whilst admitting that the terrorism which prevailed in certain districts of Ireland had not the educated classes alone for its object, but extended to shopkeepers, tenants, and even farm labourers, urged that the Government, by the use of the ordinary law, might have effectually stopped "the hateful and abominable system of Boycotting," which was, he argued, an offence under the Trades' Union Act. He held to the belief that any fair proposal to lift the Irish tenantry out of their wretched condition would put an end to the existing state of things and would save the Government from the shame and humiliation of proposing coercive measures. The Solicitor-General for Ireland, warmly repudiating the imputation that the Irish Executive had failed in its duty of enforcing the law, addressed himself chiefly to the points raised by Mr. Parnell. Beginning with a long history of the origin of the Land League, he urged that the previous Government had allowed as much sedition to be talked at meetings of the Land League as had its successors; prosecuting only a few obscure individuals whom it was never seriously intended to bring to trial; whilst the present Government had publicly prosecuted the leaders of the movement. He described the operations of the Land League since the preceding autumn—the agrarian outrages, the mutilation of cattle, the intimidation of juries and witnesses—all of which pointed to the imperative need of some speedy special legislation. Mr. M'Coan, on behalf of the Home Rulers, made a spirited reply, maintaining that the Government had made out no case for coercion and given no pledge that they would redress the evils of which they acknowledged the existence. He besought the Prime Minister not to be carried away by the doubtful alliance tendered to him by the Opposition, but conciliate the wavering loyalty of his independent supporters by abandoning altogether the project of a coercive policy. Mr. Jacob Bright, speaking in the name of the Radicals of the North of England, expressed his regret that the Government were about to ask the House to sacrifice weeks in angry debates in order to obtain repressive measures, and thus indefinitely to delay justice. Mr. Chaplin protested against the imputation that the Tories delighted in coercion and had employed it willingly against the Irish. The chronic misery of Ireland he attributed neither to the landlords nor to unjust laws, but to the fact that the land was the sole resource of the population, and was the object of such fierce competition amongst

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those who had not the proper means to cultivate it. The establishment of manufactures, the migration of the population from overcrowded districts to waste or semi-waste lands, and, if necessary, complete emigration, were the means to which the Government should look for the amelioration of the inhabitants, and for which funds should be provided. Upon the party which had disestablished the Irish Church, and had already transferred one-third of the property of one class to another, he laid the blame of the present condition of Ireland; and to the present Government he attributed the anarchy and terrorism which existed in that country, by neglecting to renew the Peace Preservation Act and delaying to call Parliament together. The Marquess of Hartington followed on behalf of the Government, passing in review the principal points raised by previous speakers. In answer to Mr. Shaw and Mr. Russell, he pointed out the fallacy of the reasoning by which they arrived at the conclusion that the outrages had been exaggerated, and assured them that the Government Bill would not be founded on newspaper concoctions. The Government did not accuse the people of Ireland either of complicity in or sympathy with the outrages, but believed that their real feelings were stifled by the acts of a band of miscreants. Replying to a remark of Mr. Russell, he declared, amid much cheering, that if such a state of things existed in England the House of Commons would not be slow to demand that it should be dealt with firmly. Adverting to the complaints by anticipation of the weakness of the coming Land Bill, he asked on what grounds those anticipations were formed. He suggested that it was not of so much importance to consider whether a Bill was to be strong or sweeping as whether it was to be founded on justice and sound policy and likely to afford a permanent and adequate remedy for admitted grievances. After vindicating the Government from the charge of not renewing the Peace Preservation Act and shrinking from meeting Parliament, he turned to Mr. Parnell's speech, and, controverting his statistics, maintained that in no year had agrarian outrages been so numerous since 1844 as in last year. To check the intimidation by which the Land League carried out its unwritten laws, the Government needed exceptional powers; for which it applied with reluctance and regret, recognising fully the attachment which was felt by all parties in the House to constitutional liberty and to the forms which guarded it. "But," he added, "attached as we are to these forms, I trust we are not yet their slaves. I trust that in respecting and vindicating as we do the forms of our Constitution we do not overlook that which is yet more precious—the substance. I have had before, and I fear I shall have again to point out in this House how, in the sacred name of freedom of debate and liberty of discussion, the forms of this House have been abused until in the opinion of the great majority of this House little freedom of debate and no freedom of action at all remained. So it is in Ireland at this moment. Under the forms of Constitutional liberty the substance is disappearing. It is not, as described

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by some, a condition of anarchy. [illegible] the law of the land. For the law of the land [illegible] the law of the Land League: for the [illegible] irresponsible committee: for the [illegible] officer—for those who work in the service [illegible] the law is the [illegible] light of day, the midnight summons and the [illegible] humble cottage, disguised by midnight [illegible] are thousands suffering at this moment [illegible] the landlord classes alone, but for numbers [illegible] to gain honestly their living, but [illegible] their lives—that we ask you to give us [illegible] temporary measure to restore the [illegible] may be by a temporary abridgement [illegible] Constitution."

On the following day—Wednesday—[illegible] a confused controversy as to the order of [illegible] proposing to go on with the debate on the Address, while the Home Rulers and certain private members contended that a fresh understanding had been arrived at between the Government and the House. The debate on the Address was however ultimately resumed, but the only important speech made was that of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, who entered at some length into the question of coercion, arguing that when the Constitution broke down under the refusal of juries to convict, and witnesses to give evidence, the Government was bound to suspend the ordinary constitutional checks. At the same time he admitted that coercion was no remedy, and, tracing the progress of the agitation, he attributed its origin and power in a great measure to the attitude of the late Government on the Land Question, and especially to the manner in which they had administered the Land Act. Had that Act been passed in its original form, had its provisions been liberally interpreted by the law courts, and had the Bright Clauses been efficiently administered, it would have gone a long way towards settling the Irish question. He appealed, therefore, to the leaders of the Opposition not to seek to restrict any measure which might be brought forward. Repeating his belief that coercion was necessary, he expressed a decided opinion that the programme of the Land League was dishonest, and contrary to the interests of Ireland itself, and especially reproved the lukewarmness of the leaders of the League in censuring outrages.

The debate was again adjourned, and wearily dragged itself through two more sittings. On the sixth night, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, a former Irish Secretary, replied to the attacks of the Irish Solicitor-General on the policy of the Conservative Government, declaring that the prosecutions instituted by it had been completely successful, which could not be alleged of those instituted by their successors. He maintained that Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's charge, that the late Government had impeded the action of the Bright Clauses of the Land Act of 1870, now put forward

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for the first time, was contrary to facts, for the Conservatives, had they remained in office, were prepared to bring in a bill to facilitate the working of the clauses. If, however, the Land Question were approached in the spirit of Lord Hartington's speech, he promised not only consideration, but support, for the Government proposals; but before any legislation on this point was attempted, he called upon the Government to restore promptly the authority of the Queen in Ireland. On the last night—the seventh of the debate—the summing up was left to Mr. Childers, who, in a brief speech, urged that, if Mr. Parnell's amendment were agreed to, the Government would be precluded from bringing before the House their views on the condition of Ireland, and proposing their remedies. That country, he maintained, did require the attention of Parliament, and he expressed his confident belief that the reforms which the Government would lay before the House would show that they were prepared with remedies fitted to the case. Mr. Parnell's amendment was then negatived by 435 to 57. The minority was composed of forty-eight Home Rulers, including Mr. Shaw, Mr. Mitchell Henry, and Mr. Meldon, one Irish Liberal, Dr. Lyons, and eight English Liberals, Messrs. Cowen, Arthur Arnold, Jacob Bright, Jesse Collings, Burt, Bradlaugh, Labouchere, and Thompson. The Ulster Liberals did not vote, and a dozen Irish members, mostly Conservatives, voted in the majority, which included the leaders of the Ministerial and Opposition parties. Mr. Parnell was thus able to claim the active support of rather less than one-half of the Irish electoral body. Of the 102 Irish members, fifty-one, representing 110,219 electors, followed him; twenty-nine others, representing 55,474 electors abstained from voting; whilst twenty-two members, representing 65,845 electors, endorsed the policy of the Government.

The Address, however, was not yet voted, for Mr. Justin McCarthy, on the following day, interposed with a resolution asking the Crown to refrain from using naval, military, or constabulary forces in enforcing ejectments for non-payment of rent until a decision should have been come to with respect to the Government proposals with regard to the ownership of land in Ireland. He showed from returns that evictions were numerous, especially in Galway and the neighbouring districts; that disorder and violence were the result of evictions, and he argued that the stoppage of evictions would lead possibly to the better payment of rent, and that it was impolitic, if not unconstitutional, to employ the armed force of the country to enforce a process, whilst a bill was under discussion to abolish that process for ever. Mr. Gladstone rose at once, and, amid loud cheers, declared that the honourable member and his amendment were the most effective obstacles to a speedy settlement of the Land Question. "What is it," he continued, "prevents us proceeding with the measures which we seek to lay before the House? It is the renewal, night after night, of spontaneous debate aimed at no practical conclusion,

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capable of producing no practical conclusion, capable of answering no useful object whatever, capable of causing in the people of this island rather strong feelings of a kind I do not wish to encourage with regard to the singular method in which now the proceedings of this House are conducted, capable of promoting the continued existence of great evils, and of retarding the application of remedies to Ireland, and in utter contradiction, so far as their practical effect is concerned, to the appeal made by the honourable gentleman, because the measure he exhorts us to produce he does his best, by the course he adopts, to retard. The good sense of Parliament and the practical turn which has governed, and I hope will govern, the political mind of this country, have established it as a rule, almost without exception, that the Address to the Throne in answer to the Speech with which the Session is opened shall be brought to a conclusion as rapidly as possible, and I will venture to say, that if that practice is to be broken down, if the Speech from the Throne itself, instead of being a convenient, decorous, dignified method of meeting between the Sovereign and the people and of initiating the business of the Session, in every intimation it contains, is to be made the subject of lengthened and renewed debate and of diversified amendments, that Speech will become no better than a public nuisance, and it will be for the advantage of the country that it should be wholly discontinued."

As for the proposal itself, Mr. Gladstone declared it to be an insult to the Throne to ask the Queen, by her own arbitrary will, to refuse to execute the law of the land, which she at her coronation swore to maintain. These words, uttered with evident feeling, were accepted by the House as indicating that, in the opinion of the Government, the Irish Members had been allowed sufficient length, as well as latitude, of speech, and that the moment for closing the debate on the Address had arrived. Lord John Manners, on behalf of the Opposition, at once rose and announced his thorough sympathy with the speech of the Premier, and immediately sat down. The Irish Members, however, were not to be silenced so easily. Mr. Dillon, springing up, in no measured language taunted Mr. Gladstone with turning his back on the 15,000 tenants who, he had said in the previous July, would be ejected from their homes unless such proceedings were stopped. It was the promised Coercion Bill which was the real obstacle to progress, and he warned the Government that when it was passed outrages would be increased tenfold. Mr. Dillon was called to order several times by the Speaker for irrelevancy and for declaring that the law of the Land League was supreme, and a boast of the forces it had arrayed against Her Majesty's forces was objected to as treasonable and seditious. After a short wrangle, Mr. Dillon withdrew the words, and concluded by saying that he supported the amendment because he feared that the use of the military and constabulary at evictions would provoke resistance and lead to bloodshed.

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The debate was continued for some hours chiefly by the Irish Members, who addressed themselves to various points other than the one raised by Mr. McCarthy's amendment—Mr. Healy expressing his determination to resist to the utmost the introduction of future coercive measures; whilst Mr. O'Connor Power and Mr. Parnell repudiated Mr. Gladstone's charge of wasting public time; the latter declaring that in the seven nights' debate only twelve hours had been occupied by the Irish Members. He then, at considerable length and in well-weighed phrases, set himself to explain his Nationalist ideas. He declared that if landlordism in Ireland were abolished (and no settlement of the land question would, in his mind, be satisfactory until the landlord's interest was extinguished or transferred to the tenant), if the antagonism between landlord and tenant could be got rid of, if the landlords could be persuaded to throw in their lot with the people, there would be no longer any considerable class in Ireland interested in the maintenance of English rule, and Ireland would peaceably, and without violence, obtain her legislative independence, linked to Great Britain by the bond of the Crown. At the same time, though he had always held that it would be criminal to plunge the Irish people into a hopeless struggle, he had never concealed his belief that if a fair chance of success presented itself it was the duty of every Irishman to shed his blood for his country. Mr. Parnell concluded the debate by warning the Government that if they commenced by coercion, the settlement of the land question would be taken out of their hands. The first arrest under it would be the signal for a general refusal to pay rent.

On Mr. Parnell resuming his seat there was a sudden pause and general silence. He had, in his quality of dictator of the Land League and its policy, treated the Government as a co-equal and laid before the House his ultimatum. No member of the Government, however, rising, Sir Stafford Northcote expressed his surprise that no notice was taken of the threats conveyed or the tone adopted by the member for Cork. The Solicitor-General for Ireland briefly remarked that the Government had not replied because it wished to save time and to take a division. In this, however, the Government were disappointed. The Irish members had made up their minds for another night's debate, and after a slight resistance to the motion for adjournment Lord Hartington consented, after having warned the dissidents that their tactics, whilst postponing for a time the measures for restoring peace and order, would delay far more the remedial measures which the Government were anxious to bring forward; whilst in the House and country a feeling was rising against the policy adopted by the Irish members. Mr. Parnell replied in a short speech of great bitterness, in the course of which he was twice called to order by the Speaker. He accused the Prime Minister of casting about for some excuse to present to the Irish people for his failure to do justice to them. The House was going to strike down the liberties of the Irish people, and he claimed a

right to be heard before the House adopted these unconstitutional measures. If he and his colleagues were not to be heard, he was at a loss to know for what purpose they were in that House. On the following day the whole sitting was almost exclusively occupied by the Irish members, the single exception being Mr. Labouchere, who, whilst opposing the resolution because it gave a dispensing power to the Crown, urged the Government to carry a short Act suspending evictions until the Land Bill was passed. Ultimately, Mr. McCarthy's amendment, after an attempt on behalf of its author to withdraw it, was negatived by 201 to 37; 30 English or Scotch members voting in the minority.

The next obstacle to voting the address was an amendment by Mr. Dawson praying Her Majesty to assimilate the Irish borough franchise to that of England. On behalf of the Government, Mr. Forster declared its desire to take steps in that sense so soon as an opportunity presented itself, but he denied that the question was a pressing one, or one on which the Irish members were unanimous. The discussion having continued for some time without any fresh arguments being brought forward to support it, Mr. W. James protested against this waste of time, declaring that freedom of speech was degenerating into licence and abuse, and reproaching the Irish members with a want of manliness and decency in the line they were taking to postpone the Ministerial measures. Mr. Dillon replied that as Ministers could not be turned out by Irish votes it was only by taking up the time of the House that they could hope to influence public opinion. He justified their conduct by Mr. Chamberlain's persistent obstruction on the Army Bill in 1879, and declared his belief that the Government did not intend to pass a Franchise Bill, because they knew it would deprive them of certain seats, including that of their Attorney-General.

When the House on the following day was about to resume the adjourned debate, Professor Thorold Rogers raised the question whether it was in order to address Her Majesty to submit a measure to Parliament. The Speaker replied that his attention having been directed to the point he was bound to rule that the amendment was irregular. Some conversation ensued on this point of order, but ultimately a way was found out of the difficulty by Mr. Dawson being permitted to withdraw his amendment and to substitute in its place another declaring "that it was expedient to submit" a measure of Parliamentary reform. Mr. Parnell having intimated that he would no longer oppose a division, the resolution was negatived by 274 to 36. Mr. O'Kelly then came to the front with another prayer to Her Majesty to guarantee the right of public meetings to the Irish people. He based his motion on the meetings which had been put down by proclamation, and declared that the magistrates had not only the power of stifling discussion, but of spilling the blood of the people, if they only went through the form of reading the Riot Act. Mr. Gladstone, amid general cheers, declined to enter into a debate in the state of public business and

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in the public interest; and Mr. W. E. Forster denied that any public meeting had been stopped in Ireland except when there was fair reason to expect that a breach of the peace or danger to individuals would ensue. Apparently from inanition the debate suddenly collapsed, and the amendment having been negatived by 173 to 34, the Address in answer to the Queen's Speech was, after eleven nights of discussion, formally agreed to. The Report was at once brought up, and, deviating from the usual custom of deferring its consideration until the next day, it was taken at once. After a debate raised by Sir Wilfrid Lawson's amendment, referred to in a subsequent chapter, it was agreed to without further impediment.

But if the action of the Ministry had been hindered in the House of Commons, their policy had been generally supported by the public and in the press. On the first announcement of the intention to introduce a Peace Preservation Bill and an Arms Bill, the *Daily Telegraph* alone, among the London papers, found in it cause for rejoicing, but by degrees nearly all, without distinction of party, recognised the duties of the Government. In Ireland the more sober organs of opinion deplored the spectacle of the most Liberal Ministry ever in power resorting to the practice of their Whig or Tory predecessors; whilst provincial opinion was somewhat divided, Newcastle, Manchester, Bradford, and South Wales opposing the idea of coercive measures preceding remedial ones; but Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, and the south-western districts called loudly for the restoration of order, a demand in which the Scotch press almost unanimously concurred.

CHAPTER II.

THE COERCION BILLS.

Protection of Property Bill—Obstruction in the House of Commons and its Treatment—The New Rules of Debate—The Speaker's Dictatorship—Urgency—The Revolt of the Home Rulers—Preservation of Life Bill.

THE House of Commons was still engaged in discussing the Address when the House of Lords, through two of its members, sitting on different sides of the House, expressed a desire to hasten the passing of some measure for the maintenance of order in Ireland, by proposing its initiation in that assembly. Earl Fortescue, in support of his proposal, cited the precedents of Earl Grey, in 1833, and of the Earl of St. Germans in 1846; but Earl Granville, whilst expressing his thanks for the proffered assistance, reminded his hearers that Lord St. Germans's Bill, after having been debated for four months by the Commons, was rejected. Earl Redesdale, on the other hand, believed that the only remedy for the system of obstruction which endangered Parliamentary government was an act of "constitutional despotism." He would like to see a message from the Crown explaining the state of affairs in Ireland as regards life and property, and announcing that a Bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act would be at once introduced

in both Houses of Parliament simultaneously. After a single reading in each House, he proposed that Government should, pending its further discussion, act upon it, trusting to a Bill of Indemnity. The Lord Chancellor, however, pointed out that such a course would involve the Government in an almost endless contest with the law and judges of the land, and he deprecated strongly the idea of a Government attempting to enforce law and order by setting at naught the very principles on which both are founded. After a few remarks from two Irish peers the subject dropped, and the Government, without further criticism, were allowed to pursue their own course of action, and for many months subsequently the House of Commons monopolised the whole discussion of Irish wrongs and their remedies.

No speaker for the Treasury Bench had in the course of the long discussion on the Address given any clue as to the measures which the Executive were about to propose. The Ministry and their critics seemed content to confine their arguments to the respective claims of coercion and remedy, for precedence. When, therefore, Mr. Forster rose to ask for leave to bring in the first of his two measures of protection, there was complete ignorance on all sides as to the shape his Bill would take. On the one hand it was asserted that he would simply ask for a renewal of the Peace Preservation Act, brought in by his own colleague and predecessor in office, Lord Hartington, in 1870, which had remained in force during the term of Lord Beaconsfield's administration. By this Act the Lord Lieutenant had power to arrest only two classes of persons: "strangers" unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves, and persons found out at night under suspicious circumstances. On the other hand it was confidently asserted that the Bill would be based upon the Westmeath Act of 1871, which conferred upon the Lord Lieutenant permission to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in specific districts, under certain restrictions. Others again, especially among the Radical supporters of the Government, expressed the hope that Mr. Forster would be able to dispense with powers so stringent or so vague as those demanded and exercised by his predecessors. The speech in which, to a crowded and earnestly attentive House, the Chief Secretary explained the principal features of his Bill, showed how well he had kept his own counsel, and how completely all the forecasts of its contents went astray. By way of preface, Mr. Forster gave a sketch of the condition of Ireland, and its progress in lawlessness through the preceding autumn and winter, until the number of agrarian outrages in 1880 had exceeded, by 600, the total of any single year since 1844, although in the interval the population had fallen from eight to five millions. The total number of outrages returned for the year 1880 was 2,590. Of these, however, threatening letters, as Mr. Forster was subsequently obliged to admit, formed the larger portion. But even with every reduction there had been in 1880, 1,253 outrages, of which two-thirds took place

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in the last three months of the year. Outrages on property, such as incendiary fires, torturing of cattle, cardings, and other personal attacks and assaults, had followed Land League meetings, and seemed to be the means by which that body enforced its unwritten laws. Personal insecurity had, in consequence of the Land League, increased so rapidly, that no less than 153 people were attended, day and night, by two constables each, and 1,149 others were watched over by the police. Tenants were the objects of outrage as well as their landlords, if it was suspected they had paid their rent, or any part of it in excess of Griffith's valuation. Mr. Forster gave numerous cases in which the Land League had intervened and, he added, that the Government were satisfied that the area over which it exercised its terrorism was daily extending. The serving of processes was as impossible as the collection of rent, and the shopkeepers were there as unable to obtain justice as the landlords. "In Ireland," continued the Chief Secretary, "the Land League law is supreme, and there is a real reign of terror over the whole country. No man dares take a farm from which another person has been ejected, nor work for a man who pays his rent, or who refuses to join the Land League. They did not dare to claim compensation for outrages committed upon them; to prosecute the persons who committed such outrages, if in the first moment of anger they had given information; or to convict such offenders if they should happen to be on juries before whom they were brought. The fact is, that those who defy the existing law are safe, while those who keep it—the honest men, in short—are in danger. After all, all law rests on the power to punish its infraction. There being no such power in Ireland at the present time, I am forced to acknowledge that to a great extent the ordinary law of the country is powerless; but the unwritten law is powerful, because punishment is sure to follow its infraction. Take away this power to punish for infraction of the unwritten law, and it will become an empty form. The men who have planned and perpetrated the outrages to which I have referred are the men without whose help the speeches of the hon. members for the city of Cork, for Tipperary, and for Cavan would be mere harmless exhortations and vapouring. It is these men who have struck terror into the hearts of the districts in which their operations have been carried on, and we must strike terror into them in order that outrage may be stopped, persons and property may be protected, and liberty may be secured. We must arrest these criminals. We cannot do it now, because these criminals have made themselves safe by the enormity of their crimes and the power which those crimes have enabled them to acquire. They knew that they would be perfectly foolish to fear the law when no man dared to appear and give evidence against them. Did not the police know the names of these village tyrants? Of course the police knew them, and they themselves were perfectly aware of the fact. These men may, I think, be divided into three categories.

There are first those who remain of the old Riband and other secret societies of former days; in the second place there are a large number of Fenians who have taken advantage of the present state of affairs, not so much as caring about the land as in order to promote their own particular views in regard to the political situation in Ireland; and in the third, there are a large number of men who are the *mauvais sujets* of their neighbourhood. So it not infrequently happens that the most powerful man in a particular district is a contemptible, dissolute ruffian and blackguard, who, his character being known by all his neighbours, is shunned by them all, but who, nevertheless, acts as the powerful and active policeman for the execution of the unwritten law. To what, then, are we driven? Simply to this, to take power to arrest these men and keep them in prison in order that they may be prevented from tyrannising over their neighbours."

The remedy for this state of things proposed by the Government was exceedingly summary. The Lord Lieutenant was to have power to issue a warrant for the arrest of any person whom he might reasonably suspect of treasonable or agrarian offences; the prisoner would be treated as unconvicted, but might be detained without trial until September 30, 1882. Such offences as "Boycotting" could not, it had been found, be declared illegal; nor was it thought advisable to increase the extent of summary jurisdiction, as any such change in the law might give rise to prolonged discussion, and for similar reasons the Arms Bill had been separated from the Protection Bill, because the need of passing the Protection Bill was urgent and peremptory. Mr. Forster wound up in the following words a long and eloquent speech, which had been attentively listened to, and, although it occasionally produced passionate cheers from both the Ministerial and Conservative benches, the vague and dictatorial powers demanded by the Bill checked any display of enthusiasm in its favour amongst the independent Liberals. "No doubt it is a great disappointment to us to have to bring forward this Bill, seeing that we did without it in the early part of the year; but remember it is agitation which has made disarming far more necessary than it was then. If we are to blame, for what are we to blame? That we had more hope of the Irish people—more hope from those who seem to have their confidence—than we ought to have had. This has been to me a most painful duty; I never expected that I should have to discharge it. If I had thought that this duty would devolve on the Irish Secretary, I would never have held the office; if I could have foreseen that this would be the result of twenty years of Parliamentary life, I would have left Parliament rather than have undertaken it. But I never was more clear than I am now that it is my duty; I never was more clear that the man responsible, as I am, for the administration of the government of Ireland, ought no longer to have any part or share in any Government which does not fulfil its first duty—the protection of person and property and the security of liberty."

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On Dr. Lyons devolved the task of moving the amendment, to which not only the Home Rulers, but the bulk of the Irish party adhered without hesitation. He asked the Government to reconsider the determination of which Mr. Forster's motion was the expression, and to postpone the introduction of the Coercion Bill until their remedial measures were introduced. He protested, in the name of his countrymen, against such a Bill becoming law until a preliminary inquiry should prove its need, and he upbraided the Executive with not preserving peace by means of the existing laws. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Givan, who exposed the evils and hardships which the existing Land Laws threw upon Irish tenants and cottiers; and Mr. Dillon next rose, and in a quiet but earnest speech, which was listened to with marked attention, stated the case of the Irish people against their rulers. The liberties of Ireland were, he asserted, about to be voted away on the evidence of spies and informers. The Land League, he maintained, had steadily discouraged outrages and threatening letters; and the Bill, if passed, would not break down the League, but would render it more powerful. In answer to Mr. Forster's touching description of the terrorism exercised by the Land League, he declared that if the proposed Bill were carried, 10,000 Irish families would be cast on to the road-side, homeless, and without hope. Then might be expected despair, revenge, and crimes committed by men threatened with a fate to which an Irish farmer preferred death. He protested against the whole force of England being used to support one small class of the Irishmen against nine-tenths of the nation; and he prophesied that any attempt to preserve landlord domination by the help of the army, would end in failure. If the Government would pass an Act suspending evictions in Ireland there would be no need of a Coercion Bill. Both parties would rest on their arms; outrages would cease, and peace would descend on the distracted land. If the Bill were passed, it was not only the people, but the priesthood of Ireland which the Government would have to encounter. The Archbishop of Cashel would place himself at the head of the League, and in its ranks would be found not only half the priests of the Roman Catholic Church, but a vast number of the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster. The strength of the League lay in the weakness of English rule; that weakness arose from the fact that English rule in Ireland was based on an entire disregard of Irish feeling. If the Irish people could be polled, three-fourths would vote in favour of annexation to the United States, in preference to continuing in union with England.

Mr. Bradlaugh followed on the same side, urging that the Government had wholly failed to make out a case for exceptional legislation, and that its complaint that there was a sympathy with lawlessness only showed that the Irish people had come by experience to think that the Government gave them no protection, and that the law afforded them no remedy. In England special

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classes of crimes, such as poaching, trades-union outrages, Rebeccaite assaults, which had grown out of alleged grievances, had been met either by redress or by the application of existing laws. Agrarian outrages in Ireland arose from the state of the Land Law. The Land League had not built the wretched hovels in which the suffering people dwelt, and for the intolerable misery to which the Irish peasant was brought he appealed to the Irish Secretary to provide an immediate remedy. Mr. Justin McCarthy followed in the same strain. He would vote against coercion, no matter what remedial legislation the Government had in store. He ridiculed the idea of an armed insurrection in Ireland, and said that if Mr. Forster really believed in its imminence, it was because he knew only so much of what was passing in the country as was allowed to reach him through official channels. Mr. J. Richardson, speaking on behalf of the Ulster Liberals, declared that unless remedial measures went along with repressive ones, the Ulster farmers would regard the proposed Bill as a mere engine for the collection of rent, and often of very unjust rent. Mr. Horace Davey, Q.C., sympathised with the Irish members, who from patriotic motives opposed an exceptional legislation, which was as demoralising to those who used it as to those upon whom it was exercised. His confidence in the Prime Minister was unshaken, and he should support the demand for coercion; but he should like to have had some assurance that the remedial measures would point to a permanent settlement of the Irish Land question.

Sir Stafford Northcote then rose, and briefly stated the course which the Conservative party proposed to adopt. He sympathised with the position in which the Chief Secretary found himself, and admitting that the case made out was only too sadly strong and more than sufficient to prove the necessity for exceptional legislation, he promised full support for the measure. With regard to the Amendment, he held that the Government were taking the right course in first establishing law and order, and that, until that was done, it was impossible to consider other questions with regard to the Land question. He expressed a desire to see the Land Laws of Ireland suited to the necessities of the people, and providing for the proper cultivation of the soil and the maintenance of a happy and contented people. Mr. Litton, another Ulster Liberal, was still more outspoken than Mr. Richardson in his appeal to the Government for some protection for the tenants pending the framing of the Land Bill. Although, as he admitted, the case for coercion had been fully established, he should have voted for it with greater satisfaction had he known the views of Government with regard to the Land Laws, and had obtained the assurance that, in spite of the words introduced in the Speech from the Throne, the new measure would not be framed on the lines of the Disturbance Bill of the preceding session. The debate for the evening was closed by Mr. O'Donnell, who was repeatedly called to order for the licence of speech which he permitted himself

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whilst railing at the members of the Ministry and its pretended Liberalism.

Before the debate could be renewed on the following day, it was necessary for Mr. Gladstone to obtain the consent of the House to the postponement of all business in favour of the Coercion Bill. On rising to ask formally for a permission which he had no reason to suppose would meet with any serious opposition, Mr. Gray raised the delicate point of order whether by adopting Mr. Gladstone's proposal the House would not be anticipating its own decision with regard to the several stages of two non-existent Bills. The Speaker, however, having declared the resolution to be in order, Mr. Gladstone proposed his motion of which he had given notice on the first day of the Session. The need for prompt action and additional powers had increased since then; it was the duty of the Executive to use every lawful means to obtain the necessary authority. To those who denied the necessity of coercion or thought it should be accompanied or preceded by a forecast of the Land Bill, he replied that the Government was not prepared to make any declaration thereon until they saw their way more clearly with regard to the Bills for the protection of life and property. It was, however, obvious that the sooner these were disposed of, the sooner the Land Bill would come on for discussion, and therefore to all parties he appealed to facilitate the proposal of the Government. Mr. Parnell, who had placed on the paper an amendment to the effect that the present state of Ireland did not justify the demand made on the time of private members, was absent at Dublin, where judgment was being given in the State trial, in which he was one of the traversers. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, however, would have taken charge of the amendment; but the Speaker would neither allow it to be moved by anyone except the member in whose name it stood, nor permit Mr. O'Connor to bring it forward in his own name. Under these circumstances Mr. O'Connor addressed the House on Mr. Gladstone's motion, which he opposed on the ground that it was without precedent, and that the Coercion Bill was "a grave and capital sentence" about to be pronounced on Ireland.

The debate was continued almost exclusively by the Irish members, who protested against the suspension of the Standing Orders for the purpose of coercion; and the attempt to deprive private members of their right of initiating legislation. One of the speakers, Mr. Finigan, was five times called to order, and only just escaped being named by an evasive apology. Mr. Biggar at length rose and made a long and discursive speech against the proposal. His chief argument was directed against the Police returns of crime, on which the Chief Secretary had based his views of the condition of Ireland; and, in support of his argument, desired to quote the opinions of certain Cavan magistrates, and to refer at length to the cases of alleged outrage. At this point he was called to order by the Speaker, but pursuing the same line of argument in spite of half a dozen rapidly succeeding warnings from the Chair, he was

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at length "named" as wilfully disregarding its ruling. Mr. Forster at once moved in the terms of the Standing Order that Mr. Biggar should be suspended during the remainder of the sitting, and this was carried by 160 votes against 30. This, however, was but the first incident in a debate which was destined to be marked by many important episodes. On the House resuming, Mr. Healy at once moved the adjournment of the debate, as the removal of Mr. Biggar placed the Irish members at a disadvantage. As this was calling in question the vote of the House, Mr. Healy was promptly ruled to be out of order—a similar fate attending Mr. J. McCarthy, who seconded the motion for adjournment, and Mr. O'Donnell, who supported it. Mr. Gladstone firmly opposed the motion, and gently bantered the last speaker on the exuberance of his eloquence, one half of which was irrelevant, and the other half destructive. The House then divided, and the motion to adjourn was defeated by 269 to 35. Mr. Gray next moved the adjournment of the debate on the ground that the hurry displayed by the Government was proof of its desire to stifle discussion. After one call to order Mr. Gray sat down, and was followed by Mr. Lalor and Mr. Callan, the latter of whom was twice called to order. Mr. Mitchell Henry refused to follow his fellow-countrymen who attempted to justify the conduct of a member who had wilfully violated the laws of the House. After a few remarks from Mr. Dawson, who also drew down the Speaker's rebuke on two occasions, the House again divided, and the adjournment having been negatived by 277 to 34, the Biggar episode was allowed to pass, and the debate on Mr. Gladstone's proposal was resumed. The usual hour for adjournment, half-past twelve, having now arrived, Mr. Gladstone at once rose to explain that he could not agree to follow the ordinary practice, as the first moiety of the evening had been spent in a contest with the Chair, and since ten o'clock the House had been occupied with motions for its adjournment. He therefore regarded the present motion as a challenge to the House whether it was to retain or to abandon its capacity to transact public business. Sir Stafford Northcote, on behalf of the Opposition, promised to support the Government, and after a few skirmishing shots from the O'Donoghue, Mr. Dillon, and others, the House settled itself down to an all-night sitting. The whole of the debate—if the speeches against time could be so dignified—was carried on by the Irish members. Mr. Gladstone quitted the House about two o'clock, leaving the leadership to Mr. Forster, who was soon fast asleep on the Treasury Bench, an example which was speedily followed by the greater number of the twenty members who composed the House. The speeches were for the most part wearisome iterations, interspersed with occasional breaches of order. The Home Rulers were allowed uninterrupted possession of the House, except when an ultra-Liberal like Mr. Givan joined in the demand of the Parnellites for an adjournment, or an independent Liberal like Mr. Moore suggested that the resolution of the Premier should be allowed to pass, on the right hon. gentleman undertaking

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that the adjourned debate on the Coercion Bill should not be resumed until the following day. The suggestion was met by Mr. Forster with the objection that, if it were adopted, the House would be in this position, that having passed a resolution, they had at once proceeded to break it. When nearly four hours had been expended in this wrangle, a division was taken on Mr. Byrne's motion to adjourn the debate, which was defeated by 159 to 24. Then came Mr. Dillon, with a motion for the adjournment of the House, and again the stream of talk flowed on with unabated vigour. It was enlivened, however, by one or two amusing incidents. Thus, while Mr. Coan was speaking, he noticed what he thought was an expression of dissent from Mr. Thorold Rogers, and exclaimed that "he did not care for the laughter of professors." Mr. Rogers assured the hon. member that he had not indulged in any risibility, for he felt too much grieved at the "disgraceful exhibition" he was witnessing to admit of his doing so. Mr. Callan, appealing to the Chair, asked whether these words could be applied by one member to another, and was told by the Speaker that so applied they would not be in order; but Mr. Rogers explaining that he had referred to the proceedings generally, the matter attracted no further notice.

At five o'clock in the morning Mr. Childers returned, relieving Mr. Forster and Sir William Harcourt, who had remained throughout the night, and soon afterwards the Speaker, who had occupied the Chair for fourteen hours, gave place to Mr. Playfair, the Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees, who was loudly cheered from both sides of the House. Then Mr. Healy assumed a leading part in the discussion, and indulged in some personal allusions, which provoked several calls to order. At length Mr. Cartwright formally drew the attention of the Chair to the remarks of the hon. member as being irrelevant and indecorous; but on the Deputy Speaker rising to pronounce his decision on the point, Mr. Healy intimated that he had nothing more to say and sat down. The Irish members, strictly confined within the narrow limits of the question of adjournment, laboured heavily on, and the proceedings grew hourly more monotonous and dull. At nine o'clock Mr. Dillon's motion was negatived by 125 to 21 votes. Soon after, Sir Stafford Northcote and Colonel Stanley entered the House, and were greeted with cheers as they took their usual seats on the Opposition Bench. Another motion for the adjournment of the debate was then made by Mr. Sexton; and whilst the discussion which succeeded was at its highest Mr. Gladstone made his re-appearance, after a rest of several hours. He was welcomed with hearty applause, and, by a singular coincidence, and almost simultaneously, Mr. Parnell, fresh from Dublin and the State Trials, followed. His arrival also was the signal for a wild burst of cheering from the rank and file of his party. The discussion was now conducted exclusively by the Irish members, and was unrelieved by anything to give it life or animation, dragging on until noontide, when the motion for adjournment

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was put and negatived without a division, as was also Mr. A. O'Connor's amendment, moved on the previous night, "That the Orders of the Day be now read." Mr. Parnell then rose and suggested that the House should at once go to a division on Mr. Gladstone's Resolution, and that further debate on the Coercion Bill should be postponed till the next day; but the Premier declined to commit the Government to any arrangement that would have the effect of breaking the sitting, in order that the debate might be continued on a future day. Ministers were prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the continuity of the sitting. Sir Stafford Northcote, on behalf of the Opposition, said that they also were ready to persevere, and thought that they should come to a decision without making terms. Private members would not give up their rights without a clear understanding that the Government would make the best use of the time surrendered to them. Mr. Whitbread, on the other hand, protested against any bargain being made with the Conservative leader as to the time which should be occupied with the first stage of the proposed Bill. A little spirit was then imparted into the remainder of an otherwise dull discussion by Mr. Cowen, who, greeted with Home-rule cheers, and speaking in the name of those "insignificant and despised politicians, the Independent Radicals," hurled strong denunciations at the Ministerial Resolution, on the ground that it was an unwarrantable interference with the few and fast diminishing rights of private members, and placed the Irish representatives at a disadvantage when their country's liberties were being confiscated by force. A nation, he said, was to be deprived of its constitutional liberties by a feeble and vacillating Executive, who were violating the good old maxim, "Do unto others as you would be done by." He entreated them, then, not to use a giant's strength like a giant, and warned them against the course they were pursuing with the object of inflicting punishment upon innocent men. Before sitting down Mr. Cowen was twice called to order for travelling beyond the scope of the motion; but he concluded his speech by declaring that the Government might suspend Irish members as much as they chose, and they might suspend from their political rights the whole people of Ireland, but when they had made a million of mutes, when they had made a dreary silence and a gloomy taciturnity, they might learn from history that they could have done nothing more dangerous. Mr. Forster indignantly repudiated this insinuation, and alluding to the remarks of a previous speaker, that there had been some compromise or arrangement between the two front Benches for bringing the debate on the first stage of the Bill to a close on Thursday, the right hon. gentleman gave it an emphatic denial, and assured the House that if they went to a division it would be without any compromise or arrangement with the Opposition, though he hoped two nights would be amply sufficient to conclude the debate.

After some further discussion, Mr. Moore, pointing to the

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Treasury Bench, elicited a cheer by declaring that it was there the real obstructives were to be found. Mr. Illingworth, on the other hand, justified the Radical section of the House to which he belonged for supporting the Government in passing measures of coercion to which at the same time they had the greatest repugnance. He believed, however, that the mere fact of the Executive possessing the powers which the House was asked to confer would be sufficient to deter ruffians from the outrages which had rendered coercion necessary. An opening for a compromise was at last found, and at a few minutes before two o'clock the Motion for the adjournment was withdrawn, as well as Mr. O'Connor's Amendment, and the House divided on Mr. Gladstone's proposal, granting precedence to the Government Bills, which was adopted by 251 votes to 33. Mr. Gladstone then proposed the adjournment of the House, which had been sitting for twenty-two hours, the usual time for meeting on Wednesday having long gone by.

On the following evening the debate on the measures for the Protection of Life and Property, after an intervention by Mr. Dillon, who required later returns of agrarian crime, was resumed. The only remarkable speeches of the night were those of Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Bright. The former explained the reasons which induced him to abandon his party on the present occasion and to vote in accordance with his personal convictions. He admitted that occasions might arise when it would be necessary to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, as in the case of imminent civil war and actual revolt, but these conditions did not exist in Ireland. If the existing relations between England and Ireland were reversed, and a Parliament, of which the minority were English, were sitting in Dublin, he believed that they would resort to every means to prevent their liberties being thus curtailed, and therefore he held that the Irish members had only acted consistently and patriotically in resorting to every means to prevent this stigma and wrong being inflicted on their country. As for the returns of crime furnished by the Irish Executive and relied on by Mr. Forster, they were palpably erroneous, the same offence being made to appear twice, or even thrice. The Government Bill was not only totally unnecessary on the present occasion, but it would chiefly be used by the landlords to collect their rent, who failing to obtain it would resort to wholesale evictions. Mr. Labouchere wound up a long, carefully prepared, and powerful speech by denouncing the proposed bill as a perpetuation of a bad system, which he appealed to the Government to withdraw, or else to accompany it by a measure for the protection of tenants.

The hints thrown out by Mr. Labouchere were not lost upon the Irish members, who thus found themselves provided with a completely fresh stock of objections to Mr. Forster's measure, and by them the fallacy of the returns of crime, and the need of protecting tenants from eviction were urged with renewed vigour. The debate in spite of this fillip, however, laboured heavily; the deserted

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condition of the benches on both sides provoking two attempts to count out the House. It was not until the close of the evening that Mr. Bright rose, and infused warmth and life into the debate. Replying to the taunts addressed to him by various members, he referred to the many proofs of friendship to Ireland he had given during his long career—references which were received with marks of assent from the Home Rule benches. He recalled how he had spoken and even voted against coercive proposals in the past; but he followed these references immediately by two statements—first, that he did not hold that all these coercive measures were necessary at the time; and, secondly, that the basis of his hostility was that they were not accompanied by any remedial measures, or even by any admission of grievances. But now, he added, amid great cheering, a land bill was promised and would be brought in. He declined to enter into the figures quoted by Mr. Labouchere, on two grounds—first, that he had confidence in Mr. Forster, who ought to know best; and, secondly, that the state of terrorism in Ireland was made patent to everybody, and to himself particularly, by letters from all classes of persons, and by the speeches of the leaders of the movement itself, who boasted that the Land Leaguers had superseded the law of Parliament. He took up with some warmth and even passion the comparison that had been instituted by the O'Donoghue between the Anti-Corn Law League and the Land League. The two things were alike only in name. The Anti-Corn Law League would have nothing to do with outrage; it never advised lawlessness; it maintained an elevated and noble tone. But could all this be said of the Land League? The leaders of the Land League had, Mr. Bright declared, demoralised the Irish people; at which there were loud and angry protests from the Home Rulers, and quite as loud and quite as vehement cheers from the Liberals. The law of repression might be a tyranny in the hands of a tyrant, but in the hands of men who had spent their lives in the promotion of freedom it would be a measure of protection. With gathering passion, Mr. Bright went on to declare that, much as he desired the happiness of the Irish tenant, he would not purchase it at the sacrifice of the tenant's honesty and sense of honour—a declaration which also excited intense enthusiasm in the one quarter and protest from the other—and he concluded a powerful speech by the declaration that a large and comprehensive land bill would be a durable monument of that Parliament and that Ministry.

When the House met on the following day the rumours of another all-night sitting were very general, it having become known that at a meeting of the Home Rule party, under the presidency of Mr. Parnell, it was determined that it would be advisable on the first stage of the Coercion Bill that each member should speak on the outrages from his constituency. These rumours, too, were strengthened when Mr. Gladstone having, in speaking of the course of public business, assumed the possibility of debate on the first

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reading of the Coercive Bill being brought to a conclusion during that sitting, Mr. Parnell at once rose to say that he did not endorse the Prime Minister's assumption. The principal speakers of the evening were the Solicitor-General for Ireland, Sir William Barttelot, and Mr. Gladstone. The first-named addressed himself chiefly to the two main arguments brought against the Government Bill—that the state of Ireland did not call for special legislation, and that remedial should precede coercive measures. With regard to the first objection, recalling the admission made by the member for Tipperary in the House, that in the county he represented Land League law reigned supreme, he maintained that an intolerable tyranny, to which farmers and tenants, priests and people, were forced to bow, prevailed in many parts of Ireland. As regards the other plea, he could see no advantage in passing a remedial Bill drawn on the lines of justice and honesty until law and order and liberty of action had been restored. Sir William Barttelot, speaking for a large body of Conservatives, strongly supported the Government proposal, and promised the Irish members, on behalf of his colleagues, to fairly consider the Government Land Bill as soon as it came before the House.

It was not until nearly midnight that Mr. Gladstone rose and delivered a speech which must be reckoned among the most earnest and passionate, and, at the same time, most effective, he had ever delivered. Repeatedly interrupted and contradicted by Mr. Parnell and other Home Rulers, he never lost his presence of mind or hesitated for a reply. He began by pleading for an immediate termination of the debate, urging, among other reasons, that it was only in this manner that the Irish members could place themselves in possession of the text of the Bill, as to which it was evident from various speeches they had very vague and inaccurate ideas. He pointed out to them, too, that if they asked for a large and liberal hearing they must themselves conform to reason. In reply to the argument that remedial measures should have come first, he reminded the House that the Bill was not directed against the Land League, nor against the classes who were suffering from distress, but against the perpetrators and abettors of outrages—the dangerous classes, who were not likely to be converted by remedial legislation. Dealing with the criticisms on the Outrages Returns, he declared that the general effect was only to confirm the confidence of the Government in their accuracy. But it was not on single cases that the Government rested, it was on the aggregate—on the combination out of which they sprung, and on the total failure of the ordinary administration of justice to detect and punish them. Again he repeated that neither the League nor any other person or body in Ireland could be touched by the Bill except so far as they fell within its stringent definition. After referring to the Conservative support with which the Government was taunted, he dwelt on the character and proceedings of the Land League, protesting against the parallels which had been drawn between it and the

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Anti-Corn Law League and the Trades Unions, on the latter of which he pronounced a glowing eulogium. That an unusual state of crime existed in Ireland was undoubted, and admitted even by those who differed as to the causes. Some attributed it to the distress, some to evictions; but he showed by the statistics that crime had increased, while the distress and evictions had decreased. But he traced a close connection between the movement of crime and the increasing activity of the Land League, illustrating his argument by quotations from the speeches of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar, which he condemned in severe language as inevitably tending to the breach of law and order. Protesting against this state of things, he appealed to the House to pass the Bill, in order that the other proposals of the Government might be discussed, and he concluded his speech in the following words: "This is the first stage of the measure which Her Majesty's Government have sought with pain to propose to the House. They thought that their first duty was, without being drawn aside by any other object, to apply an efficient remedy to this state of things. It will not do for hon. members opposite to deal in generalities. They must grapple with the facts which are established; they must by some statement of fact give a different colour to the relations that exist between the Land League and agrarian crime in Ireland, and they must, by some statement of fact, if they can achieve the impossible, meet that which I think has been demonstrated, the breaking down of the administration of justice in Ireland. What does the breaking down of the administration of justice mean?—it means the destruction of peace and of all that makes life worth having; it means the placing in abeyance the most sacred duties and the most sacred rights; it means the establishment of the servitude of good men and the supremacy and the impunity of bad men. We were unwilling to introduce this measure without demonstrative evidence to support us in doing so. That demonstrative evidence unhappily exists, and that evidence it has been our painful duty to present to the House. The care and the deliberation we have shown before introducing this Bill is the measure of the strength of our convictions on the subject. Therefore, in pressing our proposal on the British Parliament, we feel that in doing so we are acting in a truly national spirit, and that the effect of its being passed into law will be to restore to Ireland the first conditions of Christian and civilised existence."

On Mr. Gladstone resuming his seat, amidst cheers from all parts of the House except the Home Rulers' benches, the debate was, without protest, adjourned.

The storm, however, which had so long lowered on the political horizon was not dispersed, though its bursting had been delayed. In the interval between the rising of the House on Friday and its reassembling on Monday, January 31, the text of Mr. Forster's Bill had, by some misadventure, been prematurely circulated, and copies had fallen into the hands of various members. The excuse

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given was that the termination of the debate with Mr. Gladstone's speech had been so generally anticipated that the officials with whom the distribution of Government bills rested had assumed that leave to introduce the Protection of Life and Property Bill had been granted. Mr. Gladstone was at once asked by Mr. D. Onslow whether, in the event of the House not coming to a decision with reference to the introduction of the Bill, it was proposed to have an all-night sitting. Without entering into any particulars as to the course to be adopted, the Prime Minister declared that the vote would be taken on the introduction of the Bill at that sitting. Mr. W. E. Baxter called attention to the angry feeling arising in large constituencies from the obstruction to Imperial legislation; but received only a vague assurance that the existence of such a feeling had not escaped the notice of the Government. The adjourned debate was then resumed by Mr. C. E. Lewis, who defended the return of agrarian outrages, declaring that the state of the country was even worse than they represented. In a particular town of Donegal it was impossible for a man to buy or sell unless he had a green Land League ticket; whilst in many parts of Ireland and in some parts of Ulster it was impossible to serve processes for shop debts. Mr. Charles Russell next spoke, protesting strongly against the impolicy of the proposed measure. The noblest utterances in that House were to be found in the speeches of men composing small minorities who had stood up against powerful Ministers. Lord Clarendon, in 1641, when Mr. Hyde, had, after the execution of Lord Strafford, resisted for twenty-one nights the passing of a bill for the destruction of the episcopacy; in more recent times seventeen nights were spent in discussing an Arms Bill against which Cobden, Macaulay, and Roebuck had spoken. The impolicy of coercion had been recognised by statesmen of all opinions—Romilly, Villiers, and even Mr. Disraeli; nevertheless, in eighty years there had been fifty-seven measures of coercion tried in Ireland, and the result had been that every one of those measures had left behind it its own sad history of injustice and wrong; and as a whole they formed a record which had burnt into the minds of the Irish people. The House was now in possession of the Bill, therefore it was possible to discuss its contents. The Bill, if passed in its proposed form, did away with all the safeguards of individual liberty, which had been laboriously built up. Upon secret information of spies and such persons the Lord Lieutenant could, without publicity, without a jury, and without even a judge, imprison any man for eighteen months. The upright character and good intentions of the Chief Secretary for Ireland could not remove these blots from the Bill, for he was shut out from living access of public opinion in Ireland, and had to shape his course and make his decision solely on the official reports which came from persons who reflected the feelings of the class in which they moved. Mr. Russell, after an eloquent appeal in favour of the ordinary law, which, if applied vigorously, would be found sufficient to meet the requirements of

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the moment, defended the constitution of the Land League from the strictures of Mr. Forster; he appealed to Mr. Bright to be true to his former convictions and utterances, and urged the Government to apply themselves at once to remedial legislation instead of wasting time and patience on a measure which would deprive their remedies of half their healing efficacy and throw back for many years the growth of kindly feeling between the two nations. Mr. Newdegate urged the Government to deal sharply with obstruction, saying that although in 1846 he had accompanied Mr. Bright into the lobby against a Coercion Bill, he should now accompany him in supporting one. Mr. Broadhurst, on behalf of working men, repudiated the parallel between Trades Unionism and the Land League; and though he regarded the Coercion Bill as hateful and distressing, he supported it, because he had confidence in the Government to redress the reasonable wrongs of Ireland. The debate was then left wholly in the hands of the Irish members, who canvassed the correctness of the returns of outrages, and protested against the suspension of the Constitution to meet cases of ordinary crime or to enable landlords to collect their rents. About one o'clock an attempt was made to adjourn the debate. Mr. Gladstone laconically replied that it was the intention of the Government to resist that motion. Major Nolan and Mr. Dillon, in supporting it, declared that the publication of the Coercion Bill had changed the current of the debate. Mr. Parnell then rose to declare that his party accepted the gage of battle which the Prime Minister had thrown down; though he doubted whether the course proposed would conduce to the dignity of the House. If members were kept sitting all that night, all the next day, and all the following night, the Government would not find their measure further advanced than if they were to have an immediate adjournment on the understanding of concluding the debate on the following night, in the hopes that meanwhile some compromise might be effected. He accused the Government of getting up the cry of obstruction in order to smooth the path of the Bill and to enable them to ride roughshod over the Irish members, and to deafen the ears of the English people to reason. The Government had turned their backs on all their pledges, but not on their traditions, for it was, unfortunately, too true that the present Prime Minister had been more identified with coercion than any other Minister. In 1866 the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said he felt ashamed to be a member of a Parliament which was asked to pass a Coercion Bill; but now he was content to be a member of a Ministry which made such a proposal at a time when Ireland was at perfect peace, and did so by endeavouring to get up a shameless panic in England by the spread of unfounded rumours, the manufacture of outrages which had never been committed, and by every other means which an unscrupulous Government could take to create a constituency for a measure which had not been equalled in severity since 1846. In 1846 the first reading of the Coercion

Bill occupied seven nights, but this was because it was made the battle-ground of the rival English political parties. The Tories introduced and the Whigs opposed the Bill. It was unfortunate for Ireland that the Tories were not now in office. If they had been, Parliament would not have seen this attempt to bring forward a measure of coercion, because in that case the Irish members would have had the assistance of the united Whig and Radical parties. Then they should have had all those platitudes as to the love of liberty which the Liberal party entertained, and all the stock phrases which did Liberal Cabinets such good service when they were out of office. But they had now the spectacle of the two parties united, but only for one purpose—namely, to crush, put down, and bully a poor, weak, and starving nation—a nation they did not attempt to assist in her year of famine and suffering. The two parties, he said, were united for the purpose of coercing Ireland and nothing else. In that state of things, the duty of the Irish members was plain, and it was this, to use every form of the House to prevent the passage of the first stage of the Coercion Bill, until they had had full opportunity for discussing it. . . . . They expressed their opinion that one night more would be sufficient. If the Prime Minister and the House refused that request, it would be a sign that they did not desire the Irish members to have a full and fair opportunity of discussing that question. The Irish members were the best judges of the extent and nature of the resistance that they ought to make to that measure of coercion. If they opposed the adjournment that night, they could not possibly save any time. They could not possibly save the day which the Irish members wished to have for a full and fair discussion. In the name of common sense, what was the use of entering into that contest? What would they gain by it? Did they not suppose that public opinion in Ireland, and ultimately also in this country, would support the Irish members in appealing to the forms of the House against the indecent haste with which that policy of coercion was being forced down the throats of the Irish people, almost at the point of the bayonet, without waiting for the returns of the outrages for the months of November and December, on which their entire case was built? In the course of this speech, which was listened to with increasing excitement on all sides of the House, Mr. Parnell was frequently called to order for not keeping to the question of the adjournment. After a few remarks from other Irish members, Lord Hartington briefly declared that the time for compromise had gone by; and the "relays" on both sides settled down steadily to their "all night" work. The proceedings were not quite so dreary as usual—the fact that many Home Rulers had not spoken on the question, the premature publication of the Coercion Bill, and Mr. Forster's returns, giving wider scope for observation than the usually narrow limits of a motion for adjournment. The majority of the members who remained for the sitting left the House and were lost to observation in the various apartments of the building; only

a few remained to carry on the proceedings. Mr. Labouchere raised a novel point by declaring that Dr. Playfair, who was to succeed the Speaker, would not be able to leave the chair at four on Tuesday evening—a point that was not decided at that moment. Mr. Craig made a well-intentioned attempt to rouse the Irish members to the errors of their ways, which had only the effect of eliciting a long speech from Mr. O'Donnell. The debate was continued from this point by the Irish members alone, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. O'Kelly occupying considerable time, and being all repeatedly called to order for introducing irrelevant matter on discussing the principles of the proposed measure. The Speaker left the chair at five, and Dr. Lyon Playfair took his place. The Government was represented by the Irish Solicitor-General, Mr. Mundella, and Mr. Courtney, and the Opposition front bench by Colonel Stanley, Lord Sandon, Sir Hardinge Giffard, and Lord Crichton. At a quarter to seven the first division was taken, with the result that there were 27 for and 141 against adjournment.

Mr. Healy then resumed the discussion of the main question, and for some time was heard without interruption. He travelled over the now well-worn ground taken by so many other opponents of the Bill impugning the value and accuracy of the Government returns; but he struck out a new line when he attacked the Irish Bench and the Irish jury system, both of which he considered were deservedly distrusted by the majority of Irishmen, and pointed out that the ready acceptance of the Land League law by the people was an unanswerable argument in its favour. As regards the proposed measure he condemned its *ex post facto* character, which would enable the Government to arrest not only Fenians and those who had taken part in the insurrection of 1848, but even the survivors of the insurrection of 1798 if any were to be found. He referred to the probability of his own arrest, though he supposed the Government would not put "so obscure an individual in prison," and after a variety of breaches of order he concluded by moving the adjournment of the House. At half-past eight the Treasury Bench was well filled, Mr. Forster, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Childers, and others relieving those who had remained throughout the night, and shortly afterwards Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord John Manners, and other leading Conservatives arrived. At a quarter to ten the Deputy Speaker left the chair and the sitting was suspended for a quarter of an hour, during which time several of the Home Rule party arrived to relieve their colleagues. Sir H. Verney was almost the only member not belonging to the Home Rule party who spoke, and he did not escape a call to order from the Deputy Speaker; and a like fate attended more than one of those who followed him, Mr. Dillon and Mr. Finigan being prominent offenders. At eleven o'clock Mr. Gladstone returned to the House in time to hear a protest from an English member, Mr. T. C. Thompson, against the course which was being taken. He had, he said, left the House on the previous evening a Parliament

in which men might express their opinions freely, and he returned to find it an assembly ruled by physical force. He considered the Irish members justified in contending as they had done for the liberties of their country, and blamed his colleagues for not listening to the new views on the question under detail. Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor were the most prominent during the next few hours, and were repeatedly called to order and occasionally warned by the Deputy Speaker. At half-past one the Speaker returned, and in spite of an objection raised by Mr. Parnell, took the chair. Mr. Bradlaugh, while opposing the Government measure, held that a physical conflict was unworthy of the dignity of the House, but he maintained that the discredit rested on the minority who disregarded the rules of Parliamentary debate. Mr. Parnell, in reply, charged the Government with being the real obstructors, who stopped the way by their Coercion Bill; if they would be content with the ordinary law he staked his head that there should be no increase of crime. After a call to order for wandering from the question, the House again divided at three o'clock, when 21 voted for the adjournment and 225 against it.

The debate on the main question was then again resumed, but the struggle had now become one of physical endurance, for it was obvious that both sides of the House were united in their determination not to yield to the pretensions of the minority. The powers of the minority, however, were still very considerable. Under the rules of the previous session no member could move the adjournment of the debate if he had already spoken during its course, nor if he had already moved the adjournment of the House. Although, therefore, the new rules had prescribed a numerical limit to the obstructive motion of any group of members, yet if such group numbered at least thirty persons, each able to speak for an indefinite time on each motion, the powers of the minority were still very formidable. And so the event showed: the third motion for adjournment, although spoken to solely by Irish members, was debated for over four hours, and at half-past seven was again rejected by 163 to 23 votes. The same monotonous round was then again recommenced. Mr. Finigan rose to speak on the main question and ended by moving the adjournment of the House. The debate was continued for a considerable time by the Home Rulers, until about eleven o'clock, when Sir R. Cross appealed to the Speaker to use his power of naming Mr. D. Sullivan for wilful obstruction, and thus contravening another of the new rules of debate. The intervention of the ex-Home Secretary was understood to indicate to the public the divergence of views as to the best remedies for obstruction entertained on the two sides of the House. The ministry were believed to prefer the introduction of the *clôture* in some shape, whilst the Conservative leaders held that the stern exercise of the power against individual members with which the Speaker was already invested, would suffice to bring the

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deadlock to a end. Although the Speaker in his reply to Sir R. Cross admitted that evidence had been brought before him that such combination did exist as would bring members within rule, he nevertheless allowed Mr. Sullivan to resume his speech. Alderman Fowler, and subsequently Mr. Brown, also attempted to obtain the Speaker's intervention, but this he refused, holding that the standing order in its actual form applied not to individual members but to offenders as a body, and shortly afterwards Mr. Brand left the chair to be taken by the Deputy Speaker, Dr. Lyon Playfair, the debate being meanwhile continued by Mr. Dillon, in words and arguments with which the House had already become too familiar. About midnight Sir Stafford Northcote rose to induce the Chair to enforce those rights which from the Conservative point of view had been conferred upon it. Partially abandoning the ground taken by his colleagues, he threw upon the Government a greater responsibility of initiative, and blamed them for their inactivity in not coming to the assistance of the Chair. On behalf of the Government Mr. Childers replied that the situation had somewhat altered since the Speaker left the chair, for that there were now clearer signs of the existence of that combination to which he had alluded; and he added that if the Deputy Speaker should think fit to put a stop to the obstruction he would have the support of the Government. The cheers with which the remarks of both Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Childers were received from their respective supporters showed that on the question of dealing with obstruction the most fundamental difference of opinion existed, and that the leaders thoroughly expressed the views of their respective parties. Mr. Justin McCarthy at once rose to protest against the new doctrine of "combination" which had been laid down, and after a few words from Mr. Dodson (President of the Local Government Board), Mr. Gorst, representing another section of the Tory party, read the Standing Order against wilful obstruction and invited the Deputy Speaker to avail himself of it. Dr. Playfair replied that he did not consider the time come for his intervention. After a speech from Mr. Parnell, Mr. W. H. Smith inquired whether the time had not arrived when it was his duty to name Mr. Parnell as guilty of wilful and persistent obstruction. Dr. Playfair, however, again declined to take that extreme course at once. Upon this Sir Stafford Northcote and the whole front Opposition Bench, followed by many others, rose and left the House in a body. About half an hour later Mr. Bright rose, and after rebuking the Irish Home Rulers for putting so great a strain upon the forms of the House, addressed himself to the points raised by Sir Stafford Northcote and his colleagues who had endeavoured to throw upon the Government the responsibility for the present state of things. He defended the Government on the ground that it was impossible to make any important change in the rules of procedure without very large support from all sides of the House. He hinted that the actual condition of the debate would bring

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them to a point when it might be found possible to make some radical change, but at the same time one still consistent with substantial freedom of discussion. He expressed the intention of the Prime Minister to make some proposal which the House would have the opportunity of discussing, and declared that if the House was not willing to assert its own rights the blame must rest on the House, and the House must bear the consequences that would ensue. As to the Home Rulers expressing the feelings of the majority of Irishmen, he had his doubts, though he was willing to admit that Mr. Parnell and those who acted with him represented a very large body of their fellow-countrymen, who deserved to be heard. After some slight debate another division was taken and the result showed that whilst 22 voted for the adjournment, 197 were ready to sit on. The proceedings, after an interlude devoted to an altercation between Mr. Biggar and Mr. Milbank, took a new departure. Motions for the adjournment were temporarily suspended, and the Home Rulers who had not already spoken on the general question were in request. Dr. Commins was able to speak for two hours, Mr. J. Barry for one, and Dr. Sexton for two hours and three-quarters. This brought the time on to eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, when Mr. Biggar rose to address a House, which contained, amongst others, Lord Hartington, Mr. Forster, Sir W. Harcourt, on the Government bench; and Sir R. Cross, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach, on the front Opposition bench. At nine o'clock Mr. Gladstone and Sir Stafford Northcote had also arrived, and with them a large number of members, so that when the Speaker took his seat the House was crowded on both sides. Mr. Biggar had continued to speak up to this time, but had necessarily to pause on the entry of the Speaker, who, without calling upon him to proceed with his remarks, at once said—"The motion for leave to bring in the Person and Property Protection (Ireland) Bill has now been under discussion for five days. The present sitting, having commenced on Monday last, has continued till Wednesday morning, a period of no less than 41 hours; the House having been occupied with discussions upon repeated motions for adjournment. However tedious those discussions were, they were carried to a division by small minorities in opposition to the general sense of the House. A necessity has thus arisen which demands the interposition of the Chair. The usual rule has been proved powerless to ensure orderly debate. An important measure, recommended in Her Majesty's Speech, and declared to be urgent in the interest of the State by a decisive majority, has been impeded by the action of an inconsiderable minority of members, who have resorted to those modes of obstruction which have been recognised by the House as a Parliamentary offence. The credit and authority of this House are seriously threatened, and it is necessary they should be vindicated. Under the operation of the accustomed rules and method of procedure, the legislative powers of the House are paralysed. A new and

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exceptional course is imperatively demanded, and I am satisfied I shall best carry out the wish of the House if I decline to call upon any more members to speak, and at once proceed to put the question to the House. I feel assured the House will be prepared to exercise all its powers in giving effect to these proceedings. Further measures for ensuring orderly debate I must leave to the judgment of the House, but I may add that it will be necessary either for the House itself to assume more effectual Parliamentary control over its debates or to invest greater authority in the Chair." The Speaker then put the question, when there appeared—For the amendment, 19; against, 164; majority, 145. The Speaker then put the main question, that leave be given to bring in the Bill, when Mr. J. McCarthy rose to speak, but the Speaker declined to hear him, and there were loud cries of "Order!" on the Ministerial side of the House. The Home Rulers stood up, and for some time, with raised hands, shouted "Privilege!" and then, having bowed to the Chair, left the House.

Leave was then given to bring in the Bill, and it was brought up from the bar by Mr. W. E. Forster amid cheers. The Speaker having asked at what time the second reading would be taken, Mr. Gladstone said, "This day, at 12 o'clock."

This closed a sitting of 41½ hours, the longest on record in the history of the House of Commons, and probably of any other legislative body.

It is now necessary, before resuming the history of Parliamentary events, to note the impression made upon the public mind by the Government Coercion Bill, the Irish Obstructives, and the Speaker's *coup d'état*. As might be anticipated, Conservative and Liberal opinion finding expression outside the walls of Parliament, and by those unfettered by the restraints of party government, displayed on all these points far more marked lines of distinction than was to be found in the speeches made in Parliament. In the Liberal party the performance and policy of its commanders were far more bluntly criticised, and their inconsistencies exposed in the press, than was possible in the House of Commons, where the Radicals, as a body, had agreed to smother their antipathy to a renewal of those coercive measures which they denounced as the source of half of Ireland's troubles and disaffection. In some quarters the alternatives of Irish policy were plainly declared to be concession or coercion; either Ireland must be governed on the principle that England knows what is best for her, or else she must be left to govern herself according to her own views, with the stipulation that, the Imperial union being a necessity, the stronger power would, if that union were threatened, enforce its maintenance. As might be expected, a middle way was sought by the Government, which felt the need of obtaining support from both sides of the House, as well as from both sections of its own party; and the result was a Property Protection Bill, so framed as to attract the adhesion of the party of order, and the promise of a

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land bill—the terms of which were kept secret—to secure the support of the Radicals.

Mr. Forster's Coercion Bill was framed very much in this spirit, and it is not surprising that the Whigs and Conservatives hailed its birth with more delight than did the Radicals. The *Daily News*, however, which is scarcely a Whig organ, declared it to be obvious that the system of lawless judicature exercised by the Land League must be broken up, and that if the powers of the Executive were not sufficient new powers should be given to it; whilst the *Standard's* chief objection to Mr. Forster's proposals were that they ought to have been made months earlier. The *Times* said that the Bill introduced by the Government was simple and direct, and would be found an effective remedy for the pervading anarchy. Two London papers—the *Spectator* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*—unhesitatingly expressed their objection to coercion generally, and their doubts as to whether the present Bill would have the tranquillising effects its authors anticipated. The former journal, bound by its unquestioning faith in Mr. Gladstone as the saviour of society, reconciled itself to the *in terrorem* influence which it hoped the Bill would excite; but the *Pall Mall Gazette* persistently denounced what it regarded to be a fatal concession to the Conservative party. Whilst rejoicing that the system of Boycotting could not be frustrated by this Bill, nor the Land League weakened so long as it kept within certain bounds, it maintained that the arbitrary powers sought under the Bill by the Chief Secretary were sufficient to keep alive in the minds of the peasantry the policy of inherent antagonism between the Irish and English nations. The English provincial and Scotch papers generally approved of Mr. Forster's speech, and admitted that he made out a good case for exceptional legislation, and expressed the belief that the great bulk of the Irish people would be glad of protection against the lawless. The Irish papers were almost equally unanimous in denouncing the return to coercion, the most moderate, and generally those of the province of Ulster, only deprecating obstruction for the mere sake of hindering business, and urging a prompt settlement of the Coercion Bill, in order that the Land Bill might be the more speedily reached.

The Belfast *Morning News*, however, vehemently denounced Mr. Forster, "who," it asserted, "had turned his back on all his former professions, and whom it was now impossible to distinguish from the fossil Whigs. He had taken his policy from the avowed enemies of his party, and must, therefore, thenceforth look out for a Tory constituency, or pass as an antiquated Whig of the seventeenth century."

When, however, the exact text of the Bill became known, the verdict framed on Mr. Forster's description of it was somewhat modified, especially by the Liberal organs of the provinces. The retrospective action was chiefly blamed, and the Government was strongly urged to place some limits to their demand. The period for

which the Bill was to run was also demurred to in some quarters, but there was a very general approval expressed of the clauses under which the reasonableness of arrests might be discussed in Parliament. The satisfaction, however, that the Bill provided a limitation to the arbitrary acts of the Executive, was tempered by the prospect, which was enlarged on, of an obvious drawback. The House of Commons would be converted into a tribunal of appeal from the decision of the Irish Executive, without placing before the former the evidence on which the latter acted.

But the interest and attention of the public were soon called away from the Government Bill, and centred on the Constitutional questions raised by the obstruction of the Irish Home Rule party. The rights of the minority had, during many generations, been carefully protected by rules and standing orders of the House; and in spite of every provocation the leaders on both sides hesitated to push to extremities the power which ultimately must rest with the majority. In previous sessions attempts had been made, by increasing the power of the Speaker, to give him greater control over the debates, but beyond attaching an absolute penalty to the hitherto empty form of "naming" a member, very little real advance had been made towards the solution of an ever-recurring difficulty. During the debate on the Address symptoms of the approaching crisis had already manifested themselves, and the latitude then allowed to the Irish members was said to have been owing to a want of accord between the two front benches as to the proper course to be adopted. It was now soon bruited about that the Government was determined that the interest of the State should not be sacrificed either to the Irish faction or to the political superstitions of any persons or party. The Government would prefer to see further changes made in the standing orders, passed with the approval and support of the Opposition, but failing this they would not hesitate to make use of their majority to obtain by a party vote what they sought from general consent. It was not, however, until the debate on the Address had lasted over nine nights that obstruction became a Cabinet question, and it was soon understood that the application of the *clôture* under some form had been under discussion. Outside the ranks of the Ministry and the walls of Parliament, public opinion had matured more rapidly. The *Times*, expressing the belief that precedents already existed for dealing more promptly with obstruction, openly pronounced in favour of the *clôture* of any discussion, if the assent in writing of fifty members, supported by a subsequent vote of two-thirds of those present, could be obtained. The *Standard* thought the written demand of at least one hundred members, endorsed by the vote of three-fourths of the whole House, should be required. On the other hand, the *Daily News*, referring to the discoveries made in the Commons' Journals, deprecated the use of arms so old and tarnished, and warned Liberals of the possibility of a time when

minorities even feebler than those of Home Rulers and Land Leaguers might be called upon to maintain a desperate cause against majorities. The discoveries referred to were those made by Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, M.P., and Professor Thorold Rogers, M.P., who were able to furnish a circumstantial history of the origin of certain standing orders which, though never formally repealed, had fallen into desuetude, and had been wholly lost sight of. These researches showed that on April 14, 1604, Sir Edward Phelips being Speaker, Sir Henry Jenkins and other members of the Court party in the House of Commons appeared to have commenced a course of obstruction against the Bill touching the abuses of purveyors. The end of the contest was that Sir Henry Jenkins was at last interrupted by the Speaker, and thereupon the House, in order, as stated on the journals, "to prevent the idle expense of time," resolved that "if any man speak impertinently or beside the question in hand it standeth with the Order of the House for Mr. Speaker to interrupt him and to know the pleasure of the House whether they will further hear him." Three days after—viz., on April 17, 1604—the House agreed to a general rule, "that if any superfluous motion or tedious speeches be offered to the House, the party is to be directed and ordered by Mr. Speaker." On May 9, 1604, "Sir Roland Litton offering to speak, it grew to a question whether he should speak any more in the matter, and overruled that he ought not." On May 19, 1604, Sir William Paddy, entering into a "long" speech, it was agreed for a rule that "if any man speak not on the matter in question, the Speaker is to moderate." On May 2, 1610, when a member made "what seemed impertinent speeches, and there was much hissing and spitting, it was resolved that Mr. Speaker may stay impertinent speeches."

The circumstances under which these orders had been framed, and subsequently applied by Speaker Lenthall in 1640 in the debates on the attainder of Lord Strafford, were accepted as conclusive against the suggestion that they were the work of the enemies of constitutional government. They were evidence rather that the founders of English Parliamentary liberty foresaw the risk which the substance of liberty ran of being crushed under its forms, and that to leave a large latitude in the hands of the Speaker was regarded as less dangerous than to confer upon any Administration the function of exercising control over the action of individual members.

It soon became evident that the leaders of the two principal sections of the House of Commons adopted very divergent views as to the way in which the *clôture* or some equivalent should be enforced. Mr. Gladstone was strongly in favour of making the ...iority responsible, whilst Sir Stafford Northcote was as strongly ...ded to the view that the duty of the House was to increase ... power of the Speaker. An "Old Whig Whip," anticipating ... less debates on the point, recommended in the *Times* that the

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leaders of the two great parties should meet and agree that the *clôture* must be adopted, and represent the fact to the Speaker, who should put the question to the House without debate, and immediately proceed to a division. The "Old Whig Whip" admitted that this course would be a "most unparliamentary proceeding," but justifiable under the circumstances.

None of these views seem to have recommended themselves to the Cabinet, and whatever conclusion, if any, was arrived at, it was not allowed to transpire. Most probably they waited for events in Parliament to mature public opinion there and outside. Their anticipations were speedily realised. As night after night the debating on the Address and on the introduction of Mr. Forster's Bill was needlessly protracted, it became more and more a vital question to what lengths Parliamentary obstruction might go, and by what means the more prompt despatch of public business could be secured. It was natural that the more delicate privileges of minorities which the House of Commons had been so many generations in building up and defending, should seem precious in the eyes of those who knew their value from experience, and it can therefore be readily understood that newspaper appeals to the majority and to the Government met with no open response within the walls of Parliament. The foreign system of the *clôture* was the method which found support from both the *Times* and the *Standard*; but the *Daily News* warned the Liberal party that the obstruction raised by Mr. Parnell and his party did not exceed that of the Whigs in the early years of George III.'s reign.

The *Morning Post* wished to see the Speaker's power greatly increased, and the *Economist*, alleging against the *clôture* the danger of entrusting to a popular assembly a power it was unfitted to wield, found a remedy in two assessors chosen by the Speaker one from each side of the House. When they were agreed that any member was obstructing the debate, the Speaker might be empowered to interfere. The *Spectator*, whilst regarding the adoption of the *clôture* as a humiliation, held it to be a necessity, but it suggested, as advisable guarantees, the proposal by a responsible Minister, the assent of his constitutional opponent, the consent of the Speaker, and the vote of two-thirds of the House. The Irish organs, without regard to party politics, agreed in deprecating the adoption of any proposal by which the rights of the minority would be extinguished, and the powers of the House placed in the hands of a dictator.

The forty-one hours' sitting of the House was, however, needed to unite the Parliamentary leaders, but it was to the last doubtful whether the course adopted by the Speaker was not altogether in opposition to the views and wishes of Sir Stafford Northcote. The action taken by himself and his principal colleagues on the last night of the debate showed their preference for the existing orders, which, if applied severally to each of the obstructing members, would in the course of time have accomplished the same result as

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that obtained by the "new and exceptional course" taken by the Speaker. In the sense of relief from dismal debates conferred by the Speaker's action the chorus of approval was general, the *Daily News* only objecting that it cut the knot which would have required superhuman patience to untie, whilst the Conservative and Whig organs agreed in extolling the Speaker's courage, and this tone was to be found throughout the country, Birmingham and Newcastle alone standing aloof, the latter especially warning the House that the power thus exercised against Irishmen might upon this precedent be at any future time turned against other minorities.

That the Ministry itself was scarcely at ease on the point was evident from the new order for the better conduct of the House, of which Mr. Gladstone gave notice before the adjournment. This resolution ran as follows:—"If, upon notice given, a motion be made that the state of public business is urgent, and if, on the call of the Speaker, forty members shall support it by rising in their places, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question, no debate or amendment or adjournment being allowed; and if on the voices being given he shall, without doubt, perceive that the 'noes' have it, his decision shall not be challenged; but if otherwise, a division shall forthwith be taken, and if the question be resolved in the affirmative by a majority of not less than three to one, the powers of the House for the regulation of business on the several stages of the Bill, and upon motions and all other matters, shall be and remain with the Speaker, until the Speaker shall declare that the state of public business is no longer urgent."

With the ruling of the Speaker in the background, and the new rule, coupled with the announcement that urgency would at once be proposed for the Coercion Bill, the elements of bitter strife were not wanting when, after less than three hours' adjournment, the House met on February 2, in regular course for the Wednesday sitting. To Mr. Labouchere's inquiry whether the Speaker, by bringing the debate to a summary close that morning, had acted under any standing order, Mr. Brand at once replied that he acted on his own responsibility, and from a sense of duty to the House. Upon this Mr. Parnell attempted to raise a question of privilege, that by his order the Speaker had been guilty of a breach of the privileges of the House. The Speaker, however, ruled that there was no question of privilege in the case—only one of order; that the matter must be brought before the House by motion. After one or two attempts on the part of the Home Rulers to sustain their point of view, Mr. A. M. Sullivan moved that the House should disagree with the Speaker's ruling. In spite of a threat that if he pursued such a course he would be disregarding the ruling and incur serious consequences, Mr. Sullivan continued to press his inquiry whether there was not a precedent for challenging the ruling of the Speaker on a point of order. The Speaker again pointed out that such a question could not be treated as one of privilege, but that it must be made the subject

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of a motion, of which due notice must be given, though at the same time he was unable to refer to the case when such a case had arisen. This reply opened the door to the very object which Mr. Sullivan probably had in view, for, in order to give time for a search for precedents, he moved the adjournment of the House. Repeatedly called to order, he nevertheless kept to his determination, and launched the House upon a wordy discussion, which was prolonged to the close of the sitting.

The sense of relief experienced by the solution of the immediate deadlock, and the prospect that in future means would be at hand to prevent its recurrence, caused Mr. Gladstone's resolution to be regarded with considerable favour. The *Times*, whilst recognising that it embodied the three principles for which it had contended—the initiative of the Government, the authority of the House, and the power of the Speaker—pointed out, as did also the *Daily News*, the vagueness of the powers proposed to be conferred upon that official, and urged that some limit should be set upon their exercise. The *Standard* insisted that the proposal went far beyond the ordinary *clôture*, and would be construed as an attempt to transfer to the Speaker a responsibility which belonged to the leader of the majority. The *Morning Post* held that the functions of the Speaker would be radically changed; he would no longer be the mouthpiece and representative of the House of Commons, but the officer of a majority endowed with vast powers. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, after hinting the possibility that the proposal of the *clôture* was due to the Opposition, and its assent obtained on the understanding that urgency would only be applied to the Coercion Bill, declared that Mr. Gladstone's resolution not only invested the Speaker with the already defined prerogatives of the House, but left him free to make any rules he pleased to enforce them.

A meeting of the Conservative party was at once summoned to meet at Lord Beaconsfield's, at which the principal members of the party were present; and it may be assumed that the result of their deliberations was embodied in the amendments of which Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Sclater Booth gave notice. The former insisted that the motion of urgency should come from the Minister of the Crown, and that at least one-half of the whole House should approve; whilst the latter proposed that when a quorum of members less than one-fourth of the members present should, in the opinion of the Speaker, have been guilty of obstruction, the question might be put at once, and a division taken without amendment. Mr. Labouchere, on behalf of the Radicals, wished the demand under Mr. Gladstone's clause should be in writing, and signed by thirty members; that speeches thereon should be limited to ten minutes, and that one-half of the total number of the House should vote, and that if two-thirds of the House should be in its favour, the resolution should be declared to be carried.

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Before, however, the discussion could be reached, the intervention of the Speaker was again necessary, and a blow was struck at Parliamentary government altogether without parallel in the history of the House of Commons. When the House met on the following afternoon (Feb. 3), the Home Secretary was at once asked whether the report that Michael Davitt had been arrested that day was true. Sir William Harcourt, amid general cheers, answered in the affirmative, adding, after a pause, that the law officers of the Crown had come to the conclusion that his conduct as one of the most energetic apostles of the Land League was not compatible with the ticket-of-leave of which he was the holder; but he declined to explain what conditions of Davitt's ticket had been violated. Mr. Gladstone was then called upon to move his resolution, whereupon Mr. Dillon rose and attempted to address the House. The noise which greeted him, however, was so great that the reason of his rising, though subsequently explained to be a point of order, was not heard. The Speaker declared Mr. Gladstone to be in possession of the House and entitled to proceed without interruption, but Mr. Dillon refused to give way and stood with his arms folded, crying 'I demand my privilege of speech.' A scene of unexampled confusion and excitement followed. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Dillon were on their legs at the same time, but while the former gave way on the Speaker rising, Mr. Dillon still remained standing. There were loud cries of "Name him!" while the Irish members cried "Point of order!" and at last the Speaker, in the terms of the standing order, said, "I name you, Mr. Dillon, as wilfully disregarding the authority of the chair." Mr. Gladstone thereupon moved that Mr. Dillon be suspended from the service of the House for the remainder of the sitting. The question was put in the usual form, and when a division was called the Irish members appeared for some time in doubt whether to go out or not. Ultimately, they went into the lobby, and, the motion being declared carried by 395 to 33, the Speaker pointed out to Mr. Dillon that it was his duty to withdraw. Mr. Dillon, after endeavouring unsuccessfully to obtain a hearing, was understood to say, amid frenzied cheers from the Irish members, that he respectfully declined to withdraw. Upon this, the Speaker directed the Serjeant-at-Arms to remove him. Mr. A. M. Sullivan rose at the same time, and continued to speak at the top of his voice, while the Serjeant, advancing to the bench where Mr. Dillon was seated, laid his hand on his shoulder, and, when he still declined to move, beckoned towards the door. Immediately, five messengers came in and made preparations for removing Mr. Dillon, but he avoided the employment of force by rising and walking out of the House, amid cries of "Shame!" from the Irish members.

Mr. A. M. Sullivan immediately rose to order, and, protesting against the illegality and violence of the proceeding, pointed out that when Mr. Bradlaugh was removed the Speaker required first

to have a special authority from the House, and also that Mr. Dillon had risen to a point of order. He was launching out into a general denunciation, when the Speaker stopped him, and, answering the points of order, informed him that in this case he was enforcing a direct order of the House and required no special authorization. With regard to the second point, he said he had "named" Mr. Dillon because he had defied the authority of the Chair by refusing to resume his seat, according to the usual practice when he (the Speaker) rose.

Mr. Gladstone then attempted to resume his speech, but was interrupted immediately by the O'Donoghue moving the adjournment of the House. No notice was taken of his motion, and Mr. Parnell, in an excited tone, called out, "I move that Mr. Gladstone be no longer heard." There were loud cheers from the Irish members at this, and counter-cries of "Name him!" as Mr. Parnell repeated the motion, and the O'Donoghue called out that this was exactly the same motion as Mr. Gladstone himself had made in Mr. O'Donnell's case. The Speaker warned the hon. member that if he persisted he should have no option but to enforce the standing order. Mr. Gladstone was allowed to proceed for a few sentences, but Mr. Parnell, having consulted with his friends, rose and again called out, "I insist on my right to move that Mr. Gladstone be no longer heard." The Speaker then "named" Mr. Parnell in the prescribed form, Mr. Gladstone moved that he be suspended, and the motion was carried by 405 to 7. Like Mr. Dillon, Mr. Parnell declined to withdraw until removed by superior force, and the same ceremony was gone through. The Serjeant advanced, laid his hand on Mr. Parnell's arm, summoned his messengers, and conducted him out. As he left, declaring that he only yielded to superior force, the Irish members stood up and waved their hats, cheering vociferously.

During this division, the great body of the Irish members had refused to leave their seats, and on Lord R. Grosvenor reporting the fact the Speaker said their votes would not be counted.

Mr. Gladstone, when he endeavoured for the third time to commence his speech, adverted to this act of flagrant contempt, and expressed a hope that the Speaker would find means to prevent its recurrence. He was proceeding to move his Resolution, when Mr. Finigan interrupted him with the motion that "Mr. Gladstone be no longer heard." He was immediately "named" by the Speaker; his suspension was moved by Mr. Gladstone, carried by 405 to 2, and he was removed by "superior force" in the same manner as Mr. Dillon and Mr. Parnell. In this division also, the Irish members refused to go into the division lobbies, although cautioned by the Speaker that he should regard their conduct as wilful disregard of the authority of the Chair, and the clerk was ordered to take their names down. On the return of the House after the division, the Speaker informed the House of this fact, and "named" all the members

seriatim as disregarding the authority of the Chair, 28 in all. Mr. Gladstone moved their suspension *en masse*, and the question was put and carried by 410 to 6. Then followed a curious scene, which lasted nearly half-an-hour. The Speaker read out the names of the 28 members one by one, beginning with Mr. Barry, and directed them to withdraw. Each in turn refused to go unless compelled by superior force, and each was in turn removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms, by direction of the Chair. Each made a little speech, and while some walked out when touched by the Serjeant, others refused to move until the messengers were brought in.

After this, Mr. Gladstone began his speech the fourth time, but was interrupted, first by Mr. O'Kelly and then by Mr. O'Donnell, who successively repeated the motion that Mr. Gladstone be not heard, and were successively suspended and removed. The first-named was disposed of without a division, but in Mr. O'Donnell's case there was a division—311 to 1. Mr. Molloy, Mr. R. Power, and Mr. O'Shaughnessy were subsequently suspended for declining to take part in the division, and at 8.30 all the 36 members had been suspended.

Mr. Gladstone was at length able to move his Resolution, in which he had been so dramatically interrupted. In a speech of more than usually lofty eloquence, he showed the value of liberty of speech and the fatal consequences of obstruction to public business in an assembly which had absorbed duties which were well-nigh overwhelming. Liberty of speech, he asserted, should be addressed to the performance of public duty, not to its hindrance; it should be brought within limits which did not prevent the proper discharge of recognised Parliamentary duties. Speech should be bounded, not by the fancies of men, but by the necessities of the case. Tracing the history of the opening weeks of the session, and showing that since Parliament had met, the House of Commons had transacted absolutely no business for which it had been called together, because of the attitude of the minority of the Irish members, who had forced the House to pass through the successive stages of embarrassment and discredit, and were ready to bring it into ridicule, contempt, and disgrace. For such ills, the best remedy was the most prompt, and believing that the House had confidence in the Speaker, the Government proposed to confer upon the Speaker power to regulate from time to time the procedure of the House. In that way, both direct and indirect obstruction could alike be encountered successfully. Being anxious to act in accordance with the general wishes of the House in a matter which concerned all alike, the Government were willing to accept Sir Stafford Northcote's proposals that motions for urgency should only be put by Ministers of the Crown; that the state of urgency might be put an end to by a motion made by any member and carried on a division; and that the majority voting rgency should consist of at least 200 members; but he could not

agree to the view that urgency should be confined to any particular motion or bill. Mr. Gladstone concluded in the following terms:—"We believe we have done our best to act in conformity with the most impartial as well as the most learned authorities. The only mode of meeting the resources of that new art, the latest invention of the nineteenth century, is to put for a time in wise and judicious hands power which will overreach and override those resources. After much patience and long-suffering, we have addressed ourselves to this necessary work, and have determined to meet the difficulty, not with a half measure or with a weak and paltry proposal. Personally, my share in these arrangements is but small. My lease is all but run out. But there are those who for years, and even for generations, will live and render here, I hope, honourable and splendid service to their country. The House of Commons has never had to struggle with a more serious crisis. Character and honour are the essence of the House of Commons. As you value the duties that have been committed to you, as you value the traditions that you have received, as you estimate highly the interests of this vast Empire, I call upon you without hesitation, after the challenges that have been addressed to you, after what you have suffered, to rally to the performance of a great public duty, and to determine that you will continue to be, as you have been, the mainstay and power and glory of your country, and that you will not degenerate into the laughing-stock of the world."

Sir Stafford Northcote, whilst generally accepting the Government proposals, and ready to entrust the Speaker with increased powers, urged that it was of the highest importance that the Minister should declare the reason of urgency, and that the urgency should only apply to particular business. To the former request Mr. Gladstone assented, but not to the latter, for if adopted it would lead to endless discussion and indirect obstruction; and Sir Stafford Northcote at length expressed his willingness to be content with an amendment making it clear that the Speaker was to use his power only to facilitate the particular business which had been declared urgent. Before hurriedly closing the debate, as many members seemed to wish, Mr. Cowen urged the House not to legislate in heat and passion against the absent; and Mr. Shaw suggested that the proceedings would look better in the morning papers if the members against whom the new rule was levelled had an opportunity of criticising it. But these appeals and a motion for the adjournment were alike useless, and the compromise arrived at between the two leaders was agreed to. The only division taken was on the number to be required for vote of urgency, Sir Stafford Northcote standing out for 300, whilst Mr. Gladstone offered as a compromise that the majority should consist of three to one in a House of at least 300. This was carried on a party division by 234 to 156, and almost immediately the "state of public business was declared urgent," and the House adjourned.

Public opinion out of doors generally supported the Speaker in his method of dealing with the Obstructionists; though the *Daily News* hinted that his application of the standing order of February 1880 was possibly somewhat strained; and the *Pall Mall Gazette* declared that though there was, as rumoured, some secret understanding that urgency should only be applied to the Coercion Bill, there was nothing to hinder the resolution being used against the Conservatives, should the coming Land Bill contain provisions which they might find themselves unable to accept, and bound to combat with all the means placed at the disposal of a Parliamentary minority.

When next the House of Commons met, on February 4, it was thus under the new rule of urgency. The Speaker, on accepting the unprecedented powers conferred upon him, expressed his intention of laying before the House shortly the new laws of procedure which he proposed to enforce so long as public business was declared urgent, and meanwhile he had made a rule prohibiting motions for adjournment before the orders of the day had been taken. Mr. Forster then moved the second reading of the Protection of Life and Property (Ireland) Bill, in a speech of studied conciliation. He disclaimed many of the interpretations put upon his words, especially those in which he was supposed to describe members of the Land League, clerical as well as lay, as "village tyrants and dissolute ruffians." Mr. Bradlaugh moved the rejection of the Bill, urging that no offences had been shown to have been committed which were beyond the reach of common law. He was followed in this line not only by the bulk of the Irish members, but by most of the English Radicals; whilst Lord Randolph Churchill, though holding that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, by making Ireland the battle-ground of party, had done more to disturb the country than the Land League, gave the Bill a grudging support. Mr. Gibson, on behalf of the official Conservatives, heartily approved of the Bill, which he admitted was a strong one, and the necessary prelude to remedial legislation. The debate was continued for two more nights and throughout a morning sitting, but without provoking any outbreak of temper or excitement. The apologists for the Government measure were chiefly from the Opposition side of the House; Mr. Stansfeld supporting it with reluctance, and Mr. Cowen, bitterly attacking it, prophesied that it would generate a spirit of lawlessness and create crimes instead of repressing them, whilst he described the arrest of Davitt as a mean as well as a cruel act, especially by a Government of which the chief had been the sympathiser with Poerio and his fellow-prisoners. Neither Mr. Bright nor Mr. Chamberlain, the supposed representatives of the Radical party in the Cabinet, nor any subordinate member of the Government, spoke throughout the debate on the main subject of the Bill; but whether this silence was due to a desire not to prolong the debate or to other causes must be left an open question. On the fourth day the second reading was agreed to by 359 against 56 votes, seven English Radicals voting with the minority, which

would have been still further increased by the votes of Mr. Cowen and Mr. Gourley, had they arrived in time for the division.

Shortly before the close of the debate, the Speaker laid on the table of the House the new rules of procedure framed by him in pursuance of the resolution passed on February 3rd. These rules —only to be applicable when business was urgent—were seventeen in number, and dealt with motions for adjournment, irrelevant speaking, putting the question, motions to report progress, and other forms of the House. Their principal interest lay in the fact that in them the Speaker proposed that the initiative of suggesting the *clôture* should always rest with the Chair, without waiting for notice from Ministers or others, whilst the only protection which the House retained against its own Speaker was that the motion must be carried by a majority of 3 to 1. The rule which found the least general support was that which put an end to the ordinary practice of debating in Committee. No member, unless in charge of the Bill, or the author of the amendment under discussion, was to be permitted to speak more than once, a rule which might prevent the best informed persons from going into the details of measures submitted to them. Whilst admitted to be a deadly blow to obstruction, the new rules were regarded by the public generally as dangerous precedents, and likely to make it more than ever difficult for a Minister to get urgency voted for any measure.

The Coercion Bill had now at length reached the Committee stage, and, as might have been supposed, the notice book was at once filled with numerous amendments to nearly every line of each clause. Every possible point, even to the exact temperature of the cells in which prisoners under the Act should be detained, was introduced and debated with more or less display of temper. The general question of the treatment of untried prisoners, which had given rise to so much discussion in 1877, was again brought forward, and it was not until Mr. Forster had made considerable concessions on the point that the clause was allowed to pass. The demands of the Irish members, on which the greatest stand was made, were that no arrest should be made unless on the sworn information of two credible witnesses; the removal of the word "suspected" from the Bill; and the date from which its operation should commence. On the latter point the lead in opposition was taken by Mr. Dillwyn, speaking on behalf of the Radical members who had voted for coercion against their conscience, and solely because they had confidence in the Premier and his colleagues, but whose objection to the retrospective action of the measure was unabated. Mr. Forster agreed to make a slight concession on this point, making October 1, 1880, the date from which the Bill would take cognisance of offences committed under it. On this question the minority mustered over sixty, many of the Radicals voting with the Home Rulers, but by far the larger number taking no part at all in the division. The attempts of the Parnellites to obtain a

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more precise definition of the crimes and offences which would be touched by this Act were less successful, Mr. Forster declaring that the Government were only asking for such power as seemed absolutely needed by the Irish Executive to put a stop to disorder and treasonable enterprises. The question raised by Mr. Stansfeld, that the specific crime or crimes on suspicion of which any person was arrested should be stated on the warrant, was supported by a very large number of the English Liberals; but by the help of the Conservatives the amendment was rejected by 220 to 96, whilst a somewhat similar point, that each person arrested should be furnished with a copy of the warrant at the time of their arrest, though sustained by the Conservative law-officers, was rejected by 222 to 79. After four days' debate, and in spite of the new rules, which had twice been called into use, the Committee had only disposed of the first subsection of the first clause.

It was thus obvious that, practically, the new rules were insufficient for the purpose of shortening discussions, and that, by many ingenious and apparently legal devices, "urgency" could be evaded if not defeated. The Speaker consequently opened the proceedings of the fifth day of the Committee (February 18), by laying on the table additional rules for expediting business. Their chief feature was the establishment of the *clôture* in its most stringent form. They enabled the Chairman of a Committee on a Bill declared urgent either to report the same to the House on or before a certain day or hour, or to bring to a conclusion the consideration of any such Bill, as amended, by a certain time. The already established three to one majority was to be required in either case, but when once this vote was obtained new clauses and amendments might be summarily disposed of by referring them to be put forthwith by the member moving them, when only he and one other member could be heard. Lastly, if the proceedings were not concluded at the appointed hour, the Chairman was to leave the Chair and report the Bill, whether the additional clauses had or had not been put to the Committee. This exercise of the unlimited power with which the Speaker had been entrusted drew forth expressions of blame and misgiving not only in the Irish and English provincial press, but also in the leading London journals of both parties, the *Daily Telegraph*, even, which had been distinguished by its ardour in the cause of coercion, seeing the grave dangers to which the essentials of Parliamentary government were exposed by such drastic methods being placed at the disposal of the majority, or of the Speaker acting on its behalf. The *Times* stood almost alone in its optimism, admitting that although the *clôture* in its most naked form was established by the new rules, it was idle to ignore the fact that obstruction, determined and avowed, was still existing in both purpose and effect.

The practical meaning of the new rules was not long in being made known. As soon as the questions were disposed of, Mr. Gladstone gave notice that unless the Committee stage of the

Coercion Bill came to a close that night, he should move that it be concluded at twelve o'clock on the following evening. The silence with which this announcement was received by the front Opposition bench was accepted as evidence that the Conservative leaders were no parties to the new exercise of arbitrary power. Sir Stafford Northcote, however, refrained from making any remarks beyond inquiring what would become of the amendments already on the paper, which might not be reached before the following night at the hour when the discussion was to cease. The Speaker replied that such amendments might be submitted on "Report," and in case of no "Report" being requisite, the Speaker held that they might be brought forward on a motion to recommit the Bill; a somewhat lame and impotent conclusion, which showed that even under the latest development of urgency, debates might be indefinitely prolonged. The feeling of another section of the House found expression in a sarcastic notice of motion by Mr. Cowen, to the effect that when a Bill was declared to be urgent by the Government, it should be put to the vote without any discussion at all; and Mr. A. M. Sullivan solemnly announced his intention of moving that the Prime Minister should have power to prevent any Irish member from being heard. The reception given to the new rules, and their intended application, probably decided Mr. Gladstone to withdraw his minatory motion, giving as his reason that he hoped the Bill would get through Committee the following night in the ordinary course. That the new rules and their more recent extension were regarded as anything more than a mere temporary expedient, of the efficacy of which the authorities themselves had their doubts, was shown a few nights subsequently by Mr. Ashton Dilke. In reply to his inquiry whether the Government were prepared to modify the existing forms of the House when the business was not declared urgent, Mr. Gladstone said that he and his colleagues were of opinion that the restrictive measures adopted for a period of urgency did not cover the whole necessities of the case, and further arrangements might be necessary for enabling the House of Commons to discharge its arduous duties. But it was not probable that they could submit any proposals to the House until they saw a much better opening than at present.

To return to the debate on the Coercion Bill. The attention of the Committee during the evening (February 18) was principally directed to the treatment of prisoners, and in the hope of avoiding a long discussion on questions of detail, the Chief Secretary proposed as an amendment to the original wording that the Lord Lieutenant should have power to make such relaxation in the prison rules as he might see fit; that such new rules should be laid before Parliament. On the following night, the hopes of the Premier that the discussion would close were doomed to be disappointed, only two clauses of the Bill having been agreed to when the House rose. The most important debate arose on the amendment moved by

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Mr. Gray, providing that nothing in the Act should be construed to invalidate the ancient rights and privileges of Parliament as to the imprisoning of members during the sitting of Parliament until their arrest had been communicated to the House, and the consent of the House obtained. Mr. Thorold Rogers, who had also given notice of a similar amendment, complained that his trump card had been played. Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. O'Sullivan having protested their entire indifference to the privilege sought to be conferred upon them, Mr. Gladstone opposed the amendment, denying that there was any such privilege of Parliament. Blackstone and May laid it down, he pointed out, that privilege of Parliament would not apply to indictable offences, and as to the precedents, the most recent Acts had not contained any such clause. Thrown back on general principles, he agreed with the two Irish members who had spoken, that no special privilege should be given to members, and pointed out that it was contrary to the general current of modern legislation. Lord R. Churchill, while not prepared to vote for the amendment, suggested a clause requiring each arrest of a member to be communicated to Parliament. Mr. Forster said that such a communication would be made. Mr. Dillon took the opportunity of requesting the Home Secretary not to place detectives on the track of everybody seen speaking to him. Under the new rule, instead of clearing the Committee for a division, the Chairman called on the "ayes" to stand up in their places, and as they proved to be only six the amendment was declared to be lost.

An amendment by Mr. Corbet to exempt women from the powers of the Act was discussed at length, and with much animation. Mr. Gladstone, in declining to agree to it, said it was hoped and believed that no women would be arrested, but to exclude them from it would expose them to be made the tools and instruments of others, and it would be a folly and a crime to part with the power, and on a division the amendment was negatived by 230 to 40.

When the House re-assembled on the following Monday (February 21), Mr. Gladstone put his resolution that if the Committee was not closed before midnight, the remaining clauses and any amendments and new clauses should be put forthwith. This was agreed to without debate by 415 to 63; the minority including with the Home Rulers, thirteen Conservatives (amongst whom were Sir John Holker, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Guest, and Lord Newport), and eight Radicals. In a letter which appeared in the *Times* on the following morning, Mr. Beresford Hope explained that his objection to the resolution was that it invested the Speaker's rules, stringent as they were, with a stringency far beyond their author's intended scope; and that by opposing it he was protesting on behalf of the ancient liberties of Parliament.

Under the impulsion thus given to the proceedings, the Committee was at length able to conclude its work. The most important question raised was as to the duration of the Act, Mr.

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Errington proposing [illegible]
September 3[illegible] declined to [illegible] and a kindred [illegible] negatived. The [illegible] by 199 to 47, and [illegible] Nearly a dozen [illegible] as being out of [illegible] already [illegible] an impatient [illegible] and counter-[illegible] taken at once, [illegible] the Chairman [illegible] order, and put [illegible] to the House [illegible] being carried by [illegible] that the Chairman [illegible] 32, and Mr. [illegible] from both sides of [illegible] that the Report be [illegible] until Monday, the [illegible] 33, to proceed with [illegible] of the next [illegible] the discussion of the [illegible] Mr. Forster proposed [illegible] the Act should be [illegible] but a proposal by [illegible] from the Act [illegible] tended that there had [illegible] was less fear of [illegible] which had been [illegible] rities in England. [illegible] Government [illegible] could not accede [illegible] repudiating the [illegible] might not be [illegible] nor was there any [illegible] mittee to inquire [illegible] possession of which [illegible] Healy and other [illegible] justification [illegible] referred to writings and [illegible] threatening [illegible] the resources of [illegible] ment would be [illegible] against such [illegible] the Irish Land League [illegible] quoted, which was [illegible] and as a [illegible]

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The debate on the Report not having, as it was anticipated, closed during the sitting, Mr. Gladstone on the following day (February 23) again had to give notice of his intention of applying the peremptory powers available under the new rules if the Bill was not disposed of in the course of that sitting. After nearly six hours' discussion, during which but slight progress was made, the House again adjourned. On its re-assembling the next afternoon, Mr. Gladstone was forced, in consequence of an accident which had befallen him on the previous evening, to leave the leadership of the House to the Marquess of Hartington. Nineteen amendments were still remaining when the House met, and Lord Hartington moved and carried, by 371 to 53, that such of them as were not disposed of at seven o'clock should be put forthwith. Two of these were negatived in the ordinary course within the time named, six were declared to be inadmissible, two were not pressed, and on the remaining nine divisions were taken, all being rejected by very large majorities. Mr. Forster then, without delay, moved the third reading of the Bill, which had now been for three-and-twenty days under discussion. Mr. Justin M'Carthy, in the absence of his leader, Mr. Parnell, moved its rejection as mischievous and unnecessary, and the discussion was continued in the same spirit by the other members of the Parnellite party. The only new element introduced into the debate was Sir W. Harcourt's reference to the "Skirmishing Fund" of the American Land League, and to its spokesman, who threatened to revenge the wrongs of Ireland by assassination and wholesale arson. He challenged the Irish Land League party to show that they were not mixed up with the American Land League, of which Mr. Devoy was a prominent member. He asserted that the names of Mr. Parnell, M.P., Mr. Dillon, M.P., and Mr. Davitt appeared as members of a committee, of which Mr. Devoy was treasurer. The Bill was intended to deal with the emissaries of this society, which deserved to be crushed, as hostile to society. These charges naturally opened up a totally fresh field for discussion, and the Government was ultimately again forced to consent to a further adjournment.

The proceedings of the last night of the debate (February 24) were somewhat enlivened by Lord George Hamilton, who, alluding to the appeals made to the Government by its own supporters to drop the Arms Bill, argued that it was impossible for them to do so, unless they were prepared to lay themselves open to the charge of having exaggerated the disturbed condition of Ireland. Commenting on the reluctance professed by the Radical party in supporting the measure, he pointed out to them that Mr. Gladstone was responsible for five Coercion Bills against Lord Beaconsfield's one, and, in answer to the plea that remedial measures should have come first, he reminded them that the Land Bill of 1870 was accompanied by one Coercion Bill and followed by another. Agrarian outrage had always increased in Ireland whenever Mr. Gladstone came into office, and the reason was that the Liberals,

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forgetting the ordinary laws which guided party warfare, indulged while in opposition in a violence of language which they could not make good in office. The language of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright had done as much to promote the objects of the Land League as any Land Leaguer; and, supposing that they really had any faith in remedial legislation, nothing could be more foolish than to excite anticipations which they could not realise. The Government, by their unwise delay in meeting Parliament, for no other purpose but to preserve the unity of the Liberal party for three months, had not only broken the pledge they had given in the previous session, but had brought about universal anarchy in Ireland, and the suspension of freedom of debate in Parliament, and the result must be deep disappointment to the Irish people.

Mr. Cowen denounced the Latter Day Radicalism, which regarded coercion as abominable when proposed by Conservatives, but a beneficent protection of life and property when it came from Liberals. Already the Bill had led to a Parliamentary *coup d'état*, to the establishment of a dictatorship, and the opening of letters. It was bad in principle, cruel in practice, and would be disastrous in consequences. All the lawlessness of Ireland might have been prevented if the existing law had been administered with less vacillation by Mr. Forster, whom he described as a "supercilious Chief Secretary;" but the Irish people regarded themselves as deceived by the Liberal party, whom they had assisted to place in power, and whose objects they thought they were forwarding by the land agitation. The disintegrating influence of the Bill on the Liberal party and the Government would not be long coming, and after an eloquent description of the wrongs of Ireland, he concluded by appealing to both parties to apply themselves to knit the two countries together in the bonds of peace and prosperity.

Mr. Forster replied by assuring the House that the Government would not lose sight of all the promises they had given that prisoners should be treated with every consideration; and, answering Mr. Cowen's charges, he maintained that no one had ever yet mentioned a single instance in which the ordinary law could have been employed effectively where it was not. Although twenty-two nights had been spent on the measure, it was after all an administrative measure, and but for this delay the House would already have been engaged on a permanent measure for remedying the great grievances of Ireland. Replying to Lord G. Hamilton, he confessed that in the beginning of December if he could have passed this Bill without the intervention of Parliament he would have done so, but he believed that at that time it would not have received the assent of Parliament. Recapitulating the dangers from which Ireland had been saved by the Bill, he pointed out that men had already begun to perceive that the unwritten law could no longer supersede the statute law; that while the law could not be broken with impunity it could be kept without danger, and that imprisonment could not be avoided by successful intimidation of

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witnesses and juries. The passage of the Bill and the defeat of obstruction would produce, too, a most beneficial effect in Ireland; and though the Session had begun by a disagreeable task, he believed that it would be distinguished in history by a settlement of the land question.

After Mr. T. P. O'Connor had declared that the lesson to be drawn from the debate was, that the deadliest foe to Ireland was a Liberal minister, the House divided, rejecting Mr. J. M'Carthy's amendment by 321 to 51, and then after two other divisions on minor clauses had been taken, a fourth division carried the Bill by 281 to 36—a majority sufficiently imposing in itself, but small compared with the support which the Ministry might have expected, and suggestive of the doubt and dislike with which coercive legislation, alike in Ireland and in Parliament, was viewed by independent members on both sides of the House.

In spite of the time wasted on side issues during the discussion of the Bill, public opinion admitted that it had been greatly improved in Committee; and it was allowed in most quarters that the necessity for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act being granted, the Government Bill contained all those safeguards of humanity which were consistent with its enactment. But if the Bill was received with favour outside, the same could not be said of the procedure under which it had been read a third time and passed, and misgiving was loudly expressed as to the effect upon the House of Commons, and especially on the majority which would result from the knowledge and use of such power to silence opposing minorities. Mr. Parnell's policy, though it produced a feeling of temporary impatience, was speedily recognised to be wiser and more statesmanlike than the course urged by some of his associates, that he and the Home Rulers should retire in a body from the House and go back to their constituents, announcing that Parliamentary government was at an end, and that nothing remained but sullen acquiescence or an appeal to force. Mr. Parnell not only resisted this line of policy, but, moreover, declined a strong solicitation to go to America to preach there a crusade against English landlordism. He preferred to remain in England and see whether an alliance between the English Democratic and the Irish Home Rule parties was possible; visiting Ireland from time to time to inspirit his followers, and to prove the baselessness of the assertion that the Government had determined to arrest him.

The subsequent course of the Coercion Bill was brief and uneventful. In the House of Lords its various stages were disposed of in three consecutive days. On the second reading (March 1) a slight invitation to debate was given by Lord Spencer in moving the second reading. He necessarily travelled over much of the ground occupied by the Ministerial speakers in the House of Commons, touching on the reign of terror which the Land League had established in Ireland. He referred vaguely

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somewhat on its way, and for which urgency had been declared imperative, was allowed to stand over. On the following night, however, this new desire of "intermittent urgency" led to still further discussion, when Lord Hartington announced that, in order to prevent a repetition of the previous night's tactics, the debate on the Arms Bill would be suspended at nine o'clock, and Mr. Childers invited to make his statement. This proposal was accepted on Mr. Childers' promise to refrain from going into financial details. Subsequently, Lord Hartington, by 395 to 37, carried his urgency motion. Sir W. Harcourt forthwith, in the absence of Mr. Forster, moved for leave to introduce the Peace Preservation Bill, the chief objects of which were to render illegal the possession of arms and ammunition within proclaimed districts; to give power to search by day suspected persons and houses; and to prohibit or regulate the sale of arms. The Act was to remain in force for five years from the date of its becoming law. Search for arms was only to be permitted between sunrise and sunset, and general warrants were to be prohibited. There was a marked difference in the tone of Sir W. Harcourt's speech from that adopted by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster when urging the previous Bill, and it gave rise to much angry discussion, Lord Randolph Churchill joining with the Irish Home Rulers in describing it as provocative and defiant. Taking as his text a speech of Mr. John Dillon, in which the arming of the population was advocated, Sir W. Harcourt traced to such counsels the nightly visits of armed marauders to private dwelling-houses. He made frequent scornful allusions to Mr. Parnell and his temporary absence from the House, and denounced in no sparing terms the influence of the Land League. Mr. O'Donnell moved the rejection of the Bill, and was supported by many of his party. An attempt was made soon after midnight to adjourn the debate until the following day, but to this Lord Hartington objected, and the motion was rejected by 202 to 21. A second attempt to adjourn the debate was interrupted by the Speaker, who said that he gathered the sense of the House to be that the question should be put at once; and, after two divisions, leave was obtained to introduce the Bill, which was read a first time, by 188 to 26.

On the debate on the second reading, which commenced on the following day (March 2) in a deserted House, Mr. Labouchere was the only English member who spoke. The member for Northampton declared that this Bill, like its predecessor, had been brought in to please the Opposition; but their support of it was of an insidious character, for they welcomed the delay which they knew the protracted discussion would provoke. He twitted the Ministry on their inconsistency in allowing it to be supposed on Friday that the Bill had been withdrawn, whereas on Monday it was introduced, and in such a way as to suggest the idea that Coercion Bills were forced by the English garrison in Ireland on

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the Chief Secretary, who went to that country as soon as the first law had passed through the House of Commons.

The progress of the Bill on the following night (March 3) was hindered by two episodes—one, foreseen, that of Mr. Childers' speech on the reorganisation of the army; and the other, altogether unexpected, the suspension of Mr. Healy. Mr. Dawson's interrupted speech on the previous day having been brought to a close, Mr. Dillon defended himself and Mr. John Devoy against the charges and insinuations made against them by the Home Secretary. Turning to the Bill, he declared its proposal to disarm the people was to leave them defenceless in presence of the landlords and their agents. His recommendation to the Irish people to provide themselves with rifles was made in his belief that if adopted the work of evictions would cease. "The Irish had no means of waging civil war. He wished they had." For this remark Mr. Dillon was called to order; but, after withdrawing the expression, he resumed his speech with a lively attack on the Home Secretary's cynical tone and arguments. "If the peaceful, the loyal, and the constitutional agitation of the Land League failed, the people would be driven back to the dark and desperate methods which the League had almost successfully induced them to give up. The blame, the whole blame of the murders which would be committed, and of the relapse of the Irish to the old methods, must lie at the door of the men who struck from the hands of the Land League the weapon of open and loyal agitation." At this point Sir W. Harcourt rose and suggested that the debate should close, for the House had heard an authorised agent of the Land League explain its doctrines to be one of treason and assassination. Passing by an attempted disclaimer, the Home Secretary insisted that, under the privilege of Parliament, Mr. Dillon had advised the Irish farmers to shoot those who attempted to evict them. Mr. Dillon explained that he had said nothing in favour of assassination; but two of his own party, Mr. Gray and Mr. M'Coan, did not hesitate to condemn the speech and to separate themselves from all responsibility with it. Mr. Healy, on the other hand, warmly defended his colleague, and in so doing thrice charged the Home Secretary with want of truth. For these breaches of Parliamentary rules he was summarily suspended for the sitting by 233 to 15; but the attempt to close the debate was not successful, various Irish members rising to protest either against the Bill or against the Home Secretary's mode of describing the actual position of Ireland and the policy of the Land League. Soon after nine o'clock Mr. Childers moved the adjournment of the debate in accordance with the understanding arrived at on Tuesday, and in view of the importance of laying before Parliament the new scheme of army organisation. Mr. Chaplin, speaking on behalf of a large number of the Conservative party, protested against the anomalous position of public business. The resolution of January 26, by which all other business was postponed until the Coercion and Peace Preservation Acts had been passed, was

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still in force; nevertheless, on the preceding Monday, other business had been taken, and it was proposed to repeat the proceeding that evening, and the result would be the practical exclusion of the rights of private members. The Government alone, he maintained, was liable for the gross mismanagement of Irish affairs, and was responsible for the violation of the solemn promise given in the previous session to call Parliament together in the autumn. Lord Hartington, on behalf of the Government, pleaded that the arrangement proposed was the only way by which the important business of supply could be advanced. Sir Stafford Northcote, under the special circumstances of the case, concurred; but Mr. Parnell opposed Mr. Childers' intervention as an attempt to evade the constitutional doctrine "Grievance precedes Supply," whilst Mr. O'Donnell professed to discover in it a ministerial disagreement about the Land Bill which the Government was about to introduce. The debate was ultimately adjourned for the evening, to be resumed on the following night by Mr. Parnell, who attacked the Home Secretary and the Irish Secretary, defended Mr. Devoy and Mr. Dillon, and expounded the scope and objects of the Land League. He denied any complicity with the Fenians, but admitted for himself a sympathy with some of its authors, whilst he held their policy to be impracticable. As for the Land League, it had brought prominently forward the land question, and he prophesied that the more the Irish people were persecuted the more fiercely would burn in their bosom the desire to be free of the English yoke. The debate was continued for some time longer without special features, and ultimately the Bill was read a second time by 145 to 34.

The proceedings in Committee on the Arms Bill followed very much, though on a diminished scale, the lines of the Coercion Bill. The order book was crammed with amendments more or less germane to the clauses of the measure. Few of them, however, were likely to commend themselves to the Government, though the discussion to which they might give rise would seriously delay the passing of the Bill. The proceedings of the first night in Committee were extremely lifeless, and the only concessions obtained from Sir William Harcourt, who had charge of the measure, and who by the way was complimented by Mr. Healy for his urbanity, was a promise to withdraw from the police the power to search persons on the spot; to reduce the time within which warrants should be executed from twenty-one to ten days from the date of issue, and to make it obligatory on the police to show their warrant when required. He further promised that all arms voluntarily given up should be returned, or the value paid to the owner when the district was freed from the disabilities imposed by the Act. The second night's debate was enlivened by a "scene," in which Mr. Finigan and Mr. O'Donnell played the principal parts. The first-named gentleman was charged with having applied the words "beastly bellowing" to the utterances of the Treasury Bench; and, after considerable wrangling, he consented to withdraw them upon

the order of the Chairman rather than suffer the threatened penalty. Mr. O'Donnell then rose to a point of order, the exact purport of which never transpired, and after much confusion and many vain attempts to obtain a hearing, he was named, and Sir William Harcourt moved his suspension for the remainder of the sitting. The regularity of this proceeding was at once challenged by the Irish members, but in spite of their protests the motion was carried by 127 votes to 27, and the House having resumed, the Chairman reported the matter to the Speaker, and Mr. O'Donnell was ordered to withdraw. Before doing so, Mr. Parnell raised the somewhat novel point as to whether the Chairman of Committees had complied with the standing orders in referring to Mr. O'Donnell as "the member for Dungarvan" only. This point was asserted and denied with equal vehemence by the Home Secretary and the Home Rulers, but at length the Speaker closed the quarrel by ordering Mr. O'Donnell to withdraw. The point raised, however, was subsequently brought before the House by Mr. O'Donnell, and, after a long debate, the vote of censure on Mr. O'Donnell was overruled without a division. With regard to the Arms Bill, after some further discussion, Sir W. Harcourt announced that unless the clauses and amendments were disposed of by three o'clock on that day (Wednesday), the remainder would be put forthwith to the Committee under the urgency rules. Mr. Parnell was speaking when three o'clock arrived, and the Chairman, in accordance with the resolution already agreed to by 253 to 17 votes, proceeded to put the remaining amendments and new clauses. Of these there were nineteen, and, though several were ruled out of order, divisions were taken on ten of them, the minorities ranging from 30 to 58, and the majorities from 278 to 244. Divisions were also taken on the two formal questions—that the Chairman "report the Bill, with amendments, to the House," and that "the Chairman leave the Chair." On the first of these questions, Mr. Parnell attempted to make some observations, alleging that neither of them was included in the new rule of February 18; but the Chairman refused to hear him, and the point of order being raised by Mr. Callan when the House had resumed, the Speaker held that the Chairman had correctly interpreted the rule. Before adjourning, Mr. Forster gave notice that, at half-past four on the following day, Mr. Gladstone would move the necessary resolution for stopping further debate on the report at ten o'clock. This having been agreed to by 347 to 30, the Government consented to a clause requiring the authorities to grant a license to carry arms on the certificate of two magistrates, as well as to an amendment for providing compensation for arms voluntarily surrendered. The attempt to restrict the operation of the Bill to June 1884 was strongly opposed by Sir W. Harcourt, on the plea that the experiment of governing Ireland without an Arms Bill had always failed. The Irish party, on the division that followed, mustered no less than 57 as against 208 Government supporters.

One more night was still required to dispose of the last of the

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Coercion measures, and on Mr. Parnell devolved the task of formally moving the rejection of the Arms Bill. He expressed no hope of changing the opinion of the House; though he professed himself able to show that the Bill had been carried by misrepresentation. He defended the Land League from Mr. Gladstone's strictures, and claimed for it the merit of having attracted to its cause, by peaceful agitation, the public opinion of England. Lord Randolph Churchill spoke sarcastically of the position of the Liberal Ministry making itself responsible for the most stringent Arms Act ever passed. The debate was practically wound up by Mr. Forster, who, denying the extreme severity of the Coercion measures of the Government, predicted that a good Land Bill would more than counterbalance the ill effects produced by the unavoidable Coercion Bills, and hoped that nothing which had happened would deter the House, and all parties in it, from doing the fullest justice to Irish tenants. Three divisions followed; by the first Mr. Parnell's amendment to read the Bill a third time that day six months was rejected by 255 votes to 36; by the second the third reading was agreed to by 250 to 28; and the motion that the Bill should pass was agreed to by 236 to 26.

In the House of Lords the progress of the Bill was marked by no incident. On the second reading the only speech was that delivered by Earl Spencer, but at a later stage Lord Dunsany predicted that the duel between Mr. Parnell and the Government was not at an end, and warned the latter against the uselessness of mild measures. Lord Dunraven urged the abolition of the existing jury system in Irish agrarian cases. The Bill was then passed without alteration and amendment, and on March 21 the second of the Government coercive measures received the Royal Assent, and became law.

The Government was now armed with those means of protecting property and preserving life in Ireland which it had struggled so hard and so long to obtain. Although the application of the laws referred to Ireland alone, and the principal events of that country form a separate chapter in the "Register," the House of Commons was throughout the session to be reminded of the passions those measures had aroused in their passage, and of the effect they produced upon the minds of the Irish representatives. The many delays to which the course of public business had to submit, and the consequent abandonment of all the promised reforms for England and Scotland, were directly and indirectly traced to the obstinacy or firmness, as it was variously termed, of the Government in preferring protective to remedial legislation in Ireland.

The first serious instance of the stumbling-block to public business which even after their passage through the House the Coercion Bills were destined to prove, occurred on April 5, when Mr. T. P. O'Connor, complaining of the unsatisfactory replies which on various occasions he had received to his questions respect-

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ing eviction for non-payment of rent, put himself in order by moving the adjournment of the House, and was then able to force on a debate. His principal grievance was that Mr. Forster had declined to introduce a Suspension of Evictions Bill, because it would take up as much time as a Land Bill, and would not refuse the aid of the military and the police when required for eviction purposes, because by so doing he would be acting against the law. Mr. O'Connor maintained that under the existing *régime* evictions were largely on the increase; that these evictions were accompanied in some cases by circumstances of great cruelty; and that, unless something was done, the landlords would have largely cleared their estates by the time the new Land Bill had passed into law. He accused Mr. Forster of minimising these evictions, and generally of acting in the interest of the landlords. He further argued that the landlords should not be allowed to exact a rent which the Disturbance Bill and the Land Commissions, Liberal and Conservative, had both decided to be exorbitant; and wound up with the suggestion that the coming Land Bill should contain retrospective clauses dealing with the arrears of rent and the evictions for the past two years. Mr. Forster first replied that he had minimised the evictions only in this way, that when they decreased he had so stated; and he challenged any member to point to a single occasion on which he had made a statement that was not in accordance with fact. Taking up an allusion to his responsibility for the present state of Ireland, he said, amid cheers from the Ministerialists, that the responsibility was shared by those who advised the people not to pay rent; but he admitted that evictions, which in January were 45, and in February 92, had increased in March to 215. Mr. Justin McCarthy having made some severe observations on the action of the Government, Mr. Gladstone rose and delivered a short but animated speech, in which he repudiated the charges of change of front advanced against him and his colleagues. He then commented with bitter emphasis on the reception which his efforts for the improvement of Ireland had received and were likely to receive from the Irish members. Nevertheless, he and his colleagues were determined to persevere in an attempt to deal effectually with the social and political ills of Ireland by such searching remedies as justice and policy might demand—a statement that was received with loud Ministerial cheers. Mr. Parnell, in a brief speech, blamed the Premier for making a heated speech, and then backed up the demand for retrospective action in the coming Bill. This ended the interest in the debate, for while Mr. O'Donnell was speaking the House had so emptied that a "count" was moved, and was successful, an entire evening of valuable time being thus lost.

Similar tactics were repeated again and again during the session, the Home Rule party seeking every occasion, and on the most trivial pretexts, to move the adjournment of the House in order to ventilate their grievances. The most frequent excuse

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was the unsatisfactory nature of the replies they received from the Treasury Bench. As a rule these questions turned upon the action of the Irish Executive and the way in which the Coercion Bill was being carried out. The general tone of Mr. Forster's Irish policy, and his disregard of the promises he was declared to have made, were put forward as reasons for impeding the course of public business, the system finally culminating in a formal motion, debated during several hours, to reduce the vote for the Chief Secretary's department by the amount of Mr. Forster's salary. Even then the vote was only allowed to pass on the understanding that two nights at the close of the session should be given up to the discussion of the Irish policy of the Government, and of the high-handed acts of the Irish officials and their agents, the Irish constabulary. The most exciting episode of this struggle took place on May 24 and the following day. On the first-named day Mr. McCarthy, at about half-past three in the morning, proposed his motion condemning the action of the Executive in arbitrarily arresting a member of the House; in proclaiming a state of siege in Dublin; in imprisoning Mr. Sheehy and others, and in supporting wanton and cruel evictions by the armed forces of the Crown. After passing in review the high-handed acts of the constabulary acting under orders from Dublin Castle, and blaming Mr. Forster for allowing himself to be the dupe of the permanent officials, he implored Mr. Gladstone to save the Government ship by throwing overboard without delay the political Jonah. On the following night the debate was resumed, and gave rise to a number of "incidents" which recalled the stormy debates of the earlier part of the session. The debate at once assumed the form of a practical vote of censure on Mr. Forster, to whom an opportunity was thus afforded of indicating his policy in regard to Ireland. Departing from his usual reserve, he went at length into the motives which had led the Government to arrest Mr. Dillon, laying special stress on the latter's speech of April 26, at Dublin, which he contended was a justification of armed resistance to the law and an incitement to murder on a large scale. Into the details of the reasons for arresting Mr. Sheehy he said he could not go, because, if he did, some of the persons concerned would have to leave the country, or their lives would not be worth twenty-four hours' purchase. Nevertheless Mr. Forster was able to show by numerous extracts that Mr. Sheehy had been in the habit of making inflammatory speeches inciting to violent acts. Adverting to the charges of weakness made from the Conservative side, he said it was impossible for any but those whose duties compelled them to go narrowly into the circumstances of each special case to say whether the law had been broken. As to the future, he said the Government intended to pass their remedial measures, but, at the same time, they would make the law respected, and they would not permit "this combination to rob by armed resistance," even when directed against landlords, to succeed. Everyone who incited to

such resistance, whether he were a member of Parliament, a clergyman, or a Land Leaguer, should be made responsible, and the resistance should be quelled; though if his hope were fulfilled collisions between the people and the police would be averted. In the meantime, he appealed to the House by its vote to say that it had confidence in the Executive. The Irish party, however, in spite of a definite challenge from Mr. Gladstone, declined to take a vote on the resolutions at once, which appeared for some time on the order-book as an unfinished debate. An opportunity for concluding it arose on the eve of the Whitsuntide holidays (June 3), when Mr. Cowen renewed his severe criticisms of the Government policy of coercion, which he declared had failed, as it deserved. He denounced especially the arrest of Mr. Dillon as an infringement of Parliamentary privileges unknown since the days of the Stuarts. Mr. Parnell warned the Government that if they refused to do anything to check evictions, there would be bloodshed; and if the blood of the people were shed there would be retaliation, and landlords would be murdered. He declared, moreover, that he had so far opposed the advice which some wished to give to the tenants to pay no rent, but he did not know how long he could continue to do so. Events were moving rapidly in Ireland, and four weeks later the Government might find itself face to face with a general strike against all rent. Lord Hartington, on behalf of the Government, said that, notwithstanding Mr. Parnell's thinly-disguised threats, it had no intention of following his advice. The Government had used extraordinary powers—with moderation he believed—for restoring law and order to Ireland, and they would continue to use them to the best of their ability. The Government was content to stand by the defence of its Irish policy made by Mr. Forster, and, while admitting that the condition of Ireland was serious, he thought this increased the responsibility, not only of the Government, but of those who, having influence with the people, excited them by inflammatory harangues. Mr. Forster's speech, he said, had been totally unanswered, and there had been no attempt to show that the landlords were abusing their legal rights.

On a division the vote of censure on Mr. Forster was rejected by 130, only 22 members voting for it.

When the Irish estimates came on for discussion, towards the end of the session, this question was again raised in a different form. Mr. Parnell, on August 17, proposed a general vote of censure on the Ministry, on the ground that the Coercion Act had not been administered in accordance with the declaration made and pledges given by the Government. He pointed out that of the 192 men then in prison, not more than 26 had been arrested for any known offence, such as arson, cattle-houghing, or sending threatening letters; the majority, he contended, being respectable men. To this the Solicitor-General replied that of the

192 prisoners 31 had been arrested on reasonable suspicion of being concerned in murder or assaults with intent or incitement thereto, 31 for assaults on houses or raids for arms, 26 for intimidation, five for treasonable practices, eight for arson, seven for maiming cattle, and 54 for violent assaults. No single warrant, he asserted, had been issued except after a careful examination of the case, and on evidence which, if laid before a jury, must have ensured a verdict of guilty. The Irish members who followed generally took the line that the Coercion Act must interfere with the Land Act, and urged the Ministry, if they wished their message of peace to be listened to with attention, to release the prisoners. Mr. Forster then at great length, and in spite of the continuous fire of contradictions and interruptions to which he was subjected, reviewed with perfect good temper the administration of the Acts. He warmly denied that there was any inconsistency between his speeches in the introduction of the Bill and his manner in which it had been applied. He ridiculed the idea that the prisoners were, as asserted, respectable men, and referred to the various charges on which a large proportion of them had been arrested. Some were implicated in open offences against the law, and others were concerned in secret societies, and it was not safe to set either class at liberty. The law must be obeyed, and outrages must cease before the prison doors could be opened. The speeches in and out of the House gave too much reason to fear that it was intended to prevent the Land Act having a fair trial. If the Irish people, however, would give the Bill a fair trial, and would trust it to obtain just treatment for them, it might speedily be possible to release the prisoners; but the passing of the Bill was no reason why the Government should not insist on the maintenance of law and order.

Mr. Gibson, on behalf of the Conservative party, expressed a general approval of the language of the Chief Secretary, and earnestly hoped that now that the Land Bill was about to become law, all parties would await its operation. The administration of the Coercion Act was a matter which must be left to the responsibility of the Executive, but they would be much to blame if, for the sake of gaining a transient popularity, they took any step in the direction of releasing prisoners which they could not justify on other grounds. A long discussion ensued, in the course of which Mr. Redmond insisted upon the release of the suspects as a matter not of grace but of justice, in which he was supported by many of his colleagues, whilst Mr. O'Shea held out the original view that the whole difficulties arose from the constitution of the Government, in which the Irish element was not represented. The O'Gorman Mahon supported this view by repeating the advice he had given to the Government fifty years previously, to clear out the clique at Dublin Castle, to whose evil influence he attributed the alienation between Ireland and England. He endorsed the appeal for an amnesty, without which the Land Act could not be fairly

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tried, and asked how the English people would tolerate the imprisonment of nearly two hundred men without trial. To this Mr. Gladstone replied in a vigorous and eloquent speech, defending the policy of the Coercion Acts. He maintained that before the Government resorted to exceptional legislation, they had applied to the ordinary tribunals and had failed to obtain the verdicts they thought necessary for the public peace. If a similar state of affairs had arisen in England, the English people would readily submit to a suspension of their constitutional liberties to prevent a breakdown in the fundamental institutions of society. The extraordinary powers given by the Coercion Acts had been used with fairness, discrimination, and clemency. Deploring the ungracious tone of the speeches of some of the Irish members, he declared that it was not by defiant speeches, not by appealing to a country across the Atlantic as the true country of Irishmen, not by talking of Englishmen and Scotchmen as foreigners that the Government would be induced to accelerate by one day the opening of the prison doors. If from the dread of a little unpopularity the Government were induced to take a step which they knew to be wrong, they would be the meanest of mankind, but whatever the course they might take the Irish members would not be justified in intercepting the benefits of the Land Act. The primary duty of a Government was to maintain public liberty and private right, but when they could do it without compromising the peace of the country and individual liberty they would require no other stimulus to open the prison doors. Mr. Parnell's motion of censure was then, after two nights' debate, negatived by 83 to 30, but a few days later he was able to reopen the whole question on the subject of Michael Davitt's re-arrest. With reference to this particular case he argued that Davitt's conduct, while at liberty on a ticket of leave, did not warrant his re-arrest. Sir W. Harcourt defended the Government in a long speech, which exasperated the Land Leaguers to the highest pitch, exposing their intimate relation with one who had not concealed his connection with the Fenian organisation. The arrest he asserted was necessary for the preservation of order, and, as the result proved, had produced a far more tranquil state in Ireland. Only nineteen members supported Mr. Parnell on this occasion, and with the exception of the customary attack on the vote for the Irish Constabulary, the few remaining days of the session were allowed to pass without further impediment from the Irish party.

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CHAPTER III.

THE IRISH LAND BILL.

The Reports of the Richmond and Bessborough Commissions—Forecasts of the Land Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Proposals—Debates on the First Reading—Public Opinion—Resignation of the Duke of Argyll—Speeches and Letters of the Easter Recess—Debate on the Second Reading—The Land Bill in Committee—The Land Bill in the Lords—Second Reading—Opposition of the Majority—Amendments in Committee—The Struggle between the Lords and Commons—The Mutual Concessions—Final Passing of the Land Act—Royal Assent.

TURNING aside for the moment from the other matters which occupied the attention of Parliament, we now propose to follow the course of the Irish Land Bill, probably the most important measure introduced into the House of Commons since the passing of the Reform Bill. Whatever its merits and its shortcomings, which time and experience are destined to make clear, there was a general and generous admission from men of all parties that the Ministry had fairly grappled with a question the solution of which could no longer be postponed, and as week after week, and month after month passed by, the spectacle of Mr. Gladstone, almost single-handed, defending each line of every clause of his Bill, filled friends and opponents alike with admiration of his vast and versatile genius. The few words in the Speech from the Throne relating to the Irish Land Question seemed to point to scarcely more than the amendment and extension of the Act of 1870, and it was asserted during the debates on the Address and Coercion Bills that the strict silence preserved by members of the Cabinet as to the leading features of their great measure arose from no excessive discretion, but because its final form had not been determined. The attitude of the great bulk of the Irish members, during the debates on the Coercion Bills, may reasonably be conceived to have exercised some influence on the Premier's mind, and to have convinced him that no merely tentative measure would meet the exigencies of the case, or be likely to restore tranquillity to a country where the wildest hopes had been raised by the popular leaders. By way, however, of helping the public and Parliament to arrive at a clear and impartial view of the situation, two reports of Royal Commissions, especially directed to agricultural questions, were most opportunely issued. One of these, though intended ultimately to deal with the three kingdoms, in the first instance directed its attention specially to the aspect of affairs in Ireland, describing the condition of the tenants, and suggesting migration or emigration as the obvious remedy for the congestion of population which existed in certain districts. The questions of arterial drainage and of a systematised undertaking of public works were discussed and many recommendations urged; but it was chiefly on the tenure of land that the views of the

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Commissioners, as seen in the following extract, were valuable. "The difficulty of dealing with the subject appears to be increased by the change of ownership which has taken place in a large portion of the soil of Ireland under the provisions of the Encumbered Estates Act. . . . Difficulties have been raised regarding the assessments made by the late Sir R. Griffith, called Griffith's valuation, by the endeavour to set up this valuation, which was based on the prices current 30 years ago, as a standard of rent at the present day. The circumstances under which the valuation was made are set forth in the evidence of several witnesses, and it is conclusively proved that the annual value as set forth in the document was not intended to represent, and did not represent at the date when the valuation was made the rental value of the property. . . . Difficulty also arises affecting the relationship of landlord and tenant from the indefinite nature of the Ulster and other tenant-right usages and customs to which legal validity is given by the Act of 1870. Those usages or customs have in many instances to be investigated and established on oral aud other evidence in a court of law—a difficulty which is aggravated by the fact that these customs are shown by witnesses examined before us to differ, not only in the same country, but even upon the same estate. . . .

"Great stress has been laid upon the want of security felt by an improving tenant, which, it is alleged, limits not only the number of persons employed, but also the quantity of food produced for the benefit of the general community. Bearing in mind the system by which the improvements and equipments of a farm are very generally the work of the tenant, and the fact that a yearly tenant is at any time liable to have his rent raised in consequence of the increase in value that has been given to his holding by the expenditure of his own capital and labour, the desire for legislative interference to protect him from an arbitrary increase of rent does not seem unnatural, and we are inclined to think that by the majority of landowners legislation properly framed to accomplish this end would not be objected to.

"With a view of affording such security, 'fair rents,' 'fixity of tenure,' and 'free sale,' popularly known as 'the three F's,' have been strongly advocated by many witnesses, but none have been able to support these propositions in their integrity without admitting consequences that would, in our opinion, involve an injustice to the landlord."

This report was signed by thirteen Commissioners, including the Dukes of Richmond and Buccleuch, Lord Vernon, Colonel Chaplin, M.P., Mr. Hunter Rodwell, M.P., &c. The minority added their report as to evidence brought to their notice, and in it, after dealing with the causes of Irish distress, they admitted "the great advantages and the urgent need of largely extending in Ireland the ownership of land," but on that question they contented themselves with referring to the report of Mr. Shaw Lefevre's

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Committee. Sharing the universal conviction that in some extreme western districts the people were too thick upon the soil, they recommended a system of assisted voluntary emigration, and the formation of a Commission for promoting the voluntary transfer of some part of the population to reclaimable waste or semi-waste lands in Ireland. They recognised the justice and good feeling which characterised the management of many of the larger estates; but they had no hesitation in recommending as urgently as the Irish Land Commission the radical reform of the Irish land laws on the basis of the three F's, as indispensable for the security of the tenant and for the prosperity of Ireland.

This report was signed by six members of the Royal Commission, including Lord Carlingford, Mr. Mitchell Henry, and Mr. J. Cowen.

The other paper, bearing upon the same subject, was the report of the Irish Law Commission, appointed to inquire into the Irish Land Laws. This body, of which the Earl of Bessborough was chairman, consisted of Baron Dowse, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Kavanagh, and the O'Connor Don. Of these, Mr. Kavanagh did not sign the general report, but added one of his own, in which, though advocating reforms tending in the same general direction, he placed greater restrictions upon the application of the three F's than the other Commissioners. Instead of fixity of tenure Mr. Kavanagh proposed to confer upon County Court Judges the power to stay evictions in the case of existing residential tenancies. For free sale he desired to substitute the tenant's right of sale of all holdings on which improvements had been made by the occupiers; on the other hand, he held that landlords should be compensated for the concessions of fixity of tenure and free sale. Mr. Kavanagh, moreover, fully agreed with his colleagues in recognising that in cases where landlords and tenants could not agree as to rents, the matter should be referred to a land court or umpire, and supported the principles of a peasant proprietary, to be established by State aid.

The report of the majority admitted that the Land Act of 1870 had failed to give satisfaction to either party; and although in Ulster it had conferred certain benefits on a few tenants, it had failed to protect them from occasional and unreasonable increase of rent. Instead, therefore, of attempting to amend the Act of 1870, they advised its repeal and the enactment of a simple uniform Land Act for Ireland on the basis of the three F's, the advantages and workings of which they discussed at length. Referring to the success of the experiment of settling peasant proprietors on Church Lands, the Commissioners, whilst deprecating the compulsory buying out of the landlords, proposed that additional State aid to the extent of four-fifths of the purchase money should be advanced by the Treasury to tenants anxious to purchase their holdings. They anticipated that a considerable quantity of land would be thrown upon the market by the present owners; and this

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was an additional reason for doubting the need of State-aided emigration and reclamation of waste lands, of the advantages of which they were in both cases equally dubious. Their report concluded with the following significant remarks:—

"We regard the present condition of affairs as a symptom of deep-seated disorder in the body politic. . . . If we are right in maintaining that grievances exist for which the present law provides no remedy, justice requires that a remedy should be provided, whatever may have been the conduct of individuals, and however widely the example set by them may have been followed. We are not careful to answer the objection that legislation under these circumstances is legislation under the influence of panic. It is to the refusal of justice, through dread of consequences, that the imputation of panic appears more appropriate. . . . What should be done if, after all just grievance is removed, discontent continues, and something more is asked than justice, is not hard to say. The experience of legislation in a free community seems to prove that no such consummation is to be apprehended. It is far more frequently found that even an incomplete measure of justice will succeed for a time in stilling the most violent agitation.

"The gravity of the present occasion does indeed require that the remedy now to be proposed for an admitted grievance should be complete. We wish to place on record our decided opinion that unless the measure is a full and exhaustive one, going to the root of the whole matter and settling it permanently, it would be better not to interfere with the question at all. We are able to point to evidence that a complete measure of justice, though it may not be nearly all that is demanded by the more extreme, will bear along with it a more than usually good promise of acceptance. Nothing is more noticeable in the immense mass of evidence we have taken than the general modification of the tone of those who feel themselves aggrieved by the existing law, and the almost complete absence of demands for measures of confiscation and of proposals tending to create antipathy between class and class."

But whatever were the intentions of the Government, they were kept thoroughly secret, and so long as the Coercion Bills were still before Parliament not a word transpired as to the proposals of the Ministry. On the very day (March 21), however, that the Arms Bill received Royal Assent, Mr. Gladstone took advantage of a question relative to the state of public business to announce that the Irish Land Bill would be introduced before the Easter recess, and as soon as the Candahar debate was disposed of and the Budget unfolded. In the interval rumours and forecasts of the contents of the coming Bill were rife. The *Daily Telegraph* declared that only on the question of "fair rents," to Irish tenants, was there any unanimity of opinion amongst men of all parties. The other two F's—free sale and fixity of tenure—were alike open to objections. If all landlords, it maintained, were obliged to accept fair rents, and if compensation for disturbance,

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provided in the Act of 1870, were extended to the tenants, and full payment for unexhausted improvements secured to them, it would seem hard to deny the landlord his right of eviction. The Irish Liberal organs were pretty unanimous in declaring that if the Bill were merely an attempt to patch up the existing system, and to remedy some minor defects of the Act of 1870, the Irish people would scout it as an insult. They demanded full recognition of the tenant's right of occupancy, absolute protection from arbitrary evictions and unjust rents, and the power to dispose of his interest in his own property. In a word, they claimed nothing less than the three F's, with a full provision for the speedy creation of a peasant proprietary, and the removal of all artificial restrictions as to sale and transfer of land, which caused its accumulation in the hands of a few bankrupt families, unable to sell, and equally unable to do justice to it. Any Bill falling short of this programme, they declared it to be the duty of the Irish people and their representatives to reject summarily, even though, in so doing, they might and would bring about the downfall of the Liberal Ministry. The Irish Conservative organs, especially those of Ulster, thought it not improbable Mr. Gladstone would confiscate all round; and maintained that it was the duty of the Conservative party in both Houses to protect territorial rights in Ireland, while conceding to the tenants the redress of any grievance of which they could fairly complain. In the existing relations on the Downshire and Londonderry estates, and on the estates of other great proprietors in Ulster, the Premier would find an equitable basis for legislation. The London *Economist* dissented alike from the bulk of both the English and Irish Liberal organs, condemning the three F's, and looking for a solution of the Irish Land Question in the multiplication of peasant proprietors. It foresaw the time when England would have to choose between holding Ireland as she holds India, or letting her go altogether. The first-named project could be carried out only if the English democracy would consent to make the serious pecuniary sacrifice which the setting up of a peasant proprietary on a large scale would involve; but the tie thus established, the connection would be a binding one, and would obviate the danger of a disruption of the Empire. In like manner, Mr. Matthew Arnold, in the *Nineteenth Century*, though for widely different reasons condemning the cry of the three F's, refused to see in its realisation any relief to England from Irish difficulties, because ownership in tenure would then be made fundamentally different in Ireland from what it was elsewhere. He objected to novel and fanciful complications being introduced into either the ownership or the tenancy of the soil; and he recommended the appointment of a Royal Commission, composed of an English Chief Justice, an English capitalist, and an English writer, to settle the various difficulties of Ireland. The *Daily News*, on the other hand, holding the necessity of fixity of tenure and free sale, urged that a law which deprived a tenant of all right to

compensation for disturbance because his rent happened to be in arrear, was unjust and mischievous. A strong law court was necessary to prevent arbitrary increase of rent, and the law which it was called upon to administer should be clearly and specially laid down.

On the day previous to that on which Mr. Gladstone was to unfold his message of peace to Ireland, the *Standard* published what professed to be the outline of the Government Land Bill. Although it was subsequently found to differ very considerably from the measure actually introduced, it was very generally admitted to convey a fair idea of the original intentions of the Cabinet, and as such it is worth noticing, especially as if correct, this draft bore out the rumour previously alluded to, that the Land Bill had been subjected to many amendments during the debates on the Coercion Bills.

The starting-point of the Bill, it was stated, would be free sale; coupled with clauses framed with a view of securing fair rents; after this the specific conditions on which a species of fixity of tenure was to be guaranteed followed. The measure would not touch the Bright clauses of the Land Act of 1870, and would say nothing about the creation of peasant proprietorships. The proposals of the Government on these other matters would be embodied in a separate measure later in the session.

The Bill would recognise permissive fixity of tenure. Landlord and tenant would be enabled, whenever they might both choose to do so, to establish a fixed tenancy. According to this arrangement, the tenant would become a copyholder, or, in the phraseology of Irish law, would pay a fee farm rent. The amount of this rent would be fixed by the court, at intervals of not less than fifteen years, and by another clause the parties might decide their differences by arbitration.

On April 7, in a speech which, according to some, rivalled his most brilliant efforts, but which, according to others, was prudently simple and business-like, Mr. Gladstone unfolded the Government Bill; and from all sides of the House he was listened to with sympathetic attention; and when, after more than two hours, he sat down, the tribute paid to his eloquence and clearness was unanimous. He began by describing the almost insurmountable difficulties which faced an Administration when attempting to deal with this complex question. The necessity of making an attempt to re-establish the rights of landlord and tenant in Ireland on some permanent basis was, however, universally acknowledged, and it was his duty to explain the solution at which the Cabinet had arrived.

First of all he examined the grounds on which the Government was called on to legislate, disclaiming emphatically the alleged iniquity of the Irish Land Laws (which only differed from the English law in that they were more favourable to the tenant), as well as all sympathy with the extreme plans ventilated in Ireland, which, he said, constituted one of the main difficulties with which the Government had to deal, embodying as they did the principle

of public plunder. He vindicated the Irish landlords as a body from the imputations cast upon them by the Land League, but he admitted that the conduct of the few had created, or at least culminated in a state of things which called for legislative remedy. The first circumstance on which he dwelt as moving the Government was the land-hunger, or rather "land scarcity," prevailing in Ireland, which had been aggravated by bad seasons and other circumstances. He admitted also that defects had been developed in the Act of 1870, partly inherent and partly due to the action of the Lords; and, as a third reason, he urged the bad conduct of a limited number of landlords, who had exacted unjust rents and enforced them by cruel evictions. Next he discussed what he called the 'litter' of reports proceeding from the Richmond and Bessborough Commissions, pointing out that all the Commissioners, with one exception, agreed that it was of vital importance to institute a Court for the purpose of dealing with the differences between landlord and tenant, and that even the Richmond Commission had recommended legislative interference for the protection of tenants against arbitrary increase of rent. The question naturally divided itself into three branches—the transfer and devolution of land (with which he did not intend to deal), the relations of landlord and tenant, and the group of subjects which required advances from the Public Exchequer. With regard to the relations of landlord and tenant, he held the institution of a Court to be inevitable; but before describing the provisions of the Bill for this purpose, he maintained the policy and justice of what he described as the right of assignment or sale of tenant-right, contending that the old law of the country recognised the right of the tenant to sell whatever interest he possessed in his tenancy, which, by the Act of 1870, had become something considerable; that the Commissioners had recommended a recognition of it, and that it might be enforced without injustice to the landlord. The salient point and cardinal feature of the Bill, therefore, was to be the Court, and, after arguing the point at some length, he stated that the appeal to it would not be compulsory but optional; and he expressed his belief that many Irish tenants would, in spite of the past, prefer to come to terms with their landlord rather than go into Court. Passing to details, he stated that every tenant now existing in Ireland would have a right to go into the Court to have fixed for his holding a "judicial rent," which, when fixed, would endure for fifteen years, during which time there could be no eviction of the tenant with or without the leave of the Court, except for specific breach of certain specific covenants, or non-payment of rent. There would be no power of resumption on the part of the landlord during that period even with the leave of the Court, and the landlord's remedy would take the form of a compulsory sale of the tenant-right. At the conclusion of the statutory term of fifteen years application might be made to the Court for a renewal of tenancy *toties quoties*. If it were renewed

the conditions as to eviction would remain, but the landlord would have a pre-emption of the tenant's right if the latter wished to sell. The Court, moreover, in fixing the rents would control at once both the unlimited growth of rental and of tenant-right. Mr. Gladstone next explained in minute detail the difference between a "present" and a "future" tenancy, the net result of which was that a present tenancy might be continued from generation to generation if there was no default, and the mere change of tenants would not disturb the continuance of the tenancy. As to the retrospective effect of the Bill, those tenants against whom process of ejectment had been commenced, but not concluded, would have the opportunity of appearing before the Court and obtaining their tenant-right. Ordinary tenants—*i.e.*, those who did not wish to invoke the assistance of the Court—would also be invested with the right of assignment, and the Ulster tenant would have the right of remaining under his custom, but he would also have the protection of the general provisions of the Bill for controlling augmentation of rents. For example, when the tenant assented to an increase of rent, there would be no reason to invoke the action of the Court; for under the Act, the tenant, by accepting the increased rent, would acquire fixity of tenure for fifteen years. If he should not accept the increase, he might elect to sell his interest, and obtain from the landlord ten times the difference between the increased rent and that settled by the Court; or again he might claim compensation for disturbance in accordance with the terms settled by the Act of 1870. With regard to leases, any lease which was to be exempt from the supervision of the Act must be a "judicial lease," fixed tenancies at fee farm rents might be established by consent of landlord and tenant, but not compulsorily, and the power to contract out of the Bill would be confined to tenancies of 150*l.* and upwards. Describing the composition of the Court, which would also act as a Land Commission, and regulate all the proceedings of the local courts, he said it would consist of three members, one of whom must always be a Judge or an ex-Judge of the Supreme Court; and it would have power to appoint assistant commissioners, and sub-commissions to sit in the provinces. Passing to the second part of the Bill, after dwelling briefly on the political and social advantages of a peasant proprietary, he stated that the Land Commission would be invested with the means and power of realizing a scheme in this direction, supplying landlords ready to sell and tenants desirous to purchase their holdings. In such cases the Commissioners would have power to advance to tenants intending to purchase, on approved security, three-fourths of the purchase money; but this advance was limited to one-half of the purchase money when the tenant agreed to pay a price to the landlord, and to hold from him at a fee farm rent. Borrowers from the Commissioners were not precluded from borrowing the remainder of the purchase money elsewhere. By an important provision

purchasing tenants would be indemnified against encumbered or defective titles, thus removing one of the main obstacles to the success of the Bright clause of the Land Act of 1870. The Land Commission was further empowered to purchase an estate, and to re-sell in small lots to the tenants if three-fourths of the latter, paying not less than three-fourths of the total rent, were desirous of becoming owners of their holdings. Advances for this and other purposes under the Bill were to be charged at the rate of 3½ per cent. and repayable in thirty-five years. Advances might further be made by the Commission for agricultural improvements, for the reclamation of waste lands by companies or individuals, whether tenants or owners, provided that the State aid was met by a corresponding outlay of private capital; but in cases where a baronial guarantee had been obtained, the Treasury would be permitted to advance two-thirds of the cost of projected improvements. Advances, to be determined by Parliament, would also be made for the purpose of assisting emigration. Summing up the Bill, he said its general outcome would be that increase of rent would be restrained by certain rules, compensation for disturbance would be regulated according to different rates, the right to sell the tenant's interest would be universally established, evictions would only be permissible for default, and resumption by the landlord would be impossible, except for cause both reasonable and grave, which cause might be brought in question before the Court.

Turning to the actual condition of Ireland, Mr. Gladstone maintained that materially it was more prosperous, and morally it was more free from crime, than it was thirty years previously. In the interval, holdings of over fifteen acres had increased in number, as steadily as holdings of less extent had decreased. Rents had been augmented in a very considerable degree, and almost throughout the country. Although the Land Act of 1870 had to some extent slackened the pace at which rentals were being raised, a far more noteworthy reduction in the average number of evictions since its passing could be pointed to as evidence that, in spite of its shortcomings, not a few practical benefits might be traced to its operation. To these facts and figures Mr. Gladstone pointed in vindication of his previous attempts to improve the condition of the Irish tenantry, and in them he thought grounds might be found for encouragement and future hope. He added in conclusion: "But there is a higher and a nobler encouragement yet than this, and it is one which is to be enjoyed by all men who have faith in certain principles of action. It is said that we have failed in Ireland. I do not admit failure. I admit the success to be incomplete. If I am asked how it is to be made complete, I say by patient perseverance in well-doing, by steady adherence to the work of justice. Then we shall not depend upon the results of the moment. It will not be what to-day may say, or what to-morrow may say; it will rather be what fruits we are to reap in the long future of a nation's existence, and with that we have a

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reckoning which [illegible]
has been said [illegible]
stronger than [illegible]
even than the [illegible]
the past. Walking [illegible]
light—that [illegible]
on our road is a step [illegible]
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able, can only be a [illegible]
final triumph.

In the short [illegible]
deprecating anything [illegible]
involved, expressed [illegible]
with the Land [illegible]
the people of [illegible]
pressed its hope that the [illegible]
adjustment of the [illegible]
prolonged, and that [illegible]
tenants who had been [illegible]
the beginning of the present [illegible]
ing any opinion on the [illegible]
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Standard as if access to the Land Court was intended to be compulsory to the landlords and optional to the tenants; it prophesied that before the Bill became law that the purchase clauses would have to be greatly modified or dropped altogether. In the provinces the Liberal organs pronounced it to be a noble effort to renew the life of a nation, a stepping-stone to the eventual occupation of the whole of Ireland by peasant proprietors, a measure erring, if it erred, on the side of generosity, which, if rejected by the Irish, would make it impossible ever to satisfy them. The Conservative journals, on the other hand, regarded it as a hopeless mass of confused concessions and restrictions, the working of which it was impossible to tell, and they denounced it as the embodiment of the undisguisedly Communistic doctrine known as the three F's, and as the means by which the landlord was to be made an annuitant and a burden on the people for ever. The Irish papers were on the whole more favourable; the *Freeman's Journal* admitted that any measure giving the three F's, and going a certain way towards peasant proprietary, must be of enormous value; whilst the clauses affording immediate protection to those already in possession was of serious interest to both landlords and tenants. The *Northern Whig* regarded it as a compromise of the interests of both landlords and tenants, but a most able compromise, and held that if the landlords were wise they would do all they could to aid the Government to pass the measure as it stood, and not try to weaken provisions which would give them as well as the tenant substantial security. The *Derry Journal* thought it fell short of popular expectation, and should not be accepted as the final settlement of a great problem. The *Irish Times* saw in it no attempt to give triumph to one class over another, for it abolished neither landlord nor rent, and looked upon it as an endeavour to rear up again and to sustain the fabric of society in Ireland, but its success was based on the assumption that the people was loyal, industrious, and law-abiding. Amongst the English weekly papers the *Spectator* held that the Bill would enable landlords to vanish from the scene without suffering any injustice, and that it would secure to Ireland for at least a generation the complete extinction of rack-renting and capricious eviction. The *coup* of the Bill it thought would be the constitution of the new Land Commission, but Mr. Gladstone's statesmanship might be trusted to overcome the difficulty. The great question in connection with it was what would be the action of the Lords, who would only pass it under a sense of compulsion. The *Saturday Review*, on the other hand, maintained that the three F's were conceded, only with limitations which would render them unacceptable to the Land League, while the inroads upon the principles of property were so great, and the meddling with the simple relations of supply and demand so mischievous, that the Bill might have for its short title, "A Bill for the Promotion of Litigation in Ireland." It did not believe moreover that because its promises would disappoint some, its concessions would conciliate others.

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not regard the Land Bill as an honest effort to settle the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland. The tenantry of Ireland had, by their own exertions, succeeded in securing for themselves concessions and an amount of justice which no law ever gave them before. What most of the tenantry wanted was a reduction of rent, but under the Bill they could only proceed to get this by expending money which they could not afford, and, after all, the chances were twenty to one that the county court judge would increase the rent instead of lowering it. If he was to give advice to the tenant farmers of Ulster he would say, let the rent, when it is fixed, be fixed for ever. It would be better for the tenant farmers of Ulster to go into the Land League and defend their own farms by that organisation than to go before a county court judge and submit to his decision. If the farmers of Ulster had thrown themselves into the Land League agitation, as those of the south and west had done, they would be very little afraid of landlords. On the following day at Strabane, Mr. Dillon declared that the rentals of several Ulster farmers were far above the value of the land; what they wanted was a measure which would enable tenant farmers to reduce their rentals to the level of the lowest rented estates. Any Bill which proposed to settle the land question must wipe out arrears of rent and give the poor tenantry of the west and elsewhere a chance of starting again in life. If need were, the landlords might be compensated for their loss.

In the county of Waterford, Mr. R. Power denounced the Bill as vague, and protested against the proposed arbitration by county court judges; and at Castlebar, Mr. O'Connor Power preferred to any emigration scheme the planting out of the population in overcrowded districts and giving to them the unreclaimed soil of the underpopulated parts of the country. The only leading member of the Conservative party who spoke during the recess was Mr. Gibson, who, whilst addressing the Conservative Association at Burton-on-Trent, said that the Land Bill, whilst unfolding a plan of universal agitation and commotion, contained many proposals to which he was not opposed—such as peasant proprietorship, the reclamation of waste lands, and State-aided emigration. In the sections dealing with the relation of landlords and tenants the former were badly treated; millions would be taken from them without compensation, not for the benefit of the community at large but for a single class, those who were the present tenants. Moreover the worst absentee landlord was placed on the same footing as the best resident landlord, and the principle of the three F's, in an unavowed but practical form, was thoroughly conceded.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, as a large Irish landowner, writing to the *Times*, raised a totally fresh point, claiming special facilities for landlords who, sooner than retain their estates under conditions so novel, so onerous, and so uncertain in their operation as those which the Bill imposed, might prefer to divest themselves of these

estates altogether. At the same time, he expressed the doubt whether the opportunity which the Bill aimed at creating for the establishment of a peasant proprietary would be of any immediate assistance to landlords desirous of protecting themselves from spoliation by a timely sale of their property. He maintained that purchases by tenants were not likely to take place to any large extent and upon reasonable terms so long as the leaders of the agitation openly aimed at a further depreciation of the value of land in Ireland "with the expectation of ultimately forcing sales at prices ruinous to the vendors." Moreover, the position of the tenants as occupiers would be made so advantageous to them under the Bill that it would not be worth their while to exchange it for that of owners. Why, he asked, "should any tenant enjoying 'the three F's,' under a landlord from whom he may have something to hope and from whom he can have nothing to fear—a landlord upon whom he can bring to bear a pressure at times irresistible, whom he can terrify, and, if necessary, shoot—substitute for that landlord the mechanical landlordism of the Commission, inexorable, bullet-proof, and bound under the Act to sell him up remorselessly whenever he fails to pay his rent-charge?"

Earl Grey also made known his views on the Bill through the same medium. He maintained that if it passed in its original form, any slight relief it might give to the present cultivators of the soil would be purchased by means which would make their subsequent condition far worse. He contended that in principle there was no difference between a law to regulate the price of land and a law to regulate the price of provisions, and that the reasons put forward by Mr. Gladstone to restrain freedom of contract in Ireland were those advanced by the Revolutionary Government of France in favour of the Law of Maximum. The power proposed to be given to tenants to sell their rights to the highest bidder would stimulate the competition for land in raising its cost to future occupants. The only result to be looked for from the Bill would be that in the course of a few years land in Ireland would be held by men who would pay more for it, in rent and interest, than under the old system; whilst the progress of improvement would be hindered by the new restrictions. The only cure for Irish distress, Lord Grey maintained, would be found in the gradual consolidation of small farms and in improved cultivation, and he prophesied as complete a failure for the present Bill as had attended that of 1870, because it proceeded on the same false principles.

"It is certain," he added, "that the relations of men with each other in society are governed by economic laws which it has been the object of the wisest men for many ages to discover and explain. The most important of these laws have now been clearly ascertained, and are established by the concurrent judgment of the greatest thinkers of modern times. These are the 'principles of political economy' which Mr. Gladstone mocks at and which his

Bill openly violates. Let him show, if he can, that his Bill is not open to this charge, and that the law as he would make it would not be opposed to the true principles of political economy. But if he cannot do this he may be assured that, in spite of his ridicule, the power of economic laws will prove too strong for him. They have never yet been broken with impunity by any nation, and when measures contravening them have been adopted, in the vain hope of thus escaping from some difficulty which there has not been courage enough resolutely to face, it has invariably been found that in the end such measures have only aggravated the evils they were meant to mitigate. We have no right to expect that Ireland will be an exception to the rule."

When the House of Commons reassembled on April 26, the second reading was at once moved without any comments by Lord R. Grosvenor, and the opening of the debate was then left to the Opposition, which found a most able spokesman in Mr. Gibson. Whilst generally condemning the principles on which the Bill proposed to regulate the future relations of landlord and tenant, he carefully abstained from adopting an irreconcilable attitude towards it. Although characterising the Bill as a measure for insuring universal litigation for ever, he directed his criticism chiefly to the legal and economical inconsistencies of the provisions relating to the tenure and occupation of land. These he maintained were more sweeping and strange than had ever been submitted to Parliament, and after minutely discussing the various clauses of the Bill, he concluded by strongly urging the right of the landlords to a fair compensation for the legislation the State thought necessary, or else that they should be given the option of selling their properties to the State on fair and reasonable but not exorbitant terms. "If," he concluded, "an Act of attainder, if a Bill of pains and penalties against Irish landlords is intended, it would be better for all parties—for the landlords, for the tenants, for the whole community—to drop the farce of pretending that this is an honest Bill. Let the tenants know in plain English what they get; tell the landlords in equally plain English what they lose. Do not involve all parties in a sea of angry litigation, in which the landlords must swim for their lives, and in which all parties must lose all memories of past kindliness and all hopes of future amity. To put the matter plainly, it would be better, it would be franker, it would be more considerate to enact boldly and at once what you intend the Courts to decide. As it stands, unexplained and unamended, the Government Bill is neither direct nor intelligible. It has, to my mind, neither the frankness of fearless justice nor the candour of confiscation."

Mr. Richardson, an Ulster Liberal, warmly supported the Bill, which he declared would put an end to the feeling of insecurity which overhung the Irish tenantry. At the conclusion of his remarks the debate seemed about to collapse, no one rising to continue it. The Speaker had already begun to put the question

when Mr. Warton, with his political dislike to precipitate legislation, rose to move the adjournment of the House in order to give the Government time to reply to Mr. Gibson's strictures. This proposal was supported by the entire strength of the fourth party, and at length Mr. Gladstone, though protesting against the doctrine that the Opposition should relieve the Government of its duties in regulating the course of debate, admitted that an answer must be given to Mr. Gibson. A somewhat animated discussion followed, not on the Land Bill, but on the point raised by Mr. Warton. Without his interposition, Sir Stafford Northcote declared that the division would have been taken without any answer having been given to Mr. Gibson, who had scarcely done more than summarise objections which had been raised in the newspapers during the recess. Sir William Harcourt's suggestion that Mr. Warton's action had been pre-arranged, and formed part of a policy of obstruction, drew forth a warm rejoinder from Sir R. Cross. The motion for the adjournment was then withdrawn. Again no member presenting himself to continue the debate, the Speaker a second time put the question, when Mr. C. Lewis rose to move the adjournment of the debate, and repeated the part previously acted by Mr. Warton. On this occasion the Irish members supported the demand for a fuller explanation of the Government measure and for a reply to Mr. Gibson's attack. The motion was ultimately withdrawn, and Mr. Villiers-Stuart was enabled to propose his amendment (withdrawn after the second night's debate), which aimed at obtaining some amelioration in the condition of farm-labourers. After some remarks from Mr. Arthur Arnold and Lord Lymington, both of whom warmly supported the Bill, Mr. Forster rose to reply. Glancing at Mr. Villiers-Stuart's amendment, he admitted that, although the condition of farm-labourer was better than it formerly was, yet it was still very bad, and required the attention of the House. In a conciliatory tone he dealt with the objections raised by Mr. Gibson; he assumed that as he had not formally proposed to reject the Bill, the Conservative party were anxious to arrive at a settlement of the land question based on the general lines of the Government measure. These principles were fair rents, security of tenure, and free sale; the pivot of the measure was the Land Court, the creation of which had been pronounced necessary by both the Devon and Bessborough Commissions, both of which bodies recognised, as did the chief independent authorities, that it was impossible in Ireland to leave rents to be fixed by the law of demand and supply. As for the Land Court, it would operate as much in favour of the landlord as of the tenant, and he believed its existence alone would diminish rather than foster litigation. Low-rented tenants would have no object in going into court, and rack-renting landlords would lower their rents in order to avoid the risk of proceedings. The proposal to lend money to tenants to purchase their holdings would, without abolishing landlordism, go a very long way towards modifying its

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conditions in the sense desired by the Home Rule party; and if the assistance offered for the reclamation of waste lands seemed a less prominent feature in the Government measure than the emigration scheme, it arose from no desire to get rid of the Irish from Ireland, but because the Government saw in such a plan a more permanent benefit to the Irish people.

The debate, though commenced under chilling conditions, was not, however, destined to be brought to a premature close, and in answer to the general wish, the Government at once gave up all the time at its disposal. The earlier portion of the debate was devoted rather to the consideration of Lord John Manners' amendment, the outcome of a meeting of the Conservative party held at the Carlton Club on April 20, which ran as follows: "That this House, while anxious to maintain the security and full efficiency of the custom of Ulster, and other analogous customs, and to remedy any defects in the Land Act of 1870, is disposed to seek for the social and material improvement of that country by measures for the development of its industrial resources, rather than by a measure that confuses, without settling on a general and permanent basis, the relations between landlord and tenant."

From the very outset even those who were opposed to the Government Bill foresaw the defeat of an amendment which both failed to rally the Ulster Conservatives, and frightened many English county members, who knew how keenly their constituents felt on the subject of tenant-right. Prudence thus warned some of the best debaters on the Conservative side to avoid the dangerous ground thus opened up. Lord Elcho limited himself to a fierce and trenchant denunciation of the Bill. He defined it as the saturnalia of economic heresy, and declared that if the House cast itself adrift from the sound principles of political economy, it would have no other light to guide it than the bog light of impulsiveness and sentimental statesmanship which would trade for party purposes on the predatory instincts of man. Mr. Parnell's scheme was, he held, more manly and more just than that of the Government, for that at least proposed compensation in cases of eviction, and he predicted the rise of a Parnell of the labourers, if indeed he had not already appeared—a side-thrust at Mr. Bellingham, who had placed on the paper a notice of an amendment which insisted that no Bill would be satisfactory or find support which did not embody a scheme for the improvement of the labouring class. The principles of the Government Bill, he maintained, would not be limited to Ireland, nor to landed property, and the "Brummagem Girondists" were calling into play passions they would be unable to control. "Whatever number of members might vote for it, the weight of authority would be found in the lobby of the minority. In that lobby would be the wise, deliberate, written *dicta* of all the learned political economists who had discussed the subject, many of whom had been among the lights of the Liberal party. And added to their authority would be the

spoken statements and the public acts of all the statesmen of both parties, from Peel downwards, who had had to deal with political and economical questions; the ghosts of the former opinions of every man on the Treasury Bench without any exception; and, finally, no matter how small the minority might be, the consciences of three-fourths of those who voted against him."

Mr. Charles Russell, Q.C., who followed, maintained, on the other hand, that the Bill interfered with no just rights, and that by protecting the tenants it would increase the security of the landlords. The demand of the Irish people was that the tillers of the soil should be its owners, and that pending this solution they should have fixity of tenure, and fair rents, with the right of free sale. He thought but little of the landlords' claim for compensation, inasmuch as their position was made better, not worse, by the Bill. He then passed in review its leading features, suggested various alterations in the existing laws of settlement and entail, the prohibition of ejectments without permission of the Land Court, and a power to deal with existing arrears. Mr. Charles Russell, however, offered no definition of the terms "fair rent" which recurred in every speech made on the Bill. Its definition in the original Bill seemed liable to as much misapprehension by its supporters as by its opponents, and from the Treasury Bench no clue was obtainable, Mr. Forster, contenting himself with assuring the House that the clause did not mean what it seemed to imply, whilst the Attorney-General for Ireland described it as the competition rent *minus* the tenant's interest. Mr. Brand, representing the young Whig party, felt that though a reform of the Land Laws was absolutely necessary, the method proposed by the Government would seriously injure the landlords without greatly improving the position of the tenant. The advantages to be secured to the latter would be that he would have the tenant-right, whatever that was; that he might claim compensation for disturbance; and lastly, that he would be protected against the raising of his rent. To all these he had the strongest objections. The more generous had been the landlord, the greater would be the compensation he would have to "pay to the outgoing tenant," whilst a general rise in rents would follow. He wished the State to become the purchasers of all lands offered for sale by owners who were willing to sell out at prices to be fixed by arbitrators, and the number of new landlords thus called into existence would form a check to the growth of reactionary views on land tenure. The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. H. Law) maintained that free contract could not exist under the actual laws, for tenants in occupation were ready to pay any rent rather than sacrifice the capital and labour they had sunk in their holdings. To regulate this point, as well as for that of reducing rents which had been exorbitantly raised, a Land Court was absolutely requisite.

Of the prolonged debate which ensued, lasting over three weeks, it is scarcely possible to do more than notice briefly the

principal points raised by successive speakers. Mr. W. H. Smith thought that, so far from ministering to the "land hunger" of the poorer tenants, the Bill would make it more difficult for them to obtain land; and whilst heartily approving the proposal for increasing the number of small proprietors, he disliked the idea of the State becoming the direct mortgagee of a large portion of the land. He would prefer to see a Commission formed for the purchase of the estates by means of debentures, backed by a guarantee fund, to which a grant in aid might be made by Parliament. By this means, the temptations to which a weak Government might be exposed, when in need of the support of a few votes, might be avoided. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre amply justified the expectations which had been formed of his mastery of the intricacies of Irish land legislation. He showed that the need for the Bill was pressing, and absolutely necessary, because of the partial failure of the Land Bill of 1870. Since that date there had been an extreme raising of rents, and a corresponding increase of misery and discontent. But Mr. Shaw-Lefevre went a step further than any of his collegues, deducing from the evidence of landowners and land agents given before the Bessborough Commission, that a reform of the existing land laws was necessary, and that the complaints and fear of the tenantry were fully justified. In a speech delivered a few weeks later (May 25) at Liverpool, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre reviewed, in a temperate and masterly fashion, the difficulties against which the Bill had to struggle, and the moral as well as the political aim which its framers had in view. 'The resistance to the Bill," he said, "sprang mostly from the old error, which had made the government of Ireland so difficult and alienated the Irish people so much—namely, that of denying them reforms for English reasons, and endeavouring to force English doctrines into the law and government of Ireland, and to suppress Irish customs and Irish ideas." It was only by steadfast reference to the judgment of Ireland that Englishmen could feel confidence in the measure, so far removed was the social condition of that country from our own. The three F's embodied in the Bill might seem curious to us, but the process was entirely familiar to Irishmen. "It existed almost unchecked over the greater part of Ulster. It gave content and a sense of security, and, when the landlord acted fairly and did not arbitrarily raise the rent, led to good cultivation. The three F's scheme was practically accepted by all the Tory representatives of Ulster, and was demanded by a vast majority of Irish tenants. At the general election in Ireland the whole question turned upon the land, and the result was a complete and absolute defeat of the landlord interest. There was a universal demand for legislation of a wide and comprehensive character."

Mr. P. J. Smyth, a well-known Irish Nationalist, and Mr. O'Connor Power, a Home Ruler, both declared their intention of supporting the Bill, the former describing it as a great act of justice,

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which, without assailing any right of property, would confer on the Irish tenant free sale, from which would naturally flow fair rents and permanency of tenure. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, in an elaborate analysis of the measure, clearly indicated the feeling of the old Whigs. He declared that under the Bill the tenant's interest could only be carved out of the landlord's rights. The creation of a peasant proprietary, rather than an effort to deprive the rights of present and future tenants, should, he thought, have been the main object of the Government, and he prophesied that the outcome of the measure would be interminable litigation, instead of a settlement of the land question. Like many others, he sought for an explanation of "fair rents," an appeal which was supported by Sir Stafford Northcote, but without success. Mr. Bright, it is true, when he rose to speak touched on the point, but merely to assert his confident belief that over the greater part of Ireland rents would continue much as they were. To obtain security for the tenant was, in Mr. Bright's mind, the principal object of the Bill, and what was uppermost in the minds of its authors. As to the proposed compensation to landlords, though their interests had not been neglected, his answer was that nine-tenths of the improvements of Irish soil, the farm-buildings, and cottages, were the produce of the tenants' labour and not of the landlord's capital. If it were possible to convert three-fourths of the occupiers into owners, it would be a long step toward rendering Ireland happy and prosperous, and it was with this object in view that the Government had introduced and attached so much importance to the purchase clauses of the Bill. Mr. Plunket, from the front Opposition bench, expressed warm approbation of the purchase clauses, as well as of the reclamation and emigration proposals, though he was somewhat sceptical as to their leading to important results; and he declared that the greatest sufferer under the Bill would be the indulgent landlord, who by his leniency had increased the tenant-right of his land. Mr. Gladstone, who intervened somewhat unexpectedly on the last night but one of the debate, expressed his surprise that so many "by-points" had been raised, whilst the really serious question raised by the Bill had been passed over. He addressed himself principally to the question of "fair rents," which he contended were not to be measured in Ireland by the rents obtainable in the market. The tenant's interest to be considered included the annual value of his improvement, and was further increased by the keenness of competition for land in an artificially restricted market. The Act of 1870 had partially created tenant-right by giving the tenants compensation for disturbance, and it was impossible to retrace this step; since its passing, causes had been at work which had developed a system of tenant-right composed totally of fresh elements. The basis of the Government Bill, Mr. Gladstone maintained, was the land scarcity, and its main principles were a frank acceptance of Irish customs, and the establishment of a special tribunal to ratify them, as

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recommended by both Mr. Disraeli and his two Irish Land Commissions. He deeply regretted the attitude of the Opposition and their exaggerated denunciation of the Bill, while he saw the first effect of the death of Lord Beaconsfield, who would, he believed, have taken the same wise course as on the Irish Church Bill and the Irish Land Bill of 1870. "Do you who sit opposite think," he asked, amid loud cheers—"is there any one of you who thinks—that this question will ever be settled by a measure smaller than the Bill before the House? If by the power of combination with a limited, but not unimportant, number of members below the gangway on the opposite side of the House you overthrow this Bill, and the Government which attaches its fortune to it, and if you take their places, you will pass, not a smaller, but a larger measure. The matter, however, is one of a serious character. We are playing with edged tools. There is not a step which we have taken in reference to this measure which has not been taken under an overwhelming sense of responsibility. We do not mean to trifle with that which we have taken in hand. You must judge of your own duty; we must judge of ours. We shall use every effort legitimately belonging to us, first to pass this Bill, secondly to pass it speedily, and thirdly to pass it in an effectual form. There is, however, another Assembly which we must confront, where we are in a minority, but which will claim, and is constitutionally entitled to give, its independent vote on the provisions of this Bill. If we hold by them, I am so confident of their general character, I am so deeply persuaded of their general moderation, as well as efficiency, that I feel we can with a good conscience and with a sanguine hope address ourselves to whatever duties may belong to us for the purpose of passing the Bill. But if they see we are prepared to alter its character, in what is called the popular sense, and having brought it in as one measure to send it up to them as another, most justly might those who will have elsewhere to pronounce upon it say, 'We are dealing with men who do not know their own minds, and we refuse to defer to their authority.' I am, therefore, well convinced that, though its provisions may be open to criticism in some particulars, the ultimate voice of Parliament will be between the acceptance or rejection of the Bill in its essence as it stands. I gratefully acknowledge the spirit in which it has generally been received in Ireland. The landlords of that country showed in 1870 that they were not deficient in penetration. They were, I believe, at that time, as much as they are now, under the impression that their true interest is to have this question settled and to have it settled at once. Our proposals have been received by many persons in Ireland as by men who felt the force of the evils which were pressing upon them, and who desired to hail the advent of whatever might give a fair promise of peace. Let that generous reception in Ireland be met by a corresponding feeling on this side of the Channel, and within the walls of this great assembly. Then the year 1881

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will not have passed away without adding to the Statute-book another great emancipating and redeeming measure, necessary alike for the prosperity of Ireland, the fame of Parliament, and the strength and solidity of the United Kingdom."

Mr. Parnell, on the last night of the debate, at last disclosed the attitude which he and his immediate friends proposed to adopt. He characterised the measure as a miserable dole and a half-remedy. He objected to the complicated conditions, and the costly litigation to which the tenant would have to submit, whilst no step was taken to relieve him of the arrears of rent under which he was already crushed. The emigration proposed was but an evasion of responsibility; and before it was tried, he wished the migration of labour to be tried, and to see restored to the tenants the property of which they had been deprived by the sales in the Encumbered Estates Court. Before the Bill could be in any degree acceptable to his party, it needed great alterations, and at that stage he declined to compromise himself by supporting a measure which promised to leave the land question altogether unsettled.

In the division which then almost immediately took place, on May 18, of the Irish members only eight voted in favour of Lord Elcho's amendment; thirty-five, following the example or advice of Mr. Parnell, took no part in the discussion, whilst the remainder, composed of twenty-four Home Rulers, thirteen Conservatives, and twelve Liberals, voted for the second reading. Sir Baldwin Leighton was the only English Conservative who voted with the Government, though many of the party withdrew before the division was taken, and 352 voted for the second reading, to 176 against it.

Although the Land Bill had then passed the second reading by a majority of two to one, and the strength of the Conservative opposition to its principles been thus tested, its ultimate fate was by no means decided. The order-book swarmed with notices of amendments to almost every line of each clause, and in some cases there were as many amendments to a line as words. On the first night of the Committee seventy pages were filled with them, and their entire number was soon afterwards declared to amount to 834, of which 374 were put down by Liberals, 260 by the Home Rulers, and 200 by the Conservatives. But even before the task of dealing with the amendments could be reached, there had been an array of motions or "instructions" to the Committee, which opened up an almost endless vista of delay. One instruction had for its object the imposition of a fine on absentee landlords, another the expropriation of city and other companies, a third the advance of money to poor law guardians. The Committee stage was reached on May 26, and a good deal of anxiety was shown both in the House and outside as to the action of the Speaker and the Government on the state of the order-book. All suspense was speedily put an end to by the decided line taken by

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the Speaker, who laid down the principle that no proposal which could be discussed in Committee could be debated before that stage was reached. By this rule the great majority of the instructions were at once swept aside, and only one motion, that of Sir William Barttelot, was ultimately brought forward. Its object was to give the Land Court, to be established by the Bill, the power of compensating such landlords as could show loss of property by the working of the Bill. After some hours' talk, during which many members availed themselves of the opportunity of delivering speeches which were more applicable to the second reading of the Bill, the debate collapsed and the Speaker was permitted to leave the Chair. From this time forward the Government gave up the whole of the time at its disposal to the work of the Committee. Morning sittings, wholly devoted to the Land Bill, were commenced on May 27, so that, with the exception of Wednesday, every day was occupied in its discussion. On the first day some time was occupied at the outset with a proposal by Lord E. Fitzmaurice to postpone the first thirty clauses until Part VI., relating to the constitution of the Land Court and Commission, had been disposed of. When once it had been settled what the Court should be, many amendments, he said, now on the paper would be withdrawn, and many proposals in the Bill would be accepted, so that time would be saved. But to legislate in the dark, as would be the practical effect of following the present arrangement of clauses, would lead to delay. Mr. Gladstone decidedly opposed this suggestion, pointing out that it was impossible to constitute the Court satisfactorily until it had been settled what functions should be thrown upon it. At the same time he admitted the importance of the point, and assured the Committee that everything would be done to confer adequate powers on the Court, and to make it independent. The members of the Court of Appeal, he added, would be made irremovable, and parties would be enabled to pass over the Civil Bill Court. Sir S. Northcote held that, as the Court would have thrown on it the reconstruction of society in Ireland, the Committee ought to know at once how it was to be framed. The Irish members were divided in their views, but ultimately the motion was rejected by 246 to 163. Mr. Chaplin's proposal to postpone the first eighteen clauses of the Bill, and to commence by a discussion of the purchase and emigration clauses, though supported by the leaders of the Conservative party, was negatived without a division.

On the second night of the Committee (May 30) the Whigs made a further reconnaissance in force under the guidance of Mr. Brand, who wished to limit the right of free sale to the existing tenants, on the ground that without this limitation the Bill would confer perpetuity of tenure, and that it would be unjust to impose free sale on landlords, who might at some subsequent time wish to let the lands they then held, or who might already have bought up the tenant-right. This view was supported by the Conservatives

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under Mr. Plunket and Mr. Gibson, and by the Whigs who followed Lord Edward Fitzmaurice. Mr. Gladstone and the Irish law officers declared that the proviso, if accepted, would deprive future tenants of all protection, and would lead to a renewal of agitation, whilst Mr. Shaw earnestly warned the House of the danger of still further limiting the Bill, which was the minimum of what would satisfy the Irish people. In the face of this determined opposition the amendment was withdrawn. Sir R. Cross's amendment, suggesting words which should define more clearly the tenant-right which the tenant was to be empowered to sell, produced a more prolonged debate. Mr. Gladstone thought that the purchaser might be trusted to protect himself, and that no good would be done by attempting to exhaustively define tenant-right. Sir Stafford Northcote declared that the vagueness of the Government proposal on this point would lead to increased confusion and endless litigation, and that the last state of Ireland would be worse than the first. Lord Elcho, Lord E. Fitzmaurice, and Mr. Chaplin joined in regretting that the Government had not shown more candour and courage in explaining what was the extent of the boon it proposed to confer upon the Irish tenantry. No division was, however, taken on the point, and upon Captain Aylmer's point blank proposal to do away with free sale, as well as upon Sir William Barttelot's to limit it to certain classes of tenants, the Government was supported in its views by large majorities. On June 3 the House adjourned for the Whitsuntide holidays, having agreed to exactly six lines of the Land Bill.

The recess, however, short as it was, was not allowed to pass in silence. On Whit Sunday Mr. Parnell addressed in Hyde Park a meeting, which, though considerable, was marred by the unpropitious weather. He repeated the prophecies he had uttered two days previously in the House of Commons, warning the Government that if coercion were applied recklessly, and unduly high rents exacted, the time would come when the Land League would change its watchword of "Fair Rent" for that of "No Rent." Two days later (June 7) Sir Richard Cross at St. Helen's reviewed the Government policy; Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham defended it; and Lord Carnarvon, at Burton-on-Trent, made it the object of a bitter invective. According to Sir Richard Cross the passage of the Coercion Bill through Parliament revealed the divisions of the Liberal party, and it was owing to the Conservatives on critical occasions that the Constitution was saved from the danger with which it was threatened. He referred to the absence of Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain in many of the divisions on the Coercion Bill, and took credit to his own party in carrying it through the House in an effective state. With regard to the Land Bill, he approved of the proposal to allow the tenants to purchase the soil they cultivated, though he wholly disapproved of the way in which the purchase was to be effected. The purchaser would have to borrow three-fourths of the purchase money from the State, and

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the remaining fourth from the village usurer. He would rather have seen the establishment of a Land Bank, to which all applications for loans should be made; and he declared that the Government propositions, instead of improving the relation between landlord and tenant, would give the people an interest in the soil by direct and absolute confiscation. Something was to be given to the tenant which he did not previously possess, and this "something" could only come out of the landlord's pocket. He declared that the Bill would not be for the good of the permanent tenants, but for the benefit of the existing tenants, to whom it was to be given on account of the clamour they had raised throughout the country.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech travelled over a still wider field, and was a general defence of the Government policy since its accession to office. Whilst admitting the necessary existence of shades of Liberal opinion, he warmly denied the least disunion in the Government. The first part of his speech was devoted to the foreign and colonial policy of the Ministry, to which allusion will be found elsewhere; but then turning to Ireland, he claimed credit for having delayed as much as possible the demand for coercive measures. Ireland had had to submit to fifty of such Acts since 1830, and the result was that she was naturally discontented. As soon as there seemed to be real danger to the law, the Government had not hesitated to apply for power to protect the weak against the strong. The Act of 1870 had been a failure in most districts, whilst in a few it had been the signal for a sudden and notable increase in the rent. From the discontent thus bred, the Land League started into life in the last year of the Conservative Government. To allay this feeling, which Mr. Chamberlain acknowledged to be natural if not justifiable, the Government had brought in a Land Bill as their message of peace to the Irish people, and they found that by the majority of the Irish press, by the whole of Ulster, and by the Roman Catholic clergy, whose attitude Mr. Chamberlain eulogised, it had been accepted as the basis of a satisfactory settlement. The Government was pledged to do everything which lay in its power to carry it to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion, and a few weeks must settle the fate of the measure and the fate of the Government. In the interval, he appealed to Irish landlords and to Irish people to proclaim a truce, in order that the task of conciliation might not be rendered more difficult. Mr. Chamberlain then passed on to consider the policy of Mr. Parnell and the Home Rulers, whose avowed object was not the removal of grievances in Ireland, but the separation of Ireland from England. He exposed their dilatory tactics, wasting time in frivolous discussions or sterile agitation, but afraid openly to oppose the Bill. On the other hand, the Tories strove by amendments and discussions to force before the Government the duty of compensating the landlords for the confiscation of their property. To this the Government would not consent, holding that the Bill only proposed to make compulsory what all good landlords now did

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voluntarily. The Government was endeavouring to steer between two extremes. Whilst they were told that the Bill was the *minimum* which the Irish people could accept, he believed it was the *maximum* which any English Parliament would grant. Thus the Government had to hold its way under somewhat discouraging conditions; for whilst they could not expect, and did not ask for the assistance of their opponents, they met with no great consideration from those whom they were attempting to serve.

Lord Carnarvon principally dealt with the South African policy of the Government, but with reference to Ireland he said it would be impossible to conceive a graver and more unhappy state of things than that which existed there. There was complete anarchy on the part of the people, and complete helplessness on the part of the Government. Troops were marching, the police were fighting, and there was civil war. The Government found Ireland comparatively quiet. By that strange Nemesis which haunts all Liberal Governments, after having refused to renew the Peace Preservation Act, or to take security under the existing law, they were compelled to fall back upon a Coercion Act, which they had so often denounced, and which, if it had been proposed by a Conservative Government, they would have met with a storm of indignation. Thanks to the loyalty of the Conservative members, the Coercion Act was passed, and then the Government alternated between coercion, conciliation, and misgovernment. Coercion became a by-word and a mockery. The Government had allowed to grow up a powerful secret and unscrupulous organisation, which had usurped its functions. Fifty years ago the Duke of Wellington said, "If we do not preserve peace in Ireland we shall not be a Government." But now sober, temperate, and God-fearing men looked on in perfect bewilderment and amazement, and asked how long these political Catilines were to try our patience.

On the following day (June 8), Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, at Cheltenham, and Mr. E. Stanhope, at Retford, followed up the attack on the Liberal policy. The former twitted the Government on their unredeemed pledges—on their increased estimates, and their neglect of domestic legislation. Ireland was nearer to civil war than at any time since the Fenian insurrection, and some symptoms, such as the attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy and hierarchy, were more dangerous than at that time. Mr. Chamberlain had accused the Conservative Government of neglecting remedial legislation, but up to the general election of 1880 no leading Liberal had suggested that any new Land Bill was necessary for Ireland. Mr. Parnell had declared that what was wanted was not a change of landlords, but the abolition of landlords. The Bill now brought forward could only end in failure. It contained the germs of principles directly opposed in spirit, if not in letter, to those put forward by leading Liberals during the last generation. A measure ignoring such principles could not give permanent satisfaction or real prosperity to Ireland. What had to be dealt

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with was a spirit of revolution. The Government had sown the wind and were reaping the whirlwind. It was not for the Conservatives to recommend in what way the crisis should be met. He should be sorry to think the time was approaching when the Conservatives would have to deal with this state of affairs. Talk of legacies and inheritances! They had left nothing so bad as the Government had prepared for themselves, and he should like to see the Government find their own way out of it. But they would then be found out by the country which had trusted them. The turn of the tide was coming; the signs of a change could be seen in the great borough constituencies. The country was getting weary of talk, of delays, of the uselessness of the worst House of Commons ever returned to Westminster.

Mr. Stanhope maintained that the Land Bill was the most confused measure ever presented to Parliament, that it would lead to endless litigation, and was so misleading that its progress would have to be carefully scrutinised. If, however, the Government would define what a tenant had to sell, and would take care that he was not given the power to sell what belonged to the landlord without compensation, the Bill might be passed in a week.

On June 13, the debates on the Bill were resumed in the House of Commons, Mr. Macnaghten proposing that the Land Court, in fixing the price at which the landlord might buy up the tenant-right, should set limits to the value, as in the case of rent. It was forcibly argued that, unless some limitation were placed on the tenant-right, the land might be virtually rack-rented for the benefit of the outgoing tenant; and the rejection of the amendment by the reduced majority of 63 showed the force of the arguments urged by the Conservatives in support of their theory. A severe contest took place over Mr. Chaplin's proposal that on all holdings not subject to the Ulster custom the value ascertained by the Court should not exceed the value of the tenant's improvements, added to what he had paid for the tenant-right. Mr. Gladstone opposed this as entirely adverse to the principle of valuation already laid down in the clause, and as depriving the tenant of the value of his right of occupation. Sir S. Northcote and Sir R. Cross warmly supported the amendment, who both remarked that the Bill could make no satisfactory progress until the Government gave some definition of what the tenant would have to sell; and the latter insisted that beyond the value of his improvements the tenant would have nothing to sell which did not belong to the landlord. A good deal of acrimonious discussion ensued, the Government eventually carrying their point by a majority of 99.

Two more sittings brought the Committee to the end of the amendments on the first clause, by which the first of the three F's, the principle of free sale, was accepted by 204 to 47, the minority being composed of some of the extreme Home Rulers and a few of the High Tories. This point, however, was not reached without difficulty, for the last amendment on the clause, proposed by Mr.

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Heneage, the Liberal member for Great Grimsby, seemed at the time likely to limit the operation of the Bill. He moved the insertion of a proviso which would except all estates managed on the "English" system—those estates on which the improvements had been made and maintained by the landlord. The Whigs from all parts of the House supported this proposal, as did also the English Conservatives, and in spite of the strong opposition of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Law, chiefly on the ground that by an increased rental the landlord was getting the full benefit of his own improvements, it was only defeated, after a close discussion, by 225 against 200. Mr. Parnell and his followers voted in the majority, as did those of the Ulster Conservative members, whilst Mr. W. Cartwright, Lord Fitzmaurice, the two Fitzwilliams, Mr. Albert Grey, Lord Stafford, and many other habitual supporters of the Ministry, voted in the minority. By its rejection, and the ultimate adoption of the clause, a partnership was constituted between landlord and tenant, affecting good, bad, and indifferent landlords alike.

Before the House resumed on the following day, Mr. Gladstone announced his intention of introducing certain modifications into the Bill. The clearly defined reasons which would justify a landlord in refusing a purchaser of the right of an outgoing tenant were swept away in deference to the strong feeling expressed by Mr. Charles Russell; and in order to counterbalance this concession to the tenants, Mr. Gladstone offered to do away with the fixed standard by which the tenant's interest in a holding was to be determined, the landlord being left unfettered, and to abandon the penalty proposed to be levied on rack-renting landlords. The Court moreover was to be open to both landlord and tenant, though, as will be seen by the original draft,[1] the tenant alone had the power to bring either himself or his landlord into Court to fix the rent of his holding. These concessions were not received without much bitter protest from the Irish both in and out of Parliament; but they served the purpose of expediting the ultimate progress of the Bill. In the course of the next few sittings, although repeated divisions were taken on the innumerable points raised, no serious difficulty had to be faced and overcome; and it became evident that if only time could be found and all other legislation abandoned, there was no reason to fear the necessity of mutilating or dividing the Land Bill as was seriously urged in certain quarters. On June 27, only four clauses having been agreed to, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of his intention of asking the House to give up all its time to the continuous discussion of the one important measure, and to this proposal no serious objection was raised. On the question of "fair rent," which was dealt with by Clause 7, the Government, on the motion of Mr. C. Russell, consented to the introduction of words which committed to the care of the Land Court the interests of the landlord and tenant respectively. On this point the Government had given

[1] Appendix.

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way to the unanimous feeling of the Irish members, and the deadlock which their attitude threatened to produce was thus avoided, though not without more than one sharp skirmish with the offended Conservatives. After a week's discussion the clause, providing definitely both fixity of tenure and fair rents, was carried by 289 against 157 votes, in spite of the compact resistance of the Opposition. Mr. Gladstone having urged, in support of the clauses, that, whilst giving stability or durability did not bestow perpetuity of tenure, Mr. A. Balfour retorted that the principles of the Bill as explained were precisely those which underlay the Socialism of Germany and France. A night later Mr. Forster announced that the Government would advance to the landlord 50 per cent. of the arrears due for the bad years 1878 and 1879, in cases where the tenants and landlords had settled for the rents of 1880. The conditions attached to this advance were that the landlord should himself covenant to repay it in fifteen years by half-yearly instalments; that the tenant should allow this payment to be added to his rent for fifteen years; and that the landlord should give the tenant a release in full for all arrears. The surplus of the Irish Church Funds was to be the source whence these advances were drawn, and they were to be confined to tenancies of less than 30*l*. in value. After an opposition led by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, the clause was added to the Bill by 251 to 147. The "Bright" clauses of the Bill, under which the State was to advance money to the tenants for the purchase of their holdings, were despatched with greater rapidity. The Irish members of all sections were united in their attack on the public purse, but after first asking for the advance of the whole amount, and then of four-fifths, they were forced to content themselves with three-fourths; whilst in the case of purchasing a perpetual fixed rent the State would advance only one-half. The reclamation and emigration clauses led to considerable discussion. To carry out the former, Mr. Gladstone consented to make advances to public companies as well as to private individuals, though he would not adopt entirely Mr. Parnell's proposal that money should be lent to Poor Law Boards on the security of the rates for the purchase of reclaimable land, to be relet. On the emigration scheme, the Government made it manifest that they were prepared to follow rather than to lead opinion in the House. The Parnellites at once assailed the proposal on the double ground that it would depopulate considerable districts, and at the same time assist the landlords in any attempt to get rid of their tenants, whilst the arbitrary selection of any particular countries as fields for emigrants was an unjust interference with private rights. In the absence of any sign from the Conservative leaders, Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Ritchie warmly supported a plan which they pronounced to be one of the truest and most necessary remedies for the congested state of some districts of Ireland; but in spite of these and similar arguments from the Liberal benches, the Parnellites

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remained unmoved, and declared their intention to resist the clause to the uttermost. In face of this opposition Mr. Forster announced his willingness to modify the clause, but his proposals seemed to have but small effect in removing the obstacles which the irreconcilables threw in his way. On July 14, the struggle was renewed with almost unwonted violence, and the Government was attacked for desiring to exclude the United States from the privileges which were to be accorded to British dependencies in the matter of emigration. Ultimately it was decided that the clause should be made completely general, and that the Land Commissioners should have power to deal with any public companies to carry out the scheme. The proposal to limit the grant of money to 25,000*l.* was moved by Mr. Healy, who took this opportunity of using some very strong expressions with reference to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Bright at once denounced these attacks, and accused the followers of Mr. Parnell of obstructing a Bill against which they did not dare to vote. Later in the evening, Mr. Gladstone, in a speech of extraordinary passion, expressed the pain with which he had witnessed the degradation inflicted on the House by a small section of the Irish members, who, having miserably failed in their attempts to denounce the Bill in Ireland, now sought to retrieve their damaged reputations by obstructive opposition. Amid prolonged cheering from both sides, he declared that the time had now come when the House must decide whether it would permit the minority, by a perversion of its rules, to take all power of legislation into their own hands, or whether it would insist on carrying the Bill through to a successful termination.

After some further recrimination, Mr. Forster having explained that the sum expended by the Commission on emigration should not exceed 200,000*l.*, and not more than one-third of this sum in any single year, the clause was agreed to by 126 to 23, Mr. Parnell claiming for the Irish members a majority of three against the Government proposal. The points next under discussion were allowed to pass with comparatively little debate, so that early in the morning of July 20, the fiftieth and last clause of the Bill was voted—not, however, before the Attorney-General for Ireland had proposed his amendment, making leaseholders present tenants at the end of their leases. This was loudly denounced by the Conservatives as a change of front, but after a vigorous speech from Mr. Gladstone the clause was carried by more than a hundred majority. Whilst another amendment, which brought under the review of the Court all leases unfairly obtained since 1870, was endorsed by a majority of 92. At the next stage of the proceedings, Mr. Gladstone explained the provisional arrangements for the financial demands which might arise under the Land Bill. The advances permissible under the Public Loans Act would be increased from 1,100,000*l.* to two millions; whilst to meet the possible ten millions worth of purchases which might be made within the first six years of the Act, an Irish fund would have to

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be made, of which the Irish Church surplus would form the nucleus. The announcement of the names of the Commissioners, Mr. Justice O'Hagan, Mr. Dillon, M.P., and Mr. Vernon (the Attorney-General for Ireland and Mr. Shaw having previously declined), gave rise to much surprise but to more satisfaction, although the extreme Irish party thought it their duty to propose first "Chinese" Gordon and Sir Evelyn Wood; and subsequently Sir George Campbell, Sir Richard Temple, and Mr. W. R. Sullivan, president of the Queen's College, Cork. Some new clauses were then added, on the motion of Mr. Forster, having for their object the amelioration of the position of the Irish labourers. The clause under which it was proposed to advance to tenants paying less than 30*l.* per annum, one-half of their arrears, gave rise to a very warm controversy. Lord Randolph Churchill declared that on a gross rental of fifteen millions the arrears for 1879 and 1880 were between eight and ten millions, and that in 99 cases out of every 100 the proposal would place a premium on repudiation. Mr. Forster admitted that it was not demanded by strict justice, but was intended as a message of peace to Ireland. He placed the land rental at a far lower figure (10,200,000*l.*), and declared that the burden thrown upon the Irish Church surplus would not exceed 700,000*l.* Sir Stafford Northcote ridiculed the idea of these repeated messages of peace, which produced no results, and condemned the proposal as a hand-to-mouth expedient destined to sacrifice the future to the present. In spite of this opposition, the clause was carried by 213 to 97, and then an amendment proposed by Mr. Parnell, allowing tenants evicted since May 1, 1880, to have the benefit of the clause if the landlord agreed to reinstate him, was accepted; as well as a slight extension of the time during which application under it could be made. The new clauses proposed by private members were disposed of in a single evening (July 22), the only one giving rise to serious discussion being that moved by Sir W. Barttelot. Its object was to compel the Land Commission to buy, on the application of the landlord, any holding which had come within the operation of the Act. The Whigs apparently had in the first instance intended to support this view, as an almost identical clause had stood in the name of Sir J. Ramsden. The mover and his friends had, according to Lord R. Churchill, been frightened by the "Birmingham Caucus," and had withdrawn at the last moment. The Irish members were divided amongst themselves, and in the end the clause was negatived by 151 to 39; and shortly afterwards the Chairman put the question that the Bill as amended should be reported to the House. When the Speaker took the chair, loud and continued cheering was raised on the Ministerial side of the House, which was again and again renewed, following Mr. Gladstone as he walked out of the House.

The final stage, however, was not yet reached. On the bringing up of the report, Lord Edward Fitzmaurice moved as an amendment to the rent-fixing clause (sec. 7) that holdings above

100*l.* per annum should be excluded from its operation. He argued that large tenants were able to take care of themselves, and as the Bill avowedly was for the benefit of the poor and helpless, there was no reason to abolish freedom of contracts where paramount necessity did not require it. In further support of his view, he appealed to Mr. Butt's proposals in the previous Parliament, in which the larger tenants were expressly excluded. The clause was strongly supported by the Whigs, as represented by Mr. Brand and Mr. Cartwright, but was opposed by Lord Edward Cavendish who, whilst feeling no sympathy for the Bill, did not wish to make it less acceptable than needful. This split in the Whig party (for Lord Edward Cavendish, although a brother to two members of the Government, had spoken and voted against the disturbance Bill in the previous session) was as unexpected as it was grateful to the Government, and the amendment was defeated, though by the narrow majority of 242 against 205. Another shifting of the political kaleidoscope occurred on the proposal of Mr. Parnell, that the landlord should not be allowed to force the sale of the tenant's right, except with the consent of the Court. The Government, desirous to give the tenant a fair start with the new Bill, accepted the amendment; but on the protest of Mr. Gibson, that the landlord should not possess less rights than other creditors, Mr. Parnell modified his proposal so as to place all on the same footing. These tactics somewhat disconcerted the Conservative leaders, who found themselves on a division supported by only 76, whilst Mr. Parnell was followed into the lobby by 209, including the whole Treasury Bench.

On July 30, the third reading of the Land Bill was at length taken. Lord Randolph Churchill had placed upon the paper an amendment declaring that the Bill was the result of revolutionary agitation, encouraged repudiation of contracts, diminished the security of property, and endangered the union of Ireland and Great Britain; but in consequence of a previous motion by Mr. W. H. Smith, with reference to the reappointment of the Land Commissioners, having been negatived without a division, Lord R. Churchill's amendment could not be put. He did not, however, allow the Bill to pass through its final stage without delivering an incisive speech against its author, its scope, and tendency. He declared that, but for the Land League, there would never have been a Land Bill; that the measure embodied no principles and offered no hope of peace to Ireland; its sole object being to get rid of the landlords, who were the real bonds of union between the two countries. Sir Stafford Northcote had left the House as soon as Lord R. Churchill rose, showing that the tactics of the Fourth Party met with no support from the leader of the Opposition; and Mr. G. Russell replied for the Liberal party to the attack made upon its leader. The irregular debate was prolonged for some hours longer, in consequence of a split among the Fourth Party, some of whom wished to force a division which others would have

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willingly avoided. At length, however, shortly before midnight, the final division was taken, when 220 voted for and 14 against the Bill, which for nearly four months had occupied the almost undivided attention of the House of Commons. The minority consisted wholly of Tories, among whom were Sir W. Barttelot, Lord Bective, and Mr. Whitley. The leaders and the bulk of the Conservative party absented themselves. Mr. Parnell, with half a dozen of his friends, walked out without voting, but the bulk of his party voted for the third reading.

Within a few minutes of its passage through the House of Commons, the Irish Land Bill was carried to the Lords, where, with Lord Thurlow on the woolsack, it was read a first time on the motion of Lord Monson. On the following Monday, Aug. 1, the Peers met an hour earlier than their usual custom, when the second reading of the Bill was moved by Lord Carlingford, who, without any attempts at oratorical display, quietly analysed the various provisions of the Bill, which he admitted to be of an exceptional nature; but not more so than the peculiar relation of Irish tenants towards their landlords demanded. He passed in review the arguments which had been advanced in support of the Government measure, resting upon the peculiarities of Ulster tenant-right as the keystone, and maintained that as a whole the Bill would cause no money loss to Irish landlords except in cases where they had imposed excessive rents, though they might be deprived of some of their power and prestige. Lord Carlingford throughout was clear and conciliatory, but his arguments were listened to with cold approval, whilst his earnestness excited no applause. Lord Salisbury at once rose to reply, and it was soon clear that his trenchant blows at the Bill awakened sympathetic encouragement from the majority of the Peers. He reminded them that thirty years previously Mr. Gladstone had bitterly attacked the Encumbered Estates Act, the product of a Liberal Government, on the ground of its confiscating tenants' improvements. If this Bill had been one to reinforce the efforts of Parliament to protect these improvements, the House of Lords would have offered but little opposition. But the present Bill proposed to give to the tenant the right to sell that which he had never bought, and to tear up the contracts by which he had bound himself. Ulster tenant-right at least recognised the dominant right of the landlord, whereas the Government Bill took away from the landlord his right to select his tenant, to fix his rent, or to decide the sites of his labourers' cottages. The Court by which all these questions were to be decided was constituted of partisans, having the strongest prepossessions in reference to the matters which they would have to decide. This was not the relegation of landlord and tenant to an impartial tribunal; it was Parliament imposing on the landlord, without appeal, terms detrimental to his interest. Freedom of contract, of which the Liberals spoke so much, had been sent to Jupiter and Saturn, whilst tenant-right had been acquired,

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not by purchase or labour, but because, in 1870, Mr. Gladstone and the House of Commons had fallen asleep. This Lord Salisbury described as the strangest and most alarming form of legislation—legislation by inadvertence. He denied that the measure would be accepted in Ireland, except perhaps for a very short time, as a message of peace; for henceforward the landowners would look upon Parliament and the Imperial Government as their worst enemies; and in view of recurring general elections would be living in perpetual apprehension of earthquakes. In view, however, of the prevailing agitation, and having regard to the state of anarchy arising from the inaction of the Government, he could not recommend his followers, although representing a good majority of the House of Lords, to vote against the second reading of the Bill, but rather to apply themselves in committee to remove some of its glaring injustice, and to wait and see how their amendments would be received. These amendments would be in the direction of Mr. Heneage's proposed exemption of English managed estates; Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's limitation of the Bill to farms valued below 100*l.*; and the omission of the clause under which leases granted since 1870 might be quashed. Lord O'Hagan defended the Bill at great length, arguing that none of the important principles upon which it was founded were either new or, as far as could be ascertained, distasteful to the landlord; he believed no measure ever framed for Ireland had met with such general approbation in all quarters. The most incisive speech of the first night's debate was that from Lord Lansdowne, who contrasted several contradictory clauses within the Bill. Those who, like him, were favourable to a large increase of proprietary amongst the Irish peasantry, found that by the Bill the tenant's position would be so fortified that he would not face the risks of proprietorship. Of the tenure clauses, which constituted the most important portion of the Bill, he was almost as distrustful as he was of the arguments by which they had been supported. He denied that the Bill was a development of the Act of 1870, or that it would prove a settlement of the Irish question; it was the result of an agitation and the starting-point of another; a sort of low-water mark, above which the next tide might possibly rise, but below which it would certainly not fall. He would not take the responsibility of moving its rejection, but hoped to see it greatly modified before it became law. He was followed in this view by Lords Waterford, Dunraven, and Monteagle, whilst Lords Lytton and Inchiquin were strong in their condemnation of its proposals; and the former, whilst pronouncing the Bill to be revolutionary, dangerous, and unjust, admitted that its rejection might be the signal for insurrection in Ireland, of which the whole responsibility would be thrown on the House of Lords. From the passing of the Bill, the land of Ireland would belong to no one—the landlord would have no motive to invest capital in it on his property, though he would retain just enough interest in it to prevent the tenant from doing so. The Bill, Lord

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Lytton maintained, would organise pauperism at one end of the social scale and paralyse capital at the other, and throughout the intervening grades of the agricultural community it would place the peasantry and proprietary classes in inevitable and interminable antagonism. Earl Spencer replied in a very simple speech to Lord Lytton's fiery onslaught, dwelling chiefly upon the difference of the farm systems of Ireland and England; upon the success of the Ulster custom in that province; and upon the recommendation of the various Commissions which had dealt with the land question. The measure he admitted was a strong one, but one weaker would have been more than useless; and its object was to reconcile landlord and tenant, to restore sympathy with law and order, and to create a feeling of good-will between Irish and English.

In the interval between the first and second night's debate a meeting of the Conservative peers was held at Lord Salisbury's private house, to consider what further course should be adopted. The decision practically arrived at a week previously, to allow the second reading to pass without a division, was maintained, but several amendments were declared to be of paramount importance, especially those to which Lord Salisbury had referred in his speech on the previous evening. Mr. Butt's definition of 'fair rent' was to be substituted for that contained in Section 7 of the Bill, in order to prevent tenant-right being taken into consideration when the fair rent was fixed; and the tenant was to be deprived of all right to claim compensation in cases where he received notice to quit for breach of agreement. Speeches were made by Lords Salisbury, Waterford, Leconfield, Donoughmore, Longford, and others, the two first-named taking the most leading part in the proceedings.

The second night's debate was opened by the Duke of Argyll, who delivered a severe criticism on the inconsistency of the Government and the vagueness of their Bill. Its object he declared to be, first, to empower three gentlemen to dictate the price of land all over a country inhabited by five millions of men; and secondly, to enable every tenant in Ireland to sell that which ought not to be his own by law, by custom, or by equity. The conditions of the Bill, which would release men from contracts into which they had freely entered, would throw into confusion the whole economical government of the country, would drive out of the field all solvent men, and demoralise the whole Irish people. All improvements by landlords would be stopped; for the landlords of Ireland, being deprived of their privileges, would be released from their duties, and tenants would fasten upon plots of land wholly unable to support them. The Duke further protested strongly against the unchecked growth of tenant-right, which would always be a power antagonistic to rent, as the arguments of the supporters of the Bill proved; and he asserted that, after the Bill had passed, the power of raising rents would not long remain in existence. In conclusion, he compared his quondam

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colleagues to a row of jelly fishes, beautiful creatures with a very delicate nervous system, but destitute of a skeleton and a backbone, making most beautiful convulsive movements in the water, and seeming to move in it, when in reality they were only floating with currents and the tide. Lords Monck, Powerscourt, and Waveney warmly supported the Bill, which was as strongly condemned by the Duke of Marlborough and Lords Midleton and Belmore. The official defence of the legal aspect of the measure was left to the Lord Chancellor, who, starting from the principle that laws of tenure are made for men, not men for them, argued that they must be changed and adjusted when social conditions or the safety of the State rendered such a course necessary. It was a mere mockery to talk of applying economic principles and freedom of contract under the state of things existing in Ireland: he challenged any Irish landlord present to say that an appeal to armed power was a better and more probable means of bringing about good relations between landlord and tenant, than the measure proposed by the Government. It was the consciousness of this truth that prevented them throwing out the Bill, notwithstanding the charges of revolutionary tendency and veiled communism brought against it. No member of the House had ventured to say that nothing should be done, and those who had echoed the complaints of the landlords had not said what remedy they would propose. As for the landlords' claim for compensation he could not see upon what it was based, as there was no suggestion, even to the extent embodied in the Act of 1870, of any confiscation. Lord Cairns then, on behalf of the Opposition, summed up the debate in a masterly speech. He began by expressing his regret that the proposals for emigration, and for the creation of a peasant proprietary had not gone much further; the sum allotted for the former purpose would not increase the number of emigrants more than three per cent., whilst the requisite consent of two-thirds of the tenantry would hamper the working of the purchase clauses. He fully endorsed Mr. Goschen's description of the Bill, when he said that 'the Bill imports principles foreign to all precedents of Liberal legislation, and is in itself a sort of coercion Bill—a Bill for coercing landlords to fix a fair rent.' The Government Bill was simply the three F.'s; the tenant was to obtain, not by inadvertence, as under the Act of 1870, a property in the soil, and the value of that property could only be given to him by taking it from some one else. After carefully reviewing the history and operation of tenant right and the Ulster custom, Lord Cairns urged their lordships to make such provisions in the measure as would prevent the tenant's right being paid for at the expense of the landlord's rent. The Government had taken the step of presenting the Bill, and if that House rejected it, it would assume a responsibility which remained with the Executive, and he therefore hoped that its main features would be allowed to pass unaltered; but he prophesied that, unless human nature were

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changed, the measure would put a stop to all landlord's improvements, perhaps would turn landlords into rent-chargers, and certainly would put an end to the kindly feeling, good-will, and friendship which should exist between landlords and tenants. Lord Kimberley closed the debate by thanking the House for recognising the emergency existing in Ireland, which rendered some such measure necessary. He denied the existence of fixity of tenure—the third F.—in the Bill, for the landlord could always recover possession on any breach of covenant, whilst the tenant had no such privilege; but he admitted that the position of the Irish tenant would henceforth be greatly improved by the full recognition of tenant-right, which could not be regarded as the confiscation of any privilege or property to which the landlord could legally lay claim.

The Bill was then read a second time, without a division being called.

The general tone of the debate in the House of Lords, as much as the expressed views of Conservative leaders, led the public to assume that the majority of that House perceived the danger of using their prerogative without restraint. Lord Lansdowne's searching criticism and Lord Salisbury's brilliant attack, the Duke of Argyll's and Lord Cairns' solid arguments and objections remained unanswered by the Ministerialists, but they would, it was assumed, be turned to no practical use. The machinery of Constitutional Government would, it was asserted, come to a deadlock were the opposing majorities of the two Houses to be brought face to face. The work in committee was therefore looked forward to with but little fear and less interest, although the *Standard*, almost alone, uttered a note of warning, pointing out that the House of Lords was in danger of covering itself with ridicule if, after its absolute condemnation of the Bill, it was allowed to become law. That this warning was not without meaning became evident when the discussion of the various clauses commenced. The Duke of Argyll led the attack by inserting a proviso that the landlord should have a right of veto on the sale, when the farm improvements had been made by him or his predecessor; and another which deprived the tenant of the right of free sale when the landlord had purchased the tenant-right. A division on the latter amendment gave an estimate of the relative strength of parties, only 67 Peers supporting the Government, whilst 219 voted against them. A number of smaller amendments were then carried, mostly without division; all of which had for their object to free the landlord from the tenant's ascendancy, or to place the tenants under the landlord's control. Lord Salisbury first prominently intervened on clause 7, where he obtained for the landlord the free use of the Land Court for matters unconnected with fixing the rent; and he next carried, without a division, Mr. Heneage's amendment, a proposal to exclude English managed estates from the operation of the Bill,

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which had been rejected in the Commons by a very much smaller majority than had been accustomed to follow the lead of the Government. On the other hand, Lord Edward Fitzmaurice's proposal to exclude the larger holdings from the benefits of the Bill found no support in the Upper House from the Conservatives or from the Whigs.

Although on the first night the committee had dealt in a summary fashion with many of the details of the Bill, and had introduced others which considerably varied its scope and intention, it was admitted that none of its essential principles had been seriously affected, and it was generally hoped that similar moderation would be displayed in dealing with the remaining clauses. The way in which this hope was realised was variously interpreted by the supporters and opponents of the Ministerial policy. On the second evening Lord Salisbury commenced by proposing that no tenant's rent should be reduced on account of any money he might have paid for any tenant-right on coming into possession. This was opposed from the Conservative side by the Marquess of Bath, who thought the amendment, if carried, would make disloyal the loyal inhabitants of Ulster, and by Lord Leitrim, who maintained that landlords were benefited by the Ulster custom; whilst the Dukes of Argyll and Somerset, and the Earl of Derby all agreed in considering the amendment a dangerous one, and urged its withdrawal. In spite of this opposition, however, it was carried by 147 against 110, the closest division during the committee, throughout which at least 250 Peers were constantly present. In the course of the sitting, on the motion of Lord Lansdowne, they withdrew from the Land Court the power given to it to revise the rent at the end of existing leases; and, on the motion of Lord Cairns, omitted the provisions empowering the courts to quash any lease made since 1870 under undue influence. On the clause which provided for the purchase of estates by the Commissioners, and their re-sale to the tenants, Lord Emly carried, by 206 against 52, the omission of the words rendering the consent of three-fourths of the tenants necessary; and finally, Lord Salisbury expunged, without a division, the amendment which the Government had inserted at the instigation of Mr. Parnell, and under which the court was empowered to stay proceedings against a tenant in arrear, pending the decision on his application for a judicial rent.

The alterations thus introduced into the Bill were admitted on all sides to have fundamentally changed its character. Lord Salisbury's amendment on clause 7 imposed a specific limitation on tenant-right, affecting it in every point which was of primary importance; and it was at once seen that this might lead to a difference between the two chambers which would be difficult to adjust. In some quarters it was urged, with great force and fairness, that the Government had not only been out-voted, but out-argued, and if they had reasons to urge in support of their scheme,

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weightier than those advanced by its apologists, it was to be regretted they had them in the background.

On the third reading (Aug. 8), Lord Carnarvon delivered a fierce philippic against the 'revolutionary' measure, and a warm defence of the moderation shown by the Peers in their dealings with it. The Bill, he maintained, divorced landlords from their duties and rights in connexion with the soil; established a pauper-peasant proprietary, and would leave Ireland in the same distracted, convulsed, and discreditable condition she had been for the past year. It would lead to fresh demands, to more agitation, and to greater friction between England and Ireland; and if things grew worse instead of better, the people of this country would (thanks to the policy of the Government) have to face the very grave alternative of a total severance of their relations with Ireland, or a return to the older and more severe method of government. After a few remarks from Lord Granville, whose enforced absence from the House throughout the debates had been very detrimental to the interests of the Government, the Bill was read a third time and passed.

The slight allusion to the proceedings of the Upper House contained in Mr. Gladstone's speech at the Mansion House on Aug. 6, did not suggest that he was under any apprehensions as to the ultimate fate of his Bill, but his confidence scarcely spread beyond the limits of his Cabinet, if, indeed, all its members were hopeful as to the final result of the struggle which was then imminent. Ministers made no secret of their intentions to strike out the more important of the Lords' amendments introduced by the House of Lords, and to accept the minor and technical changes without demur. This line was closely followed when, on August 9, the discussion on the Bill was taken up again in the House of Commons. The first point on which a stand was made was on a modification of the famous 'Heneage' clause, which gave the landlord a right to interfere with the principle of free sale on English managed estates. The Peers wished to allow the landlord the power to prohibit free sale when he or his predecessors had made the permanent improvements. This point Mr. Gladstone agreed to accept, if it could be likewise shown that the landlord had maintained them. In spite of the secession of Mr. Parnell, the Government were supported by 258 against 100. The Duke of Argyll's proviso giving the landlord who had purchased the tenant-right power to recover the value from the incoming tenant, was now summarily rejected by 272 against 145 Conservatives, the majority being composed of Liberals and Irishmen of all hues. A long discussion then ensued on Lord Lansdowne's proposal to restrain the tenant's right to erect additional dwelling-houses on his holding without the landlord's permission. The Government on this point were willing to concede so much as would limit the erection of new dwelling-houses to such as the tenants themselves proposed to occupy. The Parnellites strongly denounced this reactionary step, which might have the effect of sons forcing their mothers, or fathers sending their

married daughters, into cabins and cow-houses which they themselves had abandoned. The Conservatives on the other hand pointed to over-crowding as the source of Irish misery. The Government thus found itself placed between two conflicting currents of opinion, the Conservatives objecting to the proposed Ministerial amendment whilst the Parnellites opposed the clause altogether. Two divisions were therefore necessary, and the enemies of the Ministry, who were unable to coalesce, were defeated in detail.

Mr. Gladstone having agreed in spite of the Radicals and Parnellites to accept the Lords' provision under which a landlord's claim was recognised as the first charge on the purchase money of any holding, the amendments to clause 7, which had now become clause 8, were then taken, and gave rise to some very curious Parliamentary finessing. Lord Salisbury had insisted upon giving the landlord free access to the Land Court, even in cases where he had not demanded an increase of rent; and to this Mr. Gladstone objected, on the ground that before appealing to the court the landlord should have endeavoured to come to terms with the tenant. Mr. Gibson urged that both parties should be placed on an equal footing. Mr. Brand suggested general words giving either party power to go into court after they had failed to come to an agreement, while Sir S. Northcote thought that justice would be done between the parties if the landlord were allowed to go into court after the tenant had claimed a reduction which the landlord had refused. Mr. Gladstone intimated that he was willing to reopen the question in the direction suggested by Mr. Brand, but preferred another form of words. Objection was taken to this course on the point of order, but the Speaker held that it would be perfectly regular. The Lords' amendment was first disagreed with, and Mr. Brand, having moved his amendment, allowed it to be negatived, in order that Mr. Gladstone's might be substituted; but the Speaker declined to allow it to be put, on the technical ground that it was identical with Mr. Brand's which had been negatived. Sir S. Northcote thereupon moved his amendment, which was negatived by 279 to 168. Mr. Gladstone, however, intimated that he looked to the House of Lords to embody his proposed compromise in the Bill when it was next before them.

A number of minor amendments were similarly rejected, either by large majorities or more frequently without a division. On points of detail, the Commons showed every disposition to accept the amendments and corrections introduced into the Bill; but upon questions of principle they maintained their own views. For this cause, Lord Pembroke's amendment empowering the court to refuse an application for a judicial rent in cases where the tenant had allowed the holding to deteriorate, was rejected: as was also, but by the narrow majority of 64, that of Lord Lansdowne, which seemed aimed at curtailing the 15 years' leases to be granted by the court. A sharp struggle took place over a limitation introduced by Lord Salisbury into the

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clause by which it was provided that no rent should be made payable in respect of improvements made by the tenant. Had Lord Salisbury's amendment been adopted, the power previously conferred on the court of taking into account the tenant's improvements would have been rendered valueless, except on the renewal of the statutory term—that is to say, it would have been only prospective and not retrospective, as intended by the Government and decided by the House of Commons. The Attorney-General for Ireland, however, at length consented to modify the clause as it originally stood, so as to admit of the landlord claiming an increase of rent for improvements which he had himself made or paid for. Another proposal introduced by Lord Salisbury provided that the rent should not be reduced on account of any money paid for tenant-right to anyone besides the landlord. This, in spite of Sir Stafford Northcote's offer to limit its reference to payments made during the statutory period was rejected by 268 to 133, a large majority, due probably to the feeling that the security of Ulster tenant-right would be menaced by such a proviso. A like fate overtook the amendment by which leaseholders at the ending of their leases were deprived of this advantage of the Bill; whilst the clause giving the court power to quash leases obtained by undue influence, which had been struck out by the Lords, was reinserted. In addition to the clauses already referred to, the Government accepted the Lords' amendments in the matter of requiring the landlord's assent in writing before any holding could be sublet or subdivided or new dwelling-houses erected; in permitting the landlord to resume possession of a holding on the expiry of a lease, if he desired *bonâ fide* to take it into his own occupation; and in certain modifications of the purchase clause. The Lords had summarily thrown out the clause adopted on the suggestion of Mr. Parnell, under which sale under writ might be stayed for six months, pending the decision of a fair rent; but the Government proposed as a compromise that the period of postponement should be limited to three months. Against this course, Mr. Parnell and his followers strongly protested, and for more than two hours endeavoured to obtain better terms from the Government. At length, shortly before four o'clock on the morning of August 12, after three lengthy sittings, the Lords amendments were disposed of, a committee was hastily appointed to confer with the Lords, and the Bill carried to the Upper House, where three or four members were waiting to receive it, under the presidency of Lord Thurlow.

The question as to what the Lords should and would do was now keenly debated throughout the country. It was impossible to accuse the House of Commons of treating the Peers' suggestions with disrespect, for it had devoted more time to their consideration than the Lords to framing them. The *Times* and all the principal London papers pointed out that, the Lords by assenting to the second reading of a Bill they heartily disliked had admitted a political necessity which they could not subsequently ignore.

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The responsibility of the measure lay with the Ministry, and unless the Lords were prepared to carry on the government they were bound to accept the Bill as returned to them. The only alternative suggested was that the Bill should be dropped, to be reintroduced in an autumn session; but the idea that the whole year's work should thus be thrown to the winds met with little support. The argument advanced by the supporters of the majority in the House of Peers was that the Bill, as sent up from the Commons, was in every sense a bad one—based upon the mischievous principles of regulating the condition of land tenure by the decrees of a court instead of by free contract. The landlords had therefore the right to look to their own special representatives for protection against the general body. The Bill was read a second time in the Lords because the responsible Ministers of the Crown asserted that an insurrection in Ireland would follow its rejection. In the face of this warning, the Opposition would not have been justified in acting on its clear convictions; and, therefore, they admitted the necessity of a Land Bill, but reserved to themselves the right to exclude from it provisions which were manifestly unjust or mischievous. The *St. James's Gazette* alone amongst the London papers maintained that the Peers, 'not having been confronted by any strong current of popular opinion or by any exhibition of *force majeure*,' were justified in insisting upon their amendments. When the House of Lords assembled on the evening of August 12, it was more crowded than in the height of the season or at the opening of the session. Over two hundred Peers were present, of whom, we judge by the divisions taken, nearly two-thirds were opposed to the Ministerial Bill, and prepared to follow the advice given to them by the *St. James's Gazette*. A private meeting had been held at Lord Salisbury's residence, but no report of the proceedings transpired, although it was rumoured that a policy of 'No surrender' had been proposed and generally endorsed. It was therefore not surprising that a spirit of combat was stirred up, and that even on points of minor importance the decisions of the Commons were set aside. Although a large concession had been made in the sense of the Duke of Argyll's amendment concerning 'English managed' estates, Lord Salisbury, in spite of the Government opposition, insisted upon the introduction of the original words, while the Duke of Argyll revived in a new form the case of the landlords who had purchased the tenant-right of their holdings. This amendment was supported by 172 to 46—a large number of Whigs (27) voting against the Government. On the famous and much disputed clause 8 (formerly clause 7) the Lords insisted upon the restoration of those of their amendments which the Commons had declared to be inadmissible and contrary to the principles of the Bill. The provisoes in favour of leaseholders and Mr. Parnell's clause were also struck out, and before midnight the work was completed in a spirit of 'No surrender,' which found vent in the closing speech of the leader of the Opposition. On his motion

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that a committee should be appointed to draw up reasons for disagreeing with the Commons' amendments on the Lords' amendment's, Lord Granville expressed his regret, as an individual member of the House, at the constant and continuous manner in which the Opposition showed itself to be uninfluenced by the immense majority of the representatives of the constituencies. Lord Salisbury protested against this 'scolding,' and maintained that the majority had throughout acted consistently, and he felt sure that if an appeal were made to the judgment of the country, 'it would recognise in their action a desire to protect individual rights and legal and constitutional principles against violent innovation promoted by temporary passion.'

The attitude assumed by the Conservative majority in the House of Lords was received with almost as much dismay as surprise, even by those who held Conservative views. Whilst ready to admit that logically Lord Salisbury might be justified in asserting in a landowners' assembly the special rights of property, they could not understand that having consented on the second reading to pass the Bill, the Peers insisted upon subjecting it to such modifications as would, in the opinion of its authors, render it useless. The *St. James's Gazette*, as before, was almost singular in its confidence that the Lords would not surrender. Lord Cairns, Lord Salisbury, and their party colleagues, it argued, had decided in consultation upon taking a certain course; and if they were to abandon it as soon as they met with opposition they would be heedlessly bringing their own branch of the legislature into contempt. To provoke a crisis on an issue so illogical was, in the opinion of the other organs of the Conservative party, to embark upon a crusade in which disaster was inevitable. It was obvious that Lord Salisbury could not, with the materials at his command, compose an Administration which could carry on public business for a day; and that consequently he must look to a dissolution to furnish him with a working majority in the House of Commons; for he must have been aware that Mr. Gladstone was pledged to the constituencies of England and Scotland to carry an Irish Land Bill, and the Irish representatives had clearly indicated that the Bill proposed and amended was the minimum they would accept. Three courses were open to the cabinet which assembled on the day after the Lords' rejection of the compromise offered to them: the abandonment of the Bill and its revival in an autumn session; resignation of office followed by a fresh appeal to the electors; or another attempt to effect a compromise with the recalcitrant Peers. Throughout Saturday (13th) and Sunday the situation was severely strained. Members who had left town in anticipation of the formal closing of the session hurried back; Liberal associations throughout the country transmitted telegrams of encouragement to the Government, or injunctions to their representatives to stand firm. On the other hand, it was asserted that not a few Irish Conservative Peers urged Lord Salisbury that the rejection of the Bill

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would be the signal to the Land League to resume its agitation with increased vigour, and that the passions of the peasantry would be further inflamed by inaccurate representations of the strife between the two branches of the legislature. Public agitation was, however, soon to be relieved. Already, on the morning of Monday (15th), it was currently rumoured that the Ministry, whilst standing firmly by the points of the Bill they considered vital, were not indisposed to make various formal concessions which it was hoped would satisfy the majority in the Lords. When the House of Commons met, and Mr. Gladstone rose to explain the course adopted by the Government, it was plain from his studiously considerate language that he desired to make the Lords' retreat easy and dignified. He dwelt on the concessions proposed at considerable length. The right of appeal from the decisions of the Land Court was considerably extended; the exclusion of leaseholders from the benefits of the Bill, limited however, afresh, to such as fell in subsequent to 1941, was admitted; and an amendment of Ulster tenant-right custom was agreed to, but in a sense which obtained for it the approval of Mr. Shaw and Mr. Givan. On one point the Government gave way altogether—the Parnell clause, designed to protect evicted tenants in the interval previous to obtaining a judicial lease, was, in accordance with the wishes of the Lords, omitted. The reason given by Mr. Gladstone for this desertion of his ally was not deference to the Lords, or the terms of any secret understanding with the Opposition, but because the author of the clause as adopted by the committee in the House of Commons had pronounced it to be worthless. On every other point Mr. Gladstone proposed, and the House by very large majorities agreed, to dissent from the Lords' amendments. Before concluding he emphatically disclaimed having been party to any compromise or secret understanding with the leaders or any members of the Opposition, as had been suggested by Mr. Parnell and some of his friends. Sir Stafford Northcote, who was suffering from indisposition, entered a very feeble protest against the course taken by Mr. Gladstone, and a committee was appointed to draw up a statement of reasons for differing from the Lords' amendments.

Judging from the altered tone of the London and provincial press, on the morning after Mr. Gladstone's statement, the fear of any immediate crisis was considerably allayed. The Liberal and independent organs foresaw the speedy collapse of the Lords' opposition, whilst the extreme Conservative journals found equally firm ground for satisfaction in Mr. Gladstone's final concessions. The *St. James's Gazette* declared that the Government, whilst insisting on their own form of words in several clauses which raised questions of minor importance, would still maintain their view with regard to the Duke of Argyll's amendment to the purchase of Ulster-tenant right, would nevertheless accept the more important of the Lords' amendments—for instance, the landlord's access to the court; Lord Pembroke's amendment as to the deterioration of

farm-buildings; the allowing of appeals and the suspension of legal processes, would be assented to; and, above all, Lord Salisbury's important proviso that the cost of tenant right should not be taken into consideration in settling the judicial rent, would be left intact. The hopes thus inspired of a peaceful solution were strengthened by the rumours of what transpired at a meeting of Conservatives held at Lord Salisbury's house. When later in the day the House of Lords met, although there was a considerable attendance of Peers, the falling off on the Conservative side was very appreciable, and the two parties seemed pretty evenly balanced. On the order for the further consideration of the Commons' further amendments to the Irish Land Bill being read, Lord Salisbury rose to give a history of the action of the two Houses. He contended that he had throughout adhered to the policy of making no changes which really interfered with the main principles of the Bill. The two important points which he and his friends had attempted to secure were that the landlord should have the same means of access to the Land Court as the tenant, and that there should be no danger of fixing the rent in such a way as to diminish it in proportion to the price paid by the tenant to his predecessor for his interest in the holding. To these principles the House of Commons had assented, and he thought they might regard this fact with satisfaction, though his opinion as to the injustice of many of the enactments of the Bill remained unaltered. With regard to the amendments of the Duke of Argyll, although still ready himself to support them, their author not being present, he would not undertake the responsibility of moving them in his absence. Lord Lansdowne then having expressed himself satisfied with the general concessions, declined to press his point with regard to the position of leaseholders, and all further opposition to the Bill ceased. Lord Carlingford declared that the Bill, as it then stood, maintained all the principles which the Ministers sought to embody in it, and expressed his belief that it would be beneficial both to the landlords and tenants of Ireland. After a few words from Lord Monck in approval of the Bill, and an assurance from Lord Granville that the Government would not relax its vigour and energy in maintaining the law, the amendments as finally settled were agreed to, and the debates on the Irish Land Bill, which had occupied the entire session, were at last on August 16 finally closed, and on the 22nd the Royal assent was given to it by Commission.

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CHAPTER IV.

Death of the Earl of Beaconsfield—The Conservative Leadership—The Bribery Bill and the Bribery Commission: Canterbury, Knaresborough, Boston, Sandwich, Macclesfield, and Oxford—The Bye-Elections of the Session—The Bankruptcy Bill—Army Reform—The Estimates—Mr. Gladstone's Eleventh Budget—Mr. Bradlaugh in the House of Commons: in the Court of Queen's Bench—The Universities Bill—The Queen's Speech.

BEFORE passing in review the minor events of the session, reference must be made to one, which though in no case likely to have been long postponed, seemed to come upon the world so unexpectedly as to throw into confusion the plans and theories of statesmen at home and abroad. Although the head of a party which recent events had in one branch of the legislature placed in a considerable minority, Lord Beaconsfield's strength elsewhere, combined with his sagacity and tenacity of purpose, caused him to be regarded as an important factor in English politics, not only by opponents and supporters at home, but by statesmen of all countries and of all shades of political opinion. For thirty years he had been the virtual, if not the ostensible leader of a party whose aims and policy he had succeeded in turning into wider channels than those through which it had formerly run. The death of Sir Robert Peel rendered possible the reunion of the two sections of the Tory party, which that statesman's Free Trade policy had divided; and Mr. Disraeli having accomplished this task, set himself to work out the wider and more difficult problem of giving to Conservatism a popular basis. For five-and-twenty years, the greater portion of which was passed in Opposition, his brief intervals of office being justified by scarcely a nominal majority, the Conservative leader steadily pursued his purpose, and at length in 1867 he was able to carry a Reform Bill based on the principle of household suffrage, and extending the franchise to a class which he contended, against the opinion of nearly all his colleagues, was open to Tory influences, and animated by other than purely economical views. The first trial of the new electorate was avowedly altogether imperfect, but six years later an appeal to the country placed the Conservative party in power with a larger majority than it had claimed since the days of Lord Liverpool. For the first time, after long and patient waiting, Mr. Disraeli was able, not only to unfold the tendencies of modern Toryism, but to give to the world some idea of those qualities as a statesman and director of English policy which fate had till then denied to him. His first object was to reassert for

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England her position in the Councils of Europe, and to make the strength of the Empire felt in every quarter of the globe. To effect this purpose, Lord Beaconsfield, although above all other statesmen of his time 'a Parliamentary man,' displayed on more than one occasion a singular disregard for Parliamentary form, as in the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares, and the summoning of Indian troops to Malta. His policy, however, was enthusiastically endorsed by a large section of the nation, and at the close of the Berlin Congress, at which he represented this country, his fame stood on a level with that of the most successful politicians of the day. The result of the general election of 1880, although it may have disappointed him, neither disturbed his equanimity nor betrayed him into a loss of dignity or reserve. To the whole people of England Lord Beaconsfield was an object of admiration, as one who from complete obscurity had fought his way to the highest position in the State, and who, when he was no longer the Minister of the Crown, succeeded without protest to the delicate post formerly occupied by Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Lansdowne, of chief adviser to the Sovereign. The party which he led was essentially his own, created, educated, and directed by him; and the strength of the work which he had been thirty years in perfecting, became most evident in the day of its defeat. The verdict of the public was almost unanimous in admiration of his genius, if not in commendation of his aims. The *Times* found his secret of success in his 'high courage, his unswerving purpose, his imperturbable temper, and his versatile mastery of Parliamentary tactics.' The *Standard* believed his name would be recorded amongst the most illustrious of English statesmen, 'as a statesman devoted to principles and bent on applying them in action, and as the leader of a party defeated and disorganised repeatedly, and raised under his admirable guidance to a position of strength and good repute. Mr. Disraeli had made for himself a name, the lustre of which no rancorous efforts of political partisanship can darken.' The *Daily News* regarded him as the most successful man of his time. 'His zeal for England cannot be doubted. He longed to see her dictating the destinies of the world, and himself dictating her destinies,' and prophesied that with him much of the brightness and colour of English political life would be blotted out. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, recognising the personal ambition which distinguished Lord Beaconsfield's ideas from the narrower type of party leader, admitted that he pursued his objects 'with a strength and singleness of will that has seldom been surpassed in the history of human effort. We recognise his penetration, his judgment of character, his dexterity in the tactics of party, his equality of temper, his imperturbable self-command. In Lord Beaconsfield they were all brought to the highest point of effectiveness by an indomitable will, by a patience and tenacity that in their own way may be called heroic. Akin to the strength of will was a

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courageous and independent judgment.' When a few weeks later the Government, in response to the general wish of the nation, proposed the erection of a national monument to his deceased rival, Mr. Gladstone's eulogium was dignified and ungrudging. He alluded to the magnitude of the part Lord Beaconsfield had played on behalf of his country, but dwelt more especially upon his private character, his indomitable will, his intellectual gifts, and his domestic virtues. The protest which Mr. Labouchere raised against the vote of public money to commemorate a party leader, found only fifty-four supporters out of a House composed of 434 members. On the same occasion in the House of Lords, Lord Granville, in moving an address to the Crown, paid a warm and graceful tribute to Lord Beaconsfield, and Lord Salisbury appeared for the first time in his character of the new Conservative leader. This inheritance, it was asserted, Lord Salisbury owed mainly to his deceased colleague's selection. Public expectation pointed either to a general leadership of the party by Sir Stafford Northcote, or else to the putting of the post into commission, at least so far as the House of Lords was concerned. The Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough, as well as Earl Cairns, had their respective supporters amongst their order and in the press, and at one time rumour beguiled itself with tales of dissension amongst the Tories; but at a meeting held on May 9, the proposal of Lord Salisbury's name, made by the principal members of the Conservative party, was unanimously ratified by the Peers present. Sir Stafford Northcote, it was decided, was to remain the head of the party in the Commons, and this combination it was felt would assure to Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote far greater powers and freedom of action than would have been accorded to either of the three other Peers named had the choice fallen upon one of them. Each of the chosen two was supposed to be eminently gifted with those qualities necessary for party leadership in which the other was thought to be deficient; and the Conservative policy was felt to be safe in the guidance of a duumvirate in which boldness and prudence were equally represented. Public opinion admitted that the arrangement made by the Conservatives was one which guaranteed to them advantages which were unattainable in the absence of the single leader, whose loss had for a moment filled them with dismay, and this opinion was fully justified by the first public acts of the coequal chiefs.

Although the Bills relating to Ireland occupied the attention of Parliament to the exclusion of almost every other topic, it must not be assumed that the session was from other points of view wholly barren of incident, or that events were not happening outside Parliament which bore very closely upon the political history of the year. In order to follow them, it is necessary to retrace our steps, reserving for a separate chapter all reference to the foreign and colonial policy of the Government.

The need of some more drastic method for dealing with

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electoral corruption had been forced upon the general mind by the evidence produced before the Election Commissions, whose sittings, though commenced in the previous autumn, were protracted long into the present year. The first report presented (January 31) was that on the city of Canterbury, where the inquiry extended back to the year 1874, but was specially directed to the bye-election of 1879 and the general election of 1880. At the former, when the Conservative candidate Colonel Laurie was returned, the Liberals were the offenders, no case being substantiated against the winning side. The Conservative majority in the city, however, had been reduced from 500 to less than sixty, so that when in the year following the general election arrived, the Conservatives came to the conclusion that bribery was necessary to carry the seat, and a sum of about 400*l.* was devoted to the purpose. On this occasion the Liberals seem to have abstained almost entirely from actual bribery, but both sides resorted to very general treating. The general conclusion of the Commissioners was that the constituency as a whole was not corrupt, and that out of a total of 3,000 voters, not more than five or six hundred were accessible to bribery, some of whom, however, held municipal offices, and others were justices of the peace.

The verdict on Knaresborough was even milder. The Commissioners, though they drew up a schedule of persons giving and receiving bribes, decided that corrupt practices had not prevailed either in 1874 or in 1880; but at both, treating had been sanctioned on both sides with an undue lavishness. Boston, which had enjoyed the notoriety of a previous Election Commission in 1868, but had then escaped disfranchisement, was found to have been but little improved by the warning then administered; bribery was resorted to impartially by both the Liberal and Conservative agents. The Commissioners reported by name about 300 persons, many of whom were not of the impoverished class, who admitted that they received money directly in respect of their votes. They also declared a number of other persons to have been guilty of bribery by employment; whilst the Liberal Association endeavoured to procure votes corruptly by paying voters, their children and their friends, for unnecessary work at a scale at least double the ordinary rate of wages in the town. In this way at least 1,200 persons found employment, and more again benefited by a practice found to exist in Boston of borrowing money from persons representing the borough or desiring to do so. The Commissioners for these reasons found that corrupt practices had very extensively prevailed, and scheduled as guilty of bribery one of the candidates, two solicitors, and others.

The state of affairs at Sandwich, as revealed to the Commissioners, was far worse than at Boston. They there found that in the contest at the bye-election in May 1880, when Mr. Crompton Roberts (C.) was elected by 1,145 votes against 705 given for Sir Julian Goldsmid (L.), there was practised throughout the consti-

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tuency not only indirect bribery of various kinds, but direct bribery, the most extensive and systematic. They scheduled 128 persons as bribers and 1,005 as bribees at this election, of whom no less than 127 were marked as having received bribes from both sides. With regard to the candidates, the Commissioners 'were unable to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Crompton Roberts gave a tacit sanction to corrupt practices by providing money which he had reason to suspect, and must have suspected, would be used for bribery.' As to Sir Julian Goldsmid, it appeared, 'on his own statement, that during the contest many things were, to his knowledge, being done on his behalf by his agents and partisans which were in fact forms of bribery.' Both candidates were, therefore, scheduled. The Commissioners commented on the expenditure of Mr. Henry Brassey in Sandwich between 1874 and 1880, and its influence in securing the unopposed return of Lord Brabourne (then Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) and Mr. Brassey at the general election. This expenditure they held to have been excessive, and that its effect was to render it impossible for a man not able or willing to go to equal expense to contest or represent Sandwich. But the Commissioners did not find that corrupt practices prevailed at the general election, and so did not make any inquiry into previous elections. 'But,' they say,—

'Observing the nature and manner of the bribery committed at the contest between Mr. Crompton Roberts and Sir Julian Goldsmid, the general expectation that money would be distributed in bribery, the almost universal willingness and even avidity to accept bribes, the great proportion of the population implicated, the ease with which the most extensive bribery was carried out, the organisation for the purpose of bribery, which was far too facile and complete to be inexperienced, the readiness on the part of many to accept bribes on both sides, and the total absence of a voice to warn, condemn, or denounce, we cannot doubt that electoral corruption had long and extensively prevailed in the borough of Sandwich.'

In Chester the Commissioners reported that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed at the elections of 1874–1880, and scheduled about 100 persons as guilty of bribery, amongst whom were the mayor, four aldermen, and eight town councillors.

The principal weapon of parliamentary warfare at Chester, according to the Commissioners, was beer. The party which could secure the public-houses would usually secure the majority of votes. There was a large mass of voters who refused to come to the poll unless they were treated. The published returns of clerks, messengers, and personation agents were thoroughly fraudulent. Large sums of money were forthcoming, and were entrusted to irresponsible persons for disbursement. At least 9,000*l.* was spent upon the election. The money came from sources the most diverse, from clerks, from shopkeepers, from publicans, from party organisations. The treasurer of a central Conservative fund of enormous magnitude, drew cheques which were distributed so widely that he could not

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with certainty remember the names of the persons to whom, or the circumstances under which, sums of 500*l.* and 1,000*l.* had been given at Chester.

A fund existed (was said to exist) on the Liberal side, but the Commissioners could obtain no evidence that any portion of this fund found its way to Chester.

At Macclesfield the Commissioners' searches after a pure election carried them back as far as 1865, when they seem to have given up the quest in despair. In reporting that corrupt practices extensively prevailed, they scheduled no less than 2,872 guilty persons, amongst whom were two late Liberal members, the election agents of both Liberal and Conservative candidates, four justices of the peace, three aldermen, and thirty-one town councillors.

Referring to the election of 1880, the Commissioners found that treating, as seems to have been invariably the case at Macclesfield, had been most profuse, being not confined to actual voters, but 'wives, sisters, and relatives of voters, and non-voters of all kinds,' coming in for a considerable share. The Commissioners were also much struck at the 'open, fearless, and confiding manner' in which corruption was practised on both sides. 'No recourse was had to any of the ordinary contrivances by which, elsewhere, such practices are attempted to be hidden; the "man in the moon" and his methods of procedure were alike unknown at Macclesfield.' The bribes were, however, in most cases, trifling in amount, and the Commissioners add:—

'Of those who were proved to have received bribes, though there were, no doubt, many who declined to vote without being paid, many who sold their votes to the highest bidder, and whose political conviction was, at the utmost, only strong enough to induce them to take a smaller bribe on their own side than the opponents were prepared to offer, and many who deliberately accepted money from both sides, and then felt themselves "bound in honour to split their votes," yet a large number of them were persons who would not have accepted money from the opposite side, but who thought that if money was going among their friends they were as much entitled to have some as anyone else, and therefore accepted their day's wages or a few shillings wherewith to treat themselves before or after polling. This they took as a sort of compliment, and without any feeling of degradation or idea that it would constitute bribery.'

At Gloucester the Commissioners limited their inquiries to elections subsequent to 1873, when the election seems to have disclosed no very startling features. But in 1880, 1,916 electors admitted having received bribes to the amount of about 2,500*l.*, and the Commissioners suspected about 840 more of having received about 1,100*l.*, and believed that 2,750 were bribed out of 4,904 who recorded their votes. About 270 or 280 distributed these bribes. Among those scheduled were three magistrates,

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three aldermen, fifteen town councillors, five guardians of the poor, one member of the school board, and four solicitors.

The leading agents engaged in corrupt practices on both sides were principally members of the Corporation, and in the course of the investigation it appeared that bribery was the rule and not the exception at all elections in the city of Gloucester. At municipal elections the price given for the vote was not so high as at parliamentary elections, but the practice of bribery was so ingrained, that a large number of the poorer electors would not avail themselves of their franchise, either municipal or parliamentary, unless they received a sum of money for 'loss of time.'

The Commissioners on the Oxford election were the last to issue their report (April 8), their inquiries having extended to five elections. That held in 1868 seems to have been comparatively pure, but each succeeding contest was marked by greater corruption. According to the Commissioners, there was very little direct buying and selling of votes, corruption in Oxford mostly taking the form of colourable employment. Some money, but not much, was expended in paying voters for their loss of time, and in treating. The number of electors open to these corrupt influences was estimated at about 1,000. These men were, after a winter of great distress, subjected to the temptation arising from the expenditure of unusually large sums of money; for, putting aside the returning officer's charges, about 7,500*l.* was spent in the April election, 1881, and upwards of 11,000*l.* in the May election, in a constituency numbering 6,166 electors.

Amongst the better class two magistrates and five town councillors were declared to have been guilty of corrupt practices, but the candidates were shown to have been ignorant of how matters were carried on. Finally, although the Commissioners did not regard their schedules as exhaustive of the names of all who, under colour of payment for employment, received money for their votes, yet the constituency of the city was not in their opinion generally corrupt.

In spite of the stringency of some of the reports of the Commissioners, very few prosecutions followed. By far the largest portion of the corruptors and corrupted in each constituency had turned Queen's evidence against themselves, and thus obtained certificates which saved them from ulterior proceedings. Of those who were ultimately charged at the summer assize for criminal offences, by far the larger portion were acquitted; for instance, at Boston out of nine persons originally indicted for bribery and perjury, only one was convicted, and for the latter offence only. At Chester the agent for the Liberal candidate was convicted of bribery and making a false return. At Sandwich, where the bribery had been more wide-spread, the convictions were more summary, but in all the cases sentence was deferred until after the Long Vacation, when in the Court of Common Pleas sentence was pronounced against ten persons of different

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stations in life, found guilty, and penalties varying from six to eighteen months' hard labour were imposed. The surprise aroused by this unexpected vindication of the law was quickly followed by an agitation in various quarters to obtain a total, or at least a partial remission of the sentences. It was asserted on one side that the offence of bribery had been so often condoned, that to brand it as a degrading crime was the secret way to arouse public sympathy with the first victims of the law. On the other hand, it was maintained that the social position of those condemned was rather an aggravation of their offence, and that their sentences would arouse the public conscience to a just sense of the wickedness of a course which had hitherto been allowed to go unpunished. The agitation for the remission of the sentences at length took the definite shape of memorials to the Home Secretary, signed by 43,841 persons, amongst whom were 32 Peers, 75 members of the House of Commons, Liberals and Conservatives; 313 bankers, 1,113 clergymen, and 3,597 solicitors. Sir William Harcourt, after a very brief delay, declined to interfere with the sentences, though in the case of one prisoner, whose health had given way, he subsequently consented to his discharge.

The by-elections of the session were for the most part favourable to the Conservative party. In few instances were the issues raised as interesting or significant as those which were fought out later in the year. The first trial of strength was at Wigan, caused by the removal of the sitting member to the Upper House. The seat had for a long time been held by the Conservatives, though a Liberal candidate, who had already been before the electors at the general election, again presented himself, but on the present occasion he polled 344 fewer votes than on the previous one. His defeat was, however, attributed in great measure to the Irish vote, said to number from 1,500 to 2,000 in the borough, and although many of these may have abstained from voting on account of the coercion policy of the Government, the number who polled scarcely lent colour to the theory that there was any important change of sides amongst those who had hitherto been regarded as Liberal voters. The result of the election, however, was not allowed to pass unchallenged. A petition was presented against the successful candidate and sustained before the election judge, whose report on the constituency showed that the revelations already made in other boroughs had not exercised a deterrent effect at Wigan. The Government were anxious to issue a Bribery Commission in accordance with the judge's report. A motion to this effect was brought forward at the close of the session by the Attorney-General, but opposed by Mr. J. K. Cross, supported by the Conservatives and Lancashire Liberals, and after a short debate the Government were defeated by 43 to 37. A few nights later a motion to issue a new writ for Wigan was negatived without a division; and the borough was added to the list of those like Oxford, Gloucester, Chester, Mac-

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clesfield and Sandwich, of which the parliamentary representation was temporarily suspended.

In East Cumberland (February 28) the struggle was rather a trial of strength between the rival houses of Howard and Lowther than a test of any political programme. The result reversed the verdict given at the general election, when Sir R. Musgrave was placed at the head of the poll, and Mr. George Howard's return caused the division of the county to be represented by two members of the same family, both professing Liberal politics. The contest at Preston (May 21), though showing no change in the political opinions of the electorate, was important by the issues on which the contest was decided. The Fair Trade controversy had begun to attract attention, and Mr. Eckroyd, the Conservative candidate, not only espoused the cause, but expressed a readiness to return to a system of protected tariffs. His opponent, Mr. Yates Thompson, had been private secretary to Lord Hartington when the latter was Irish Secretary, and he had subsequently been the colleague of Mr. Gladstone when, in 1874, both were defeated in South-West Lancashire. Mr. Eckroyd on the present occasion headed the poll by more than 1,600 votes, a large proportion of which were attributed to the dissatisfaction of the working men at the results of one-sided free trade, which admitted foreign fabrics to our markets without restriction, whilst foreign markets were closed against English goods. A month previously (April 22) a contest had taken place in West Cheshire, when Mr. Tomkinson, an advocate for local option and a reform of the land laws, attempted, but without success, to wrest the seat from the Tollemache family. The result showed a local dissatisfaction amongst the tenant farmers, far greater than was anticipated, and the discussions which arose from the contest prepared the way for future action on the part of agriculturalists of that class.

Of the Government measures beyond those relating to Ireland promised in the Queen's Speech, hardly one was destined to become law; but the intentions of the Ministry were not the less made known. In the first night of the session (January 7) the Attorney-General brought forward his proposals for the more effectual repression of electoral bribery and corruption. His Bill as explained to the House of Commons was the most stringent ever submitted to Parliament, and promised for the first time almost to brand the electoral offences as degrading as well as dishonourable practices. The chief aim of the Bill in other respects was to reduce the cost of elections, which it was admitted had grown to such extravagant proportions as to deter all but the richest from attempting to enter Parliament. Paid canvassers would be practically abolished, one election agent alone, on whom certain definite responsibilities would be thrown, being permitted. Committee rooms were also to be limited to one, which should not be a public-house; conveyance of voters in both counties and boroughs would be prohibited, and personal payments of all kinds would be limited as far as possible, and in

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conformity with a schedule attached to the Act. All payments were to be made by the election agent, who, within fifty days after a return would have to forward it to the returning officer, together with a statement of the amount received by the agent from all sources. The penalties to be enforced were of great severity, the Public Prosecutor having power to summon any person guilty of a corrupt practice, who, if found guilty, might be summarily sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In more serious cases, tried either at the Assizes or at the Central Criminal Court, penalties of two years' imprisonment with hard labour might be inflicted. The reception of the Bill was favourable both in the House and by the public; but by degrees the enthusiasm which its appearance had kindled began to slacken even amongst ardent reformers. Opinions became divided as to the efficacy of penalties so severe for offences which the public conscience still judged with leniency; and, at the same time, the influence of those who had the most to lose by the passing of any such measure was ceaselessly exercised to obstruct its progress or to nullify its provisions. No opportunity, however, arose for testing how far the occult influences which had been at work would justify the open boasts that the Bill would never be passed in its original shape, for it was withdrawn before any discussion on its merits could be taken.

The Bankruptcy Bill was destined to follow a somewhat similar course. It was not until April 8, on the eve of the Easter recess, that Mr. Chamberlain found an opportunity of bringing forward the Government measure, which, after receiving the general approbation of Sir John Holker, was allowed to drop. The substitution of a commercial for a legal supervision was a new departure in bankruptcy legislation, but its chief feature was the revival of official control, which was to be exercised by the Board of Trade and not by the Court of Bankruptcy, or by the often fraudulent and generally careless trustee. 'Liquidations by arrangement' and compositions, the offspring of the Act of 1869, were to disappear, and insolvent estates would be dealt with only in bankruptcy. The debtor would still be allowed to present a petition, but the moment he had done so all control of his affairs passed to the Court. An official receiver would take charge of his estate till the creditors met, which they must do within seven days. Proxies were to be retained under certain specific limitations. They were to be no longer held by the debtor's solicitor, nor used by any one to vote for his own appointment as trustee. Stringent restrictions on the acceptance of compositions were laid down, none of less than five shillings in the pound being possible, and the treatment of the bankrupt was to be wholly supervised by the Court, by whom alone he could be discharged. The remuneration of trustees was to be fixed, and the audit of his accounts by an independent public department made obligatory. In a word, it withdrew from creditors the unrestrained management of bankrupts' estates, and subjected their acts to close official scrutiny.

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In dealing with the long-pending question of Army Reform, the Government were more successful in being able to follow up their views by Acts; but the necessary Parliamentary assent to Mr. Childers' proposals could only be obtained by a somewhat violent suspension of the debate on the Arms Bill (Ireland), and then on the understanding that no money would be taken. The question of Army Reform had already been prominently brought forward by Sir Frederick Roberts at a banquet given in his honour at the Mansion House. General Roberts took this opportunity of declaring his belief that the short service system, inaugurated by Lord Cardwell and adopted by Colonel Stanley, was a mistake. In the Indian army he considered it utterly inapplicable, and tending to destroy the three essentials of soldierhood, 'discipline, *esprit de corps*, and power of endurance.' During the Afghan campaign the boy regiments without exception broke down, and had his army been composed of only short service men it would have been annihilated at Peiwar Kotal. Sir Garnet Wolseley, it will be remembered, had arrived at precisely opposite conclusions, and during the Zulu war his verdict on them was that they had fought as well and stood the hardships of the campaign as cheerfully as well-seasoned troops. With these divergent views, but supported by the recommendations of Lord Airey's Committee, Mr. Childers on March 3, in Committee of Supply, developed the views of the Government with reference to the reorganisation of the army. Some hints as to their intentions had been obtained from the army estimates, which, whilst showing a slight saving (18,300*l.*) on the whole sum required, provided for the maintenance of 1,351 additional non-commissioned officers and men. These, however, would only go part of the way in providing for the twelve battalions first for foreign service being held at 950, and the next four at 850—measures which would involve a total addition to the infantry of the line of 2,863 non-commissioned officers. In his introductory speech, Mr. Childers explained at length the lines upon which the Government had concluded to carry out their plan of Army Reform. In the first place he proposed to raise the *minimum* age of the troops from 18 to 19, and to prohibit the sending of men to India until they were 20. The term for which men would be enlisted was fixed at 12 years, of which the term with the colours would be seven years at home and eight abroad, and opportunities would be given to corporals and sergeants to prolong their term of service to twenty-one years with a pension. With regard to localisation, it was proposed that the two battalions of the line and two battalions of Militia should be formed into territorial regiments wearing the same uniform, the Militia being distinguished by the letter M. The Rifle regiments would not be disturbed, and the Highland regiments would be grouped in pairs, the existing kilted regiments being associated with four others not so distinguished. By an arrangement which Mr. Childers described in great detail, a certain number of these regiments would always

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be kept at their full strength; and a *corps d'armée* of eighteen regiments of the Line, three battalions of Guards, with a suitable proportion of Cavalry and Artillery, would be ready at any moment. Mr. Childers next explained his plan for remedying the grievance as to retirement by an alteration of the proportion of the higher to the lower ranks of officers, the great result of which is that out of 1,000 captains, 516 would rise to the rank of major instead of 216. The list of generals would be reduced to 140 by compulsory retirement at certain ages, and colonelcies would become purely honorary with few exceptions. The total effect of the change would be to save India and this country about a quarter of a million each, while the financial prospects of both officers and men would be greatly improved. At a subsequent period, in discussing the financial effects of his new scheme, the Secretary for War anticipated that a more efficient force than that at present existing could be obtained by an expenditure of 800,000*l.* per annum less than was required under the existing system. Finally, he stated that corporal punishment was to be totally abolished, and a summary punishment in the way of restraint would be substituted.

In addition to these proposals, which affected the army at large, Mr. Childers announced that four aides-de-camp to the Queen, five Commanderships, and twenty-five Ribands of the Bath would be reserved for the auxiliary forces; and that Volunteer officers after a certain length of service would be allowed to retain their rank and uniform. The most novel feature of the scheme was the institution of the territorial regiments, by which after July 1 the numerical or personal distinctions by which regiments had hitherto been known were to be abolished, and their titles were to be associated with the counties in which their head-quarters and recruiting dépôts were situated. The scheme, in spite of much criticism on its various details, was generally well received, and no formal opposition was offered to the various votes in committee by which it was proposed to carry it into effect.

About a fortnight later, Mr. G. O. Trevelyan found an opportunity of explaining the Navy Estimates, which showed an increase of 158,984*l.* over those of the preceding year. He announced the intention of the Admiralty to return to the system of limited competition for naval cadetships, and to introduce certain steps to quicken the flow of promotion among officers of the navy and marines. With regard to the men, he pointed out the great expense which had been caused by the continuous service system, and informed the Committee that the Board was instituting an inquiry whether its advantages could not be secured without the ever-increasing burden of pensions. In 1852 the vote for military pensions and allowances was 469,000*l.* In 1870 it was 606,000*l.*; in 1878, 781,000*l.*; and this year it had risen, 'by unavoidable automatic action,' to 847,000*l.*; and, as the question concerned vested interests, there was no prospect of a decrease for several years to come. Passing to the *matériel*, Mr. Trevelyan stated that

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the Dockyards Vote was 1,446,346*l.*, the Naval Stores Vote 1,172,700*l.* and the vote for machinery and building by contract 683,239*l.* As to the shipbuilding policy, the Board, he said, had its own opinion on the fighting ship of the future, but for the current year it had ample work on its hands bequeathed by its predecessors, and it would act on the principle that the shortest way to get to new designs was to finish off the old ones. The *Ajax* and *Agamemnon* would therefore be completed at Chatham, the *Inflexible* would be commissioned, the *Conqueror* would be pushed forward, and the *Polyphemus*, 'perhaps destined to work a revolution in naval warfare,' would be completed. The *Colossus* and *Majestic* would be advanced one-quarter, and the *Collingwood* would be pushed on. A fourth Leander would be laid down, and a new swift fighting cruiser, 'combining the speed of the Leander with heavier guns than those of the *Thunderer* or the *Devastation*,' would be commenced. The work of repair also would be vigorously pushed on, and the gross tonnage, armoured and unarmoured, to be built during the year was 18,890. After mentioning the increases of 87,000*l.* for wages and 161,000*l.* for the Stores Vote, he stated that during the year a substantial commencement would be made in arming our Navy with heavy breechloaders, which had been shown to be indispensable, and expatiated on the improvements in the torpedo-boats—a service for which, he said, the native skill and daring of the British sailor specially adapted him. As in the army, flogging was to be abolished in the navy, and a scheme introduced for diminishing the temptation to drink, 'the direct or indirect cause of faults for which flogging was inflicted.'

On April 5 Mr. Gladstone proposed his eleventh budget, which by its modesty and simplicity disappointed all the forecasts which had been made of its author's heroic intentions. A large reduction of the income tax, the extension of the probate duty to real property, the taxation of charities, had by turns been prophesied, but, as the event showed, they were merely glanced at and passed by. The gross revenue of the year ended March 31, 1881, had amounted to 84,041,000*l.* as compared with the budget estimate of 82,696,000*l.*, but of this apparent surplus nearly one million fell under heads which did not represent the growth of taxation. The beer tax had produced 205,000*l.* less than was anticipated, but this Mr. Gladstone hoped to rectify in the current year by a change he proposed to make in the duty on 'mum.' The gross expenditure of the past year had amounted to 83,108,000*l.*, which, compared with the receipts, left a surplus of 933,000*l.* But, as Mr. Gladstone explained, with a humorous sigh, this surplus was a mirage. Before dealing with the taxation of the year, he surveyed the state of the National Debt. Taking the funded and unfunded debt together, there had been a decrease in round numbers of seven millions, a reduction due in a great measure to the fact that several towns, instead of coming to the Treasury, had raised loans for public improvements in the open

market, and had repaid the Treasury to the extent of a million. Before passing from the question of debt, Mr. Gladstone reminded the House that in 1885 the short annuities would fall in, and was met with a very general cheer when he stated that he should regard it as an illegitimate use of those funds to apply them in reduction of taxation. He proposed, therefore, in a manner which he explained at length, to convert the short annuities into long annuities, terminating in 1906, by which a reduction of debt would be effected to the amount of 60,000,000*l.*, of which 20,000,000*l.* would be taken from the Savings Bank, and 40,000,000*l.* from the Chancery Funds. Next, turning to the movement of public wealth compared with population and expenditure, and taking three periods of time commencing with 1842, he showed that while from 1842 to 1858 population had increased one third per cent. per annum, the revenue 1¾ per cent. and the expenditure 2½ per cent., from 1857 to 1873 the augmentations were 1 per cent., 3 per cent., and 1½ per cent. respectively, and from 1874 to 1877 1 per cent., 1½ per cent., and 3¼. But in the last two years reaching down to March 1880, while the population had increased by 1 per cent., the revenue had actually gone back one half per cent. and the expenditure had increased by 2⅙ per cent., after omitting the six millions taken for extra war expenses by the previous Government. In further illustration of this movement, he mentioned that the penny in the income tax, which in 1842 produced 772,000*l.*, in 1858, 810,000*l.*, and in 1878, 1,990,000*l.*, in this last year, for the first time in the history of the tax, had actually gone back, and stood only at 1,943,000*l.* Passing then to the finances of the current year he thus stated the estimated expenditure for 1881–2:—

Consolidated Fund Charges	£31,270,000
Army	16,509,000
Home Charges for India	1,100,000
Navy	10,845,000
Grant in Aid to India	500,000
Civil Services	16,087,504
Customs and Inland Revenue	2,851,208
Post Office	3,539,525
Telegraph Service	1,294,081
Packet Service	707,767
Total Expenditure (in round numbers)	84,705,000

The estimated expenditure, exceeding by more than a million and a half the actual expenditure of the year just closed, was chiefly due to the cost of the census and the ordnance survey, whilst certain exceptional charges on account of the Transvaal and India would come in course of payment. To meet this expenditure the Revenue, on the basis of the existing taxation, would show the following results:—

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Customs	£19,000,000
Excise	27,440,000
Stamps	11,900,000
Land-tax, &c.	2,760,000
Income-tax at 6*d.*	11,000,000
Post Office	6,800,000
Telegraphs	1,600,000
Crown Lands	390,000
Interest on Advances	1,200,000
Miscellaneous Revenue	3,900,000
Total Revenue	85,990,000

The first deduction to be made from this apparent surplus of 1,285,000*l.* was the sum of 100,000*l.* in part repayment of the loan for local barracks, of which 300,000*l.* still remained unextinguished. By taking off the extra penny from the income tax, granted in the previous year as a loan for a special purpose, the surplus would at once be converted into a deficit of 275,000*l.*; an almost insignificant sum would be perhaps added to this by a partial remission of the duty on silver plate at the rate of 3*d.* per ounce annually until the entire duty at present leviable (1*s.* 6*d.* per oz.), was extinguished. To meet the requirements of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone proposed to adjust the surtax on foreign spirits, by applying to them the process of distillation as practised on wines, and charging a uniform surtax of 4*d.* per gallon on the standard of strength. By this means a net gain of 180,000*l.* might be expected. Mr. Gladstone then turned to the 'Death Duties,' but only to say that he was not then prepared with any complete plan for dealing with them, though he hoped that during the present Parliament some attempt would be made in that direction. Touching on the anomalies of the existing system, he spoke strongly of the total exemption of property in mortmain, warmly condemned the differential rates imposed on personal property settled and unsettled, and said with regard to the duties on real property, that they were so bound up with the laws regulating its devolution and inheritance that it was impossible to deal with them practically without going into the whole question. Canvassing the scale of consanguinity, he said he was not prepared at once to accept a uniform duty—one effect of which would be to increase the duty of lineals from 1 to 2½ per cent., but he was prepared to make some changes which would be in the nature of an instalment, and would clear the way by testing the disposition of the public. By the first of these, where all parties concerned—the residuary legatees, the executors, and the Inland Revenue—were agreed, the whole payment to the State might be made at once in the shape of an augmented 5 per cent. probate duty. Next, he proposed to abolish the 1 per cent. legacy duty and to substitute a 1½ per cent. probate duty, which, while it would be paid by the same parties, would get rid of the present complication. Among other changes, the duty would be chargeable on sums between 100*l.* and 1,000*l.* at intervals of 50*l.*, and over 1,000*l.* at intervals of 100*l.* He proposed to abolish the exemption from

duty of legacies under 20*l.*, and where the parties could make an affidavit that the estate did not exceed 300*l.* in value, they might go before the nearest revenue officer, and discharge all claims for probate and legacy duty by the payment of 2*l.* 5*s.* He estimated the net financial gain of these changes at 467,000*l.*, but as the change would not come into operation until June 1, the gain for the first year would be only 390,000*l.* Adding this to the 180,000*l.* from the spirit duties, a total gain of 570,000*l.* would be established, converting the deficit of 275,000*l.* into a surplus of 295,000*l.*

Mr. Gladstone's modest proposals were generally received with favour, though without enthusiasm, and, with the exception of that referring to the gradual reduction of the silver plate duty, eventually passed into law, but a special Bill was found requisite for dealing with the Chancery and Savings Bank Funds. A few words with which Mr. Gladstone closed his Budget speech led many to anticipate that he would not again appear before the House in the character of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and speculation at once became busy in the discovery of a worthy successor.

Two or three additions to the Statute Book deserve a passing notice. One of these, recognising to a further extent the claims of temperance and local self-government, was the measure by which the closing of public-houses on Sundays throughout Wales was rendered compulsory. Through some ambiguity of language, a doubt subsequently arose as to the date at which the Act was to come into action, so that its beneficial results were destined to be postponed. By a new Judicature Act, the inevitable accompaniment of every session, the Master of the Rolls was transferred from his duties as judge of a Court of First Instance to preside over one of the Courts of Intermediate Appeal, his place being filled by the creation of another judge in Chancery. The Government scheme further proposed that the President of the Probate Court and three puisne judges, elected annually by their colleagues, should form part of the Appellate Court. This latter point was strongly opposed by Lord Cairns, and was ultimately omitted from the Bill, as was also a proposal to reserve to the Lord Chancellor a portion of the patronage which the Bill transferred to the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.

Mr. Hutchinson's Newspapers (Law of Libel) Bill also managed to escape the various dangers attendant on private legislation, including Lord Redesdale's ill-will on account of its late arrival before the House of Peers. The main proposals of the Bill were to remove the liability of newspaper proprietors for impartial reports of words spoken in public meetings, to enforce the compulsory registration of the names of newspaper owners, and to obtain the consent of the Attorney-General to criminal proceedings being taken against a newspaper proprietor for libel.

Mr. Bradlaugh managed to keep himself and his cause prominently before the public throughout the Session. When the year

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opened, it found him the defendant in a suit under the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, to recover a penalty for having sat and voted in Parliament without having first taken the oath, he having merely made an affirmation, as he claimed to be permitted to do. The offence was alleged to have been committed on July 2, 1880, and the penalties, which were fixed by the Act at 500*l.* for each offence, had at the beginning of the Session reached 45,000*l.*, and were being rapidly increased day by day by the constant divisions on the Coercion Bills. In addition to the main case, demurrers, appeals, and even actions were raised by Mr. Bradlaugh, but without success. The decisions of the various sections of the Court of Judicature were persistently unfavourable to him. The main issue was argued on March 7, in the Court of Queen's Bench, before Mr. Justice Mathew. Mr. Bradlaugh, arguing his own case, contended that he was by statute entitled to make the affirmation, just as in the case of witnesses who had no religious belief. He contended that there was now no statutory disqualification of such persons, for the change of the law, which removed the necessity of the oath when giving evidence, virtually did away with the exclusion which once existed. Mr. Justice Mathew in delivering judgment (March 11), pointed out that the words on which Mr. Bradlaugh relied could not refer to Parliamentary oaths; but he admitted that if Mr. Bradlaugh had been elected for a Scotch constituency, he might have claimed to make the affirmation without much difficulty. Mr. Bradlaugh at once gave notice of appeal, and Mr. Gorst of his intention to move for the issue of a new writ for Northampton. When the House of Commons met on March 14, Mr. Bradlaugh rose, but was immediately interrupted by Mr. Gorst, who appealed to the Speaker whether, after the judgment of Mr. Justice Mathew, Mr. Bradlaugh was competent to take part in the proceedings. The Attorney-General pointed out that the question was not determined by the judgment of a Court of First Instance, and that Mr. Bradlaugh might appeal; but Sir J. Holker remarked that the question was not whether Mr. Bradlaugh was unseated, but whether it was fitting that he should take part in the proceedings. Mr. Labouchere read a letter from Mr. Bradlaugh explaining his position, and Lord R. Churchill said the House had no security that an appeal would be prosecuted for a twelvemonth. Sir S. Northcote asked the Speaker to give his decision, and Mr. Bradlaugh having briefly explained that he had given notice of appeal at once, and that the judge had stayed judgment and execution, the Speaker said the question put to him was one of great difficulty, but its determination rested rather with the House than with the Chair, and until the House had determined it he should continue to regard Mr. Bradlaugh as filling the seat for Northampton. He thereupon called upon Mr. Bradlaugh to proceed with the presentation of his petitions, which were all in favour of his motion on Perpetual Pensions. Subsequently

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Mr. Gorst announced that he would postpone his motion for a new writ, though he held himself free to renew it as soon as the state of Supply gave him a fitting opportunity. The decision of the Queen's Bench placed the House of Commons in a position of some difficulty. Mr. Bradlaugh had taken his seat and voted under cover of a resolution passed on July 1 in the preceding year, permitting him so to do, 'subject to any liability by statute.' If Mr. Bradlaugh's appeal were to be reversed, the House would be shown to have passed a resolution the validity of which it did not assert; whereas if the decision were maintained, it would prove still more conclusively that the resolution of the House was in itself worthless. The privileges of Parliament had in this way been placed at the mercy of a common informer. As the *Times* pointed out, when the House of Commons had once declined to allow Mr. Bradlaugh to take the oath, two alternatives remained open, either to deal with the whole question by legislation, or directly to confer, by resolution of the House, the right of affirmation on all persons entitled to affirm in courts of law, and without reference to any liability by statute. The unseating of Mr. Bradlaugh or compliance with his request for the Chiltern Hundreds would, the *Times* maintained, be alike futile. In the former case he might be re-elected, and 'if he then offered to take the oath no objection could be then taken to his doing so;' in the latter course there would be a sort of recognition that a member had a right to vacate a seat which he had not the right to occupy. In conclusion, the same journal urged the House of Commons to consult its own dignity and interest by giving full effect to the principle that the right of an elected representative to take his seat is independent of all personal opinions. On March 31, Mr. Bradlaugh's appeal against the judgment of Mr. Justice Mathew was heard before Lords Justices Bramwell, Baggallay, and Lush, and on the following day they delivered their judgment, upholding that of the inferior Court. Two days later, the Government having refused the Chiltern Hundreds to Mr. Bradlaugh, as was asserted in some quarters, Mr. Labouchere rose in the House to move the issue of a new writ for Northampton, on the ground that since his election Mr. Bradlaugh had vacated his seat by sitting and voting without taking the prescribed oath. Sir R. Cross, on behalf of the Conservatives, criticised the action of the Government in withholding from the House all advice and leadership in the matter, leaving the question to be dealt with by the Opposition. After a few words in reply by the Attorney-General, a new writ was agreed to. Mr. Bradlaugh at once issued his address, and found an opponent in Mr. Corbett, a Conservative, and before the close of the week the election had taken place, resulting in Mr. Bradlaugh's return by a majority of 132 votes, showing a very sensible reduction in the majority by which he had been previously elected. This diminution arose chiefly from abstentions on the Liberal side. Mr. Corbett only polled eighty

more votes than the highest unsuccessful candidate at the general election, whilst Mr. Bradlaugh's supporters were less by over 500 than they had been on the previous occasion.

On April 26 (by a curious coincidence the day on which took place the funeral of Lord Beaconsfield, the great Conservative leader, who had consistently opposed Jewish disabilities) Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the table of the House of Commons to take the oath prescribed by law. Before it could be administered to him, Sir Stafford Northcote rose to oppose this act, having regard both to Mr. Bradlaugh's public statements that the oath had no binding effect on his conscience, and to the resolutions and reports of the previous Session. Mr. Horace Davey, Q.C., then moved a counter resolution, declaring that in any case where a duly elected member presented himself to take the oath prescribed by law, the House would not interfere. He urged the danger which would be established by the adoption of Sir Stafford Northcote's precedent, and argued that the resolution of the previous Session was inapplicable, as Mr. Bradlaugh had been elected afresh. Mr. Bright, in a powerful but somewhat bitter speech, asserted, in spite of loud denials, that the Conservatives insisted upon placing the question as one of religious or irreligious disability; that in so doing they were only consistent, having acted in like manner to the Dissenters, the Roman Catholics, and the Jews. He contended that if the oath was binding on Mr. Bradlaugh, the House had no right to go beyond that gentleman's word, and that as no law had decided the point against him, to oppose the course he proposed to take was to revive the old question of religious disability. In the noticeable absence of Sir John Holker and Mr. Walpole, Mr. Gorst argued the legal bearings of the case from the Conservative point of view, and admitted that Mr. Bradlaugh was under no legal disqualification, but that he challenged the power and jurisdiction of the House. In reply to Mr. Bright, he quoted from a statement on the oaths question by Mr. Bradlaugh, in which the latter had said that the form of the oath contained words which to him seemed idle and meaningless. At this point Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the bar, and the Speaker having taken the pleasure of the House, he was allowed to address it. He began by declaring that, as he had previously stated, the Oath would in the most complete degree be binding on his honour and conscience, and he therefore claimed to be allowed to take his seat as a matter of legal right. What had happened in the previous Session could no longer be brought up against him. He had been returned on April 9, and having been duly elected he claimed his right under the statute to take the oath and his seat. If he was legally disqualified, a petition would lie, or if the House wished to unseat him, it could do so when by taking his seat he had come within its jurisdiction. Until he was allowed to do that, the only right by which members could stand between him and the table was the right of force not of law. If

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they shut him out, the law gave him no remedy, and he would have nothing to resort to but lawless agitation. The speech was received with cheers from below the gangway on the Ministerial side of the House, but elsewhere with murmurs and protestations. Mr. Gladstone at once followed. After sweeping aside the authority of Parliament to intervene between a constituency and its lawfully elected representative, he said that the real question to be decided was whether the member for Northampton had judged correctly in coming to the table to be sworn. Even should he have been mistaken the House had no right to interfere with his private judgment. The question was only to be decided *in foro conscientiæ*. The House was not competent to take cognisance of a man's belief, and if the opposition to Mr. Bradlaugh were logically carried out, the House on all occasions would have to pronounce, when any evidence was forthcoming, whether a man offering to take the oath possessed the amount of belief which members thought necessary to make the oath a reality. If the House was to start upon this slippery road, the leaders were bound to say how far along it they meant to travel. The question, so far as it regarded the action of the House, was purely a legal one. If it were impossible to fix upon Mr. Bradlaugh a legal disqualification, it was contrary to all right to fix upon him a disqualification which was less than legal. After a few words from Sir Hardinge Giffard, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Mr. Newdegate, all of whom supported the resolution, it was carried by 208 against 175. Although the majority was largely composed of Conservatives, the division could hardly be considered as a party one. Irish Roman Catholics, many English Dissenters, and not a few Whigs voting in the majority, whilst a very much larger number of the latter took no part in the division. As soon as the result had been formally announced from the Chair, Mr. Bradlaugh again presented himself at the table, but was directed by the Speaker to withdraw. This he declined to do, alleging that the order was illegal, and the Speaker asked the House for directions. There were loud cries from the Opposition for Mr. Gladstone, met by counter cries of 'No, no!' from the Ministerialists; and, after a pause, Sir S. Northcote rose, amid loud cheers, and asked the Prime Minister whether he intended to take any steps as leader of the House to carry out the resolution just agreed to. Mr. Gladstone replied that, having voted with the minority, he should leave it to the majority to carry out its own resolution. Sir S. Northcote at once moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be ordered to withdraw; and this was carried without a division, though Mr. Labouchere offered some opposition, and warned the majority that, to carry out their resolution, it would be necessary to keep Mr. Bradlaugh in prison during the remainder of the Parliament. On the advice of Mr. Bright, he did not press his opposition to a division, and the motion having been carried, Mr. Bradlaugh was again directed to withdraw, and again refused to obey an

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illegal order. The serjeant-at-arms was then called in and ordered to remove him, and he went with him to the bar, but returned at once to the table. The messengers were then called in, and, surrounding Mr. Bradlaugh, forced him back to the bar, the hon. member protesting all the time against the employment of physical force. Again, however, he showed a disposition to return, and was withheld by the messengers, who held him back. The Speaker throwing himself on the House for further authority, Sir S. Northcote said he would not shrink from the responsibility of moving to commit Mr. Bradlaugh to custody, but for the evident fact that the proceedings were countenanced by Her Majesty's Ministers. This Mr. Gladstone warmly denied, but repeated that he would not take any step until he thought it could be done with advantage. Ultimately, after this line of recrimination had been pursued for some time, the scene was brought to a close by Mr. Cowen moving that this House do now adjourn, in order, as he said, to give time for cool reflection. This motion was agreed to with only a few dissentients, and the House adjourned.

On the following day Mr. Bradlaugh again presented himself at the table to be sworn. The Speaker informed him that the order for his withdrawal passed at the previous sitting was still in operation, and that if he refused to obey it he would be removed by force. Mr. Bradlaugh repeated his protest that the House had no power to prevent him from taking the oath, and he therefore declined to withdraw. The Speaker then called the serjeant-at-arms, who, taking Mr. Bradlaugh by the arm, conducted him to the bar.

Mr. Labouchere thereupon asked the Prime Minister whether, with a view of preventing a repetition of the scene of the previous evening, he would give facilities for the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, of which he had given notice, adding that Mr. Bradlaugh on that condition would refrain from interfering in any way with the proceedings of the House.

Mr. Gladstone, while sympathising with Mr. Labouchere's object, and recognising that the difficulties created by the passing of Sir S. Northcote's resolution would be much mitigated if the House consented to entertain a practical proposal for solving the difficulty, said that the demand for 'facilities' raised a very serious question. Virtually it was a demand to postpone the Irish Land Bill—a fact which did not appear to have been perceived by the Irish members, who had supported the resolution; and, looking to the condition of Ireland, he could not see his way to complying with Mr. Labouchere's request.

Sir S. Northcote, admitting that he had incurred some share of responsibility by his resolution, pointed out it was purely defensive, and intended to protect those who were determined not to tolerate any proceeding which would make them parties to a profanation of the oath. But while not shrinking from that

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responsibility, he complained that from the beginning of this business the Government had declined to give the House any guidance, and had proposed nothing but to shift the responsibility from their own shoulders. But the House had a right to expect that the Government should take the initiative in both the questions now before it—viz., a permanent solution of the difficulty and the maintenance of the order and decorum of its proceedings; and with regard to the latter especially, he insisted that it was the duty of the leader of the House to take whatever steps might be necessary to sustain the authority of the Chair. Certainly he could not give his assent to Mr. Labouchere's proposal when offered in the nature of a bargain; but he hoped that Mr. Bradlaugh, having done sufficient to assert his right, would not be guilty of any indecorous interruption of the business of Parliament.

Mr. Bright thought that if the objection of the Opposition was simply to the profanation of the oath, and not to the admission of a man of Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions, the shortest way out of the difficulty was to pass a short measure. He put it, therefore, to the leaders of the Opposition whether they would not co-operate in thus extricating the House from the difficulty in the only way he saw open.

Mr. Walter, who had supported Sir Stafford Northcote's resolution on the previous night, declared that he entertained no objection to Mr. Bradlaugh's entry into the House as an Atheist by the door of an affirmation.

Mr. Gladstone remarked that if there were many gentlemen of the same opinion it might not be difficult to arrive at a solution by means of morning sittings, and if the House were once led to entertain any practical proposition, he admitted it would be entitled to expect from him the most stringent measures for the maintenance of order and decorum. Replying to Sir S. Northcote, he maintained that it was not the duty of the leader of the House to initiate measures for giving practical effect to a resolution of which he disapproved. All he was called on to do was to refrain from obstructing the proposals of others, and, while agreeing that it was his duty to support the authority of the Chair, he maintained that where he had declined to take the initiative was not in supporting the authority of the Chair, but in giving it fresh authority.

After a protracted wrangle on the duties of the leader of the House, Mr. Labouchere withdrew his motion on the unexpressed but accepted understanding that the Government would introduce a measure forthwith dealing with the oaths question, to which the Opposition, through Sir W. Barttelot, promised to give a candid consideration. When, however, on May 6 a proposal was made to hold a morning sitting on the Tuesday following, in order to introduce the Oaths Bill, the promised assistance of the Conservatives was hardly apparent. The suggestion was met with strong oppo-

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sition, and the division showed 128 in favour and 122 against the proposal; and emboldened by this result motions for the adjournment followed pretty quickly one upon the other, and at length at three o'clock in the morning the Government gave way, and the demand for special facilities to pass the Bill fell through. On May 10 Mr. Bradlaugh, freed from his tacit understanding not to disturb the proceedings of the House, again presented himself at the table to be sworn, whereupon Sir Stafford Northcote, after a brief pause, proposed a resolution excluding Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House. No division was taken, and Mr. Bradlaugh, who up to this time had been allowed to sit in the House, quietly withdrew, and from that time devoted himself to public meetings in various parts of the country, defending his course of action, and protesting in the name of popular right and freedom against the ostracism to which, for his opinions, he was subjected. Meanwhile, although Mr. Bradlaugh's name and case occasionally cropped up in Parliament, especially during question time, and in the Law Courts, little of importance connected with either took place, beyond a formal notice to the Speaker from the member for Northampton that he would come to the House and claim his right to be sworn. The case of Clarke *v.* Bradlaugh came on for hearing before Mr. Justice Grove and a special jury towards the end of July. The point turned upon whether Mr. Bradlaugh, who had not taken the oath, had voted in the House of Commons on a particular occasion before the writ was issued; the informer, Mr. Clarke, claiming half the amount of the fine (500*l.*) leviable in such cases. As the House of Commons keeps no official record of the hour at which divisions are taken, there was a good deal of contradictory evidence, but in the end the jury found for the plaintiff. Mr. Bradlaugh conducted his own case with considerable acumen, but affected to regard Mr. Newdegate, M.P., not the nominal plaintiff, Mr. Clarke, as his real assailant. This view was somewhat supported by the discovery that in one case at least the counsel's brief had been marked with Mr. Newdegate's name, and scarcely had the trial finished than Mr. Bradlaugh attempted to take proceedings for 'Maintenance' against the member for Warwickshire. Maintenance is, according to Blackstone, 'an officious intermeddling in a suit that no way belongs to one, by maintaining or assisting either party, with money or otherwise, to prosecute or defend it.' Sir J. Ingham, however, before whom the application for a summons against Mr. Newdegate was heard, dismissed the plea as frivolous; and Mr. Bradlaugh was left to take more ordinary means for obtaining a reversal of the verdict given against him. The meaning and need of so much hurry in taking out the writ arose from the ascertained fact that many others were waiting to follow Mr. Clarke's example, and of these it was surmised that one or more had a friendly object in view. Before the expiration of the legal period, Mr. Bradlaugh had applied to Mr. Justice Lindley and Mr. Justice Grove for a

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new trial, on the ground that the verdict was against the weight of the evidence. The judges, although they admitted the evidence to be very conflicting, refused to grant a fresh trial. On the following day (August 2), Mr. Bradlaugh held a meeting in Trafalgar Square to support his claim to take his seat. The numbers assembled were variously estimated at from 8,000 to 20,000. In a speech of some length Mr. Bradlaugh declared his intention to go to the House of Commons and insist upon his right. The crowd dispersed quietly, about five thousand going towards Palace Yard, which they found strongly guarded by policemen and its gates closed.

On the following day the House of Commons, according to custom, met at noon, and as soon as prayers were over Mr. Bradlaugh advanced to the door of the House with the intention of entering. He was met by the Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms and other officials, who barred the passage, and on Mr. Bradlaugh's attempting to force his way past them, a number of policemen who had been posted in the side lobbies rushed forward and seized Mr. Bradlaugh, who struggled in vain against unequal numbers, and was finally carried down a small staircase into the courtyard, where he arrived overcome with exertion and his clothes torn and in disorder. The issue of this unseemly contest was no sooner known within the House than Mr. Labouchere, rising with a question of privilege, asked the House to say that the order excluding Mr. Bradlaugh from the House did not extend to the lobbies, and therefore the Speaker had exceeded his duties. The Speaker explained that he had given a wider interpretation to the order of the House than its words justified, because he conceived that by excluding Mr. Bradlaugh from the building he could carry out the spirit of the resolution. This view was supported by Mr. Gladstone and Sir Stafford Northcote. It was thought that a vote might at once have been taken on Mr. Labouchere's question of privilege. Several members, however, endeavoured to widen the basis of the debate, including Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Bright, both of whom were called to order, whilst the latter succeeded by a few words in raising bitter recriminations. Mr. Biggar's contribution to the discussion was the most original, and did much to restore good humour in an assembly where passion was beginning to show itself on both sides. Although not sympathising with Mr. Bradlaugh, and resenting his conduct during the coercion debates, yet he objected to the treatment to which that member had been subjected, because it was a 'precedent' which might provoke or even justify its repetition. Finally, an amendment proposed by Sir Henry Holland, to the effect that the House approved of the action of the Speaker, was on the recommendation of the two leaders adopted by 184 against 7, the great body of the independent Liberals not voting. Mr. Bradlaugh, having partially recovered from the violent treatment he had received, at once drove to the Westminster Police Court to apply for a summons for assault against

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the police-sergeant. The magistrate, however, after adjourning the case, decided that the police were protected by the privilege of Parliament, the alleged assault having been committed in the precincts of Westminster Palace. The Session closed without any further intrusion on the part of Mr. Bradlaugh, but the question of his right to sit was discussed with more or less ardour at public meetings in various parts of the country. On the reopening of the Law Courts after the Long Vacation, Mr. Bradlaugh again appeared before them, and in the Court of Appeal obtained the first verdict in his favour. By this the rule refusing a new trial was reversed, and the year closed with the prospect that the whole of the legal proceedings in the case would have to be again gone through.

The last division of the Session took place in the House of Lords, on a resolution proposed by Lord Salisbury to disagree with certain amendments introduced by the House of Commons into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Statutes) Bill. The object of this measure was to wind up the work of the two expiring University Commissions, by creating a body with power to amend any statutes disapproved on petition or rejected by Parliament. The Bill, which was originally discussed in the House of Lords, proposed to commit the duty to a body consisting of the Chancellors of the two Universities, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council, and Sir Montagu Smith—the original Oxford and Cambridge University Commissioners. When the Bill came before the House of Commons, a clause was added empowering the Government to add two new members to the Committee. Lord Salisbury opposed this on the ground that it would give a large influence to the Ministry of the day, and would empower the University Committee to legislate for the University authorities in all controverted points. These views were supported by 36 against 13, and the Bill was lost for the Session.

At length, on August 27, Parliament was prorogued after one of the longest and most arduous sessions of the present reign, having assembled on January 6, and sat, with but short intermissions at Easter and Whitsuntide, for nearly eight months. The Queen's Message gave the summary of what had taken place in the interval. Outside Parliament peace had been maintained; Thessaly had been ceded to Greece, the British Treaty rights in Tunis, though they had led to an interchange of views with France, had been fully recognised, as had also the relations between the Regency and Tripoli. The wars in Basutoland and in the Transvaal had been brought to an end, and the Convention with the latter, although not fully ratified, had been signed by the local government; British troops had been withdrawn from Candahar, and the prospects of peace with a friendly and independent Afghanistan were reassuring. The results of the sessional work inside Parliament had not been so extensive, and compared in

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somewhat meagre fashion with the promises made at its commencement. Nevertheless, the 'measure for improving the relations between the owners and occupiers of land in Ireland, and for otherwise bettering the condition of the agricultural population,' had after much pains and labour become law; and the Act for the Regulation of the Forces, connecting regiments with the districts in which they were to be mainly raised would, it was hoped, render more efficient the military organisation of the country.

The changes in the administration during the year were scarcely more than departmental. The withdrawal of the Duke of Argyll was followed by no other apparent consequences than the advancement of Lord Carlingford to a seat in the Cabinet, thereby giving an official position to the most able and willing champion of the Ministerial Land policy in Ireland. The succession of Mr. Grant Duff to the Governorship of Madras enabled Mr. Gladstone to transfer Mr. Courtney to more congenial work at the Colonial Office, and to leave to him the official defence of his department in the House of Commons. Mr. Courtney's place as Under Secretary of the Home Department was filled by the Earl of Rosebery, who accepted it with a sort of tacit understanding that his responsibility would be extended to, and especially connected with the transaction of Scotch business, so far as it was not of a legal nature. The status of the Lord Advocate on the promotion of Mr. Maclaren to the Bench was in no degree lessened, but his successor was relieved of the non-legal duties of the office, and by this means the frequently recurring request of the Scotch members for more specific representation in the Administration was in a measure recognised. In like manner Mr. Herbert Gladstone was added as a supernumerary Lord of the Treasury (without salary), with the understanding that he should especially take charge of Irish business, and as far as possible relieve Mr. Forster of some of the extra pressure of work which both in Dublin and the House of Commons was thrown upon him as Chief Secretary for Ireland.

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CHAPTER V.

EXTERNAL POLITICS.

§ 1.—Colonial Affairs—The Transvaal Policy—Sir Wilfrid Lawson's and Mr. Rylands' Resolutions—The Peers on Colonial Policy—The South African Debates in Lords and Commons—North Borneo Company.

ALTHOUGH external affairs occupied only the languid attention of Parliament and of the public, the Government had some cause for self-congratulation on being able to carry out almost unchecked the programme they had laid down for themselves. This programme was based upon the policy of friendships rather than of alliances; and the one notable exception in which they allowed themselves to be drawn into an alliance proved so unsatisfactory as to encourage the belief that in the main the Ministry had honestly gauged their own aptitudes. The year on opening still found our troops in Candahar and on the frontier of the Transvaal, and Mr. Goschen still urging upon the Porte its obligations under the Berlin Treaty. The close of the year showed all our troops withdrawn from Afghanistan as far as Quettah; the Transvaal evacuated and the Convention ratified; and Greece nearly doubled in area by the cession of the provinces south of the Balkans. All these results were obtained without bloodshed or cost of money; and even the verdict of opponents was unanimous in admitting the success, within party lines, of the foreign and colonial policy of the Ministry.

We will pass briefly in review the policy so far as it was brought under discussion in Parliament or in public meetings in the country.

When the Government called Parliament together in the early days of January, the Boers of the Transvaal were in full revolt, but the hope was expressed in the Speech from the Throne that, in presence of Sir George Colley's force, which had been ordered to cross the frontier, the 'patriots' would return to their allegiance. A very few days sufficed to dispel this hope; and on the very day on which Parliament was opened, the news arrived that the Boers had crossed the border of Natal and had occupied the important position of Laing's Nek. It seemed therefore that the assurance in the Speech from the Throne, that measures would be taken for the prompt vindication of the Queen's authority, would be likely to entail serious responsibility. In the debate which ensued, Sir Wilfrid Lawson twitted the Government on its change of front since the previous year, when the Prime Minister and many of his colleagues had denounced the policy in Zululand which they were

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now about to adopt in the Transvaal, and a few evenings later (January 20) he submitted an amendment to the Address praying Her Majesty to take steps to bring to an end the war which was going on between the Cape Colonists and the Basutos. These latter had risen against the decree of disarmament pronounced on them by the Cape Legislature, and in Sir Wilfrid Lawson's opinion disarmament would be followed by spoliation. It was the duty of the Queen, he contended, to defend the 'Queen's children,' as the natives styled themselves, against the rapacity of the colonists. Mr. Grant Duff in reply admitted that the disarmament had been conducted with little tact or discretion; but as the colonists knew the risks which attended them in their campaign, the Imperial Government could not intervene, but he hoped that on the arrival of the new governor a mediation would be effected between the belligerents. In regard to the rights of the Cape Colonists to make war on the Basutos, Lord Kimberley declared on a later occasion that, although the transfer of a Crown Colony to a responsible Government practically involved no transfer of the right of that colony to make war beyond its borders, yet it had a right to prevent anarchy and consequently to put down war within its borders, and that therefore he could not interfere except as a mediator between the Basutos and the Cape Government.

A more important discussion was raised on January 21 by Mr. Rylands, who proposed a resolution condemning the annexation of the Transvaal as impolitic and unjustifiable. In support of his motion Mr. Rylands carefully surveyed the whole history of our dealings with the Boers, insisting that the consent of Parliament to the annexation had been obtained on a deliberate misrepresentation of the national feeling, and quoting from speeches by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington passages which would have encouraged the Boers to believe that a change of government in England would be followed by a reversal of English policy in South Africa. Sir John Lubbock on this occasion presented himself as the friend of the Ministry, urging that Mr. Rylands and his associates lost sight of the interests of the natives in their anxiety to repudiate the forward policy of the Tories. If the Boers did not want annexation the natives did, and the tyranny of the former needed some check such as the British Government could alone impose. The annexation moreover of a country as large as France had not been a deed of violence, as Mr. Rylands represented, for it was accomplished by twelve Englishmen and twenty-five native policemen. In defending the action of the Government, Mr. Gladstone said that at the time both he and Lord Hartington disapproved the annexation, though they did not think it right to add to the difficulties of the situation by a parliamentary declaration of their opinions. But to disapprove a policy was one thing, to reverse it was another, especially having regard to the obligations contracted by the annexation towards the English settlers, the natives, and the future tranquillity of the colony. If a wrong

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had been done that would not justify another wrong. With regard to the motion, he objected to a parliamentary statement that the annexation was 'impolitic and unjustifiable,' as it would aggravate the difficulties of the situation, and the second part of the motion was in direct contrariety to the Queen's Speech, which informed Parliament that Her Majesty was taking steps to vindicate her authority. While actual war was going on such a declaration could work nothing but mischief. At the conclusion of his speech Mr. Gladstone read a letter which had been addressed to President Brand in answer to a telegram from the latter, in which it was stated that, 'provided the Boers would desist from armed opposition to the Queen's authority, Her Majesty's Government did not despair of a satisfactory arrangement,' and added that when the authority of the Crown was re-established, it would be the duty of the Government to pursue such a policy as would lead to a satisfactory settlement of the country.

These assurances, however, were insufficient to satisfy a very large number of the ordinary supporters of the Government, who had in many ways during the electoral campaign pledged themselves to the policy which Mr. Gladstone had warmly espoused during his canvass of Mid-Lothian. After some discussion, the Under Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Grant Duff, desirous of bringing the debate to a close, admitted that in his own personal opinion the annexation had been premature, but the duty of the Government was to take things as they found them. The question to be settled was how best to provide a government for this great territory, which, in addition to the Boer population, comprised some 800,000 natives, and he read numerous extracts from the despatches to show that both the late and the present Government had offered the Boers the fullest control over their internal affairs if they would concede to the Imperial Government sufficient authority to avert the dangers arising from the unsettled native question.

Sir W. Lawson thought the motion a very lame and impotent conclusion to the strong case which had been made out, and insisted that nothing short of the restoration of the territory to the Boers would do justice.

Mr. Rylands then expressed his willingness to withdraw the motion, but this having been objected to, and a division forced, both the mover and seconder of the motion left the House, and the resolution was rejected by 129 to 33, the minority being composed almost entirely of the Home Rulers and about half-a-dozen English Radicals.

When the news of the first repulse of the British troops reached this country, an ineffectual attempt was made to extract from the Government whether they regarded the Boers as belligerents or as rebels, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Grant Duff being successively and in vain applied to for a definite statement on this point.

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On a subsequent occasion (February 21), Lord Brabourne brought before the House of Lords the history of the events which had terminated in the annexation of the Transvaal, and traced the history of the Boers from the time when the Dutch farmers first quitted the Cape Colony in 1835, in consequence of the abolition of slavery within British dominions. In 1852, their independence had been recognised by the Sand River Convention, but conditionally on their consenting to abolish slavery. This stipulation had not been observed, and both Lord Brabourne and Lord Kimberley admitted that enforced servitude existed unchecked in the Transvaal. It was under these circumstances, strengthened by the deplorable financial condition of the country, that Lord Carnarvon had in 1877 permitted Sir Theophilus Shepstone to annex the country. At the time there was no real opposition to the step either in the Colony or in Parliament, both Mr. Forster and Mr. Cowen approving of it. It was only when relieved of fear of their enemies, and of bankruptcy, and finding that they would have to pay taxes, that the Boers rose to claim their independence; and the struggle had been rendered more desperate by the interpretation put by some of the Boers on the words used by Mr. Gladstone. They thought his repudiation of his predecessor's policy would entail its reversal. His policy would be to give the Boers the fullest possible measure of self-government compatible with safety, so soon as they laid down their arms and desisted from opposition. Lord Kimberley admitted that from time to time the Boers had been guilty of slave practices; but he thought the cases rare and of remote date. As to the approval of the annexation given by the Liberals when in opposition, it was on the understanding that the Boers acquiesced in it. The investigation since made showed that Lord Carnarvon had been misled, and that consequently the argument fell to the ground. He paid a warm tribute to President Brand, on whose honour and straightforward dealing he could unhesitatingly rely.

When the news of the armistice concluded by Sir Evelyn Wood reached the country, the Government expressed their approval of the act, though they denied that any steps had been taken by the British Commander to bring it about. Mr. Gladstone assured the House of Commons that the conduct of the Government would bear the closest investigation, and would show that they could reconcile the cessation of hostilities with the assurance given in the Queen's speech, that the vindication of the authority of the Crown must precede the settlement of the country. He deprecated discussion and declined to give details, but admitted that circumstances had somewhat changed in South Africa since the opening of Parliament. What this change of circumstances was Lord Cadogan attempted to discover by inquiry in the House of Lords (March 11), at the same time blaming the Government for its delay in giving information to the House. Lord Kimberley complained that if inquiries of this nature were pressed, it would be impossible to con-

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duct Government business. Negotiations were going on between the leaders in the field, and the Government was kept aware of what was passing between Sir E. Wood—in command since the death of Sir G. Colley—and Mr. Kruger. Lord Salisbury thought it was clear that there had been a sharp turn in the Government policy, and that it had been taken just after our severe and damaging defeat. This Lord Granville denied, saying that it was the Boers who first opened negotiations, and the Government had sent them an answer before the disaster at Majuba. Subsequently (March 24) Lord Kimberley gave an assurance that the loyal Boers who remained in the Transvaal would be protected, and that all claim for compensation by them or others would be decided by the Commissioners.

The reason which forced the Government to hold aloof from a general discussion of their South African policy, did not prevent Mr. Gladstone writing to Mr. Tomkinson, the Liberal candidate for West Cheshire, to assure him that when it was discussed in the House of Commons the Ministry would adopt no apologetic tone. The object they had in view was to save the country from 'sheer blood-guiltiness.' This naturally stirred Lord Carnarvon's susceptibilities, who raised a debate (May 10) on the issue that the annexation had been accomplished without bloodshed and with the consent of all parties concerned. He went on to argue that if by making peace we abandoned our allies—amongst whom he included the Dutch 'loyalists,' the English residents, and the friendly natives, we ought rather to prosecute the war until the Boer power was completely crushed. Lord Kimberley admitted that his predecessors had acted *bonâ fide*, and added that after the change of Government it was found that not only had Lord Carnarvon been misled, but that any prolongation of the contest might and probably would raise the Dutch against the British throughout the whole of South Africa, and it was therefore determined forthwith to come to terms with the Boers. The defeats of the British troops in the interval did not affect the views of the Government, and as they believed they could obtain by treaty as well as by war the protection for their allies which Lord Carnarvon claimed, they inclined towards the former and bloodless alternative. A week or two later, Lord Carnarvon, speaking at Burton-on-Trent (June 7), defended the annexation of the Transvaal as having been desired by the Boers themselves in order to give them protection against the powerful native tribes, by which they were threatened. They invoked our aid because there was no Government and only 12*s.* 6*d.* in the Exchequer. When we had restored confidence and prosperity they turned round to repudiate us, rose in insurrection, attacked our troops and defeated them, and under these circumstances the Government had sued for peace and consented to humiliating terms.

On the same night at Birmingham, Mr. Chamberlain vigorously defended the Ministerial policy in South Africa. He admitted

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that on taking office, their original views as to the annexation were staggered by the evidence they found at the Colonial Office; and if they did not at once reverse the policy of their predecessors, it was because they were not ashamed to acknowledge their ignorance. As late as November 19, 1880, they received from Sir Owen Lanyon, who was administering the Transvaal, a despatch in which he said: 'Three fourths of the population are secretly in favour of annexation. The action of a few agitators must not be taken as the opinion of the country; there is little or no cause for anxiety; and in a despatch dated December 5, he repeated the same language. On December 16, the Boers broke out into open insurrection, established a provisional government, and thoroughly altered the condition of affairs. Troops were at once hurried up to protect the loyal settlers and the native populations. The overtures for peace came in the first instance from President Brand, of the Orange Free State, and secondly from Mr. Kruger, the Vice-President of Boer leaders. The latter wrote to Sir George Colley to say that he was confident of the justice of his cause, and was willing to submit his case to a Royal Commission. On this basis, Sir George Colley was ordered by the Government to arrange for a settlement. In the midst of the negotiations, the British troops on three occasions met with repulse, but in each case they were the aggressors; and therefore their defeat did not seem to the Government to constitute a reason for withdrawing the terms previously offered. On the following night at Cheltenham, Sir M. Hicks-Beach took up the question from the Conservative point of view, and declared Mr. Chamberlain's speech to have been a tissue of excuses and apologies. The late Cabinet had acted upon reports it believed to be true, that unless the annexation took place the white inhabitants, English and Dutch, would have been overwhelmed by the natives. When he was Colonial Secretary the question was, 'Is the Transvaal to be retained?' We had incurred obligations to colonists and natives, which we could not ignore. The late Government had decided to maintain its sovereignty, in spite of disaffection in the Transvaal, and opposition from the present Prime Minister and the English Radicals. Their successors adopted their decisions and adhered to them until they discovered that the Boers could fight, and then they thought of blood-guiltiness, of which they had not before dreamt. Then, after three defeats, they sent out orders to conclude a peace, than which a no more disgraceful surrender had ever been made by an English Government.

The matter rested here for some time, the Land Bill occupying the whole time of the House of Commons; so that, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's promise to give Sir M. Hicks-Beach the first open night, it was quite the end of July before the opportunity arrived. Some days previously (July 11) a meeting was held at Willis's Rooms, under the auspices of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, presided over by the Marquess of Salisbury, and attended by the leaders and principal members of

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the Opposition. The ostensible object of the meeting was to hear addresses from two delegates of the loyal inhabitants of the Transvaal. The chairman, in introducing Mr. C. K. White and Herr Zietsman, said that many felt that England having pledged her word not to give up the Transvaal, had given it up to her enemies, not after victory, but after defeat. Out of the 700,000 inhabitants of the country about 40,000 were white men, of whom a strong minority would have welcomed British rule; and many had taken up arms for it when danger arose. He believed that by our policy we had abandoned these loyal men to the ill-will of their fellow-countrymen—besides having handed over the great majority of the native population to the tyranny of the rebel Boers. The delegates asserted that the majority of all classes had been in favour of annexation, and that they continued to be so until they were excited by those who ought to have taught them loyalty. They continued to be obedient to the law and to pay their taxes for a long time after the annexation, and had the promises which accompanied that act been carried out, the attempts to disturb the loyalty of the majority would have been fruitless. Disaffection was stirred up by agitators in England—it was fed by speeches and letters from the mother-country. Mr. Courtney was said by the Boers to have encouraged them to revolt—but it was Mr. Gladstone's Mid-Lothian speeches which fanned the flame of rebellion. The loyal inhabitants had been allowed to arm and equip themselves at great loss, to fight for three months, at the end of which they were handed over to the tender mercies of the Boers.

The debate in the House of Commons, which Sir M. Hicks-Beach offered at the last moment to postpone, was forced on by the action of Mr. Rathbone and Sir Wilfrid Lawson. Sir M. Hicks-Beach complained that having given notice of his vote of censure in April, he had been put off, first in consequence of the difficulties arising out of the non-surrender of Potchefstroom, and subsequently on account of the Land Bill, and that at the end of the session the Government were always sure of a majority. Nevertheless, on July 25 the debate came off, Sir M. Hicks-Beach declaring that he would not have challenged the conduct of the Government if it had not been that they had fixed their attention solely on the Boer interests, and had neglected those of the natives and loyal whites. He maintained that annexation had been originally effected with the consent of the natives and the populations of the chief towns, whilst it had received the silent acquiescence of the Boers. The annexation, moreover, had been sanctioned not only by the Ministry, but by the House when in the previous year it rejected Mr. Courtney's resolution. He desired to pass a censure on Mr. Gladstone's policy, which had advanced a certain distance on one course, and then in defeat had abandoned it. By this half-hearted action the blood of British soldiers had been shed in vain, and the defeat inflicted upon British arms had never been redressed. The Queen's authority

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had not, as promised in the Queen's speech, been vindicated, and the Boer leaders had obtained all they demanded. With regard to the conduct of hostilities, he asserted that if the Government had followed the advice of its agents, it might have brought the war to a successful termination, and then have yielded to a beaten foe terms which had now been extracted by a victorious enemy. By the course it had pursued, the Government had betrayed its friends, yielded to its enemies, and destroyed all its chances of exercising influence in South Africa. The manner in which the convention had been concluded would prove an insuperable bar to its successful working, and contained the germs of future troubles. Mr. Rathbone moved an amendment approving the termination of the war, and expressing confidence that the interests of the natives and of the loyal whites would be carefully protected. He regarded the action of the Government in acknowledging its mistake, and putting an end to an unjust war, as one of the most courageous and righteous acts of modern times. To have insisted on a policy of stamping out resistance, besides involving bloodshed, would have saddled us with a population more alienated than that of Ireland, and in a wilderness thousands of miles off, would have raised a blood-feud with the race who constituted the vast majority of the settlers in South African colonies. Like all other speakers on his own side, Mr. Rathbone laid great stress upon the fact that the Boers had offered to negotiate before the reverses of the British troops occurred. The earliest of these reverses (that of Laing's Nek) took place on January 28, but on the 10th or 11th the Home Government had informed both Sir George Strahan and President Brand that 'if the Boers would desist from armed opposition to the Queen's Government, the latter did not despair of being able to make a satisfactory arrangement.' Sir Henry Holland, on the other hand, travelling carefully over the whole history of the rising, declared that prior to the reverses nothing had been proposed beyond the suggestion of a general scheme, to which President Brand had objected on account of its vagueness. He ridiculed also the idea of any longing for independence on the part of the Boers. The outbreak was a sudden act, a spark lighting up smouldering disaffection which might have been stamped out, or which would have died out, if a firm hand had been used. Up to December 1880 there was no apparent change in the views of the Government. It was still 'the Queen's authority must be vindicated.' The real influence which had swayed the Government was that of a certain extreme section of its followers, who seized the opportunity offered by the revolt to impose upon the cabinet the policy with which they themselves were identified. Mr. Chamberlain, admitting the difficulties of the situation, declared that the alternative suggested by the Opposition could only have led to the annexation of the Transvaal, which was contrary to our treaty engagements in South Africa. All the information they had received from Sir G. Wolseley, Sir B. Frere, and others up

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to the very eve of the rising induced them to believe that the Boers were content. When the war broke out he showed that the terms offered to the Boers before the disasters were substantially the same as those subsequently accepted by them, and there was no national importance in these military defeats to lead the Government to withdraw those terms. A great nation like ours could afford to be generous, and peace had given us all that we could have justly demanded from victory. As to the Convention, when it was made public, he believed it would be satisfactory to the country, and would show that the Government had cared for the natives, for the loyalists, and for the interests of all. The Government had kept the control of foreign relations in their hands, they had provided for arbitration of disputes, and they had taken every security in their power for the future tranquillity of South Africa.

Mr. Gladstone, replying to Sir M. Hicks-Beach's speech at Cheltenham, showed by a comparison of the dates that overtures for peace had commenced before these disasters occurred. The annexation was a legacy from the late Government, and, though he held it to be a violation of our former treaties with the Boers, as long as the Government were led by all their agents to believe that the Boers acquiesced in it, they would not have been justified in disturbing it. But when the rising occurred there were two duties pressing on the Government—to accumulate an overwhelming British force in the colony, and also to seize the first opening for making peace. To have withdrawn the terms which were offered before the disasters on a military point of honour, and to insist on a certain number of victims being slaughtered to expiate our defeats, would have been wicked, cruel, and mean. He contended, therefore, that the Government had done everything that could have been done to vindicate the authority of the Queen, except by shedding more blood. Finally, he justified in detail the settlement effected with the Boers, especially dwelling on the protection secured to the native races, which, he said, was more efficient than if he had set up Parliamentary government in the Transvaal. This, he maintained, was far wiser and more honourable than to carry on a contest which would have become a war with the whole Dutch population of Africa, and at the end of which we should have done exactly what was being done now.

Sir S. Northcote maintained that the course taken by the Government would irretrievably weaken our influence in South Africa. The Opposition, he said, challenged not a particular part, but the whole conduct of the Ministry; but they complained especially that, after vapouring and hectoring for a certain time, the Government had suddenly changed their note. As to the allegation that negotiations had begun before the fighting, if it were so the Government deserved censure for managing their matters so badly that 733 men and officers were killed or wounded. If the Government meant to make peace, why were not the attacks of

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the troops stopped? The telegrams, however, showed that the negotiations had been carried on with divided minds. He hoped the settlement the Government were endeavouring to make would be successful, but what had been done greatly weakened the chances; and whatever might be the result of the division, he trusted it would not go forth to the country that the Government were unprepared to stand by their duty to South Africa, and that their policy in this matter was the beginning of our abandonnent of our colonial empire.

In the division which ensued, the vote of censure was rejected by a strict party vote of 315 against 204, the Home Rulers going into the lobby with the Ministerialists. Nothing further took place in Parliament with reference to the South African policy of the Government, and although it was from time to time referred to in the speeches of the autumn, the lines of attack and defence were not changed, and no new elements were introduced into the discussion. At one moment the apparent unwillingness of the Volksraad to ratify the Convention concluded by the Triumvirate with the British commander, led to fears lest further complications might arise, and in this way point and force were given to the attacks on the Government policy. In the last days of the year, however, the news of the complete ratification reached this country, and the event was hailed with general satisfaction by all parties as a desirable solution of a puzzling dilemma.

In our other colonial possessions no events took place which gave rise to any debates or discussions in this country, though the granting of a charter with wide powers to a private company which proposed to establish itself on the northern coast of Borneo attracted considerable attention. In the absence, however, of any official explanation, the conduct and policy of the Government could not be seriously called in question, especially as it was maintained that the issue of the charter was but the formal carrying out of an undertaking which had received the sanction and patronage of the previous Administration.

§ 2.—Afghanistan—The Candahar Debate—Indian Affairs.

The Indian policy of the Government attracted more attention in the House of Lords than elsewhere, for it was there that Lord Lytton found opportunities to defend the general course of his administration as Viceroy, and from time to time to review the action of his successors. On the opening night of the session Lord Beaconsfield rallied the Government on their loudly proclaimed ignorance of what to do in Afghanistan, and on the eagerness they were displaying to scuttle out of a country they had conquered at so great a cost. Whatever might be the policy or impolicy of invading that country, it was scarcely wise on the part of Ministers of the Crown to proclaim their peril on the housetops, and to make a confession of impotence before the

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people it was of importance to keep in awe. Lord Granville scarcely alluded to the subject in reply, preferring to wait until Lord Lytton's motion was brought forward, to defend the policy of the Government. The occasion was not long postponed, for on January 10 Lord Lytton, in a long and carefully prepared maiden speech, referred to his career as Viceroy under the late Government, and to the intention expressed in the Queen's speech to withdraw our troops from Candahar, and to reverse the policy which had obtained the full sanction of both Houses of Parliament. The effect of this decision would be to make the natives from one end of Asia to the other believe that there was a bewildering oscillation in the policy of the British Government. The fact that the policy of England in Europe could be disturbed and thwarted by the action of Russia in the north-west provinces of India, if Russia were allowed the means of making a 'diversion' in that quarter, was an established fact of supreme importance which ought not to be shirked by those responsible for the government of this country. Having pointed out that Russian governors in Central Asia must be practically almost independent of the Government at St. Petersburg, and referred to the Russian mission to the Ameer of Cabul, he asked whether the object of that elaborately prepared mission was not to establish Russian influence in Afghanistan, and whether any man would deny that such influence must be inimical to the interests of England. He then dilated with much detail on the advantages of our possession of Candahar in respect of British influence in India generally, and as a guard against Russian intrigue throughout the north-west provinces in particular. He avowed that he thought Liberal statesmen had attached too much importance to our possession of Herat, and contended that if we held Candahar we could control events at Herat and Merv. The establishment of the British power at Candahar would outrage no traditional or national sentiments, and for this reason—none existed there. If ever there was a mere geographical entity it was Afghanistan. If we retired from Candahar, we should have to go back there again. The other alternatives were to become the tenants-at-will of Russia in India, or hold our possessions there by fortifying the mountains on the plan of the great European fortifications.

The Duke of Argyll, after complimenting Lord Lytton on the skill and eloquence of his speech, expressed his regret that Lord Lytton had not fulfilled that part of his notice which set out that he would make 'a personal statement with reference to his own action as Viceroy.' The Duke contended that the late Ameer of Cabul had not shown himself hostile to this country till, anticipating the tactics of Mr. Parnell, Lord Lytton had 'boycotted' him and sent him threatening letters. He could not appreciate the reasons which led the ex-Viceroy to attach such prodigious importance to our retention of Candahar. Lord Lytton had tried to force our agents on the Ameer, and especially in sending forth Sir L.

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Cavagnari's mission, and he described as 'wretched' the proclamations in which it was announced that in carrying on hostilities we were not waging war against the people of Afghanistan. He condemned from first to last the 'wonderful' policy of the noble earl in India, and expressed his surprise that he should have invited a pensioner of Russia to become 'an independent ruler,' attributing this action to the anxiety of Lord Lytton that the English should 'scuttle out of' the territory. The strain put on the native army and its recruiting by the war, and the increased financial burden, weighed heavily on the people of India. Our future in India was safe if we only kept faith with our neighbours there and avoided complications, such as those in which the late Government had involved us with the native princes.

Lord Cranbrook took a wholly different view of the situation and of our obligations. He argued that the object of Russia in sending her mission to the Ameer was to make the Afghans her instruments for embarrassing this country. Successive Viceroys, including Lord Northbrook, had always held that there was not room for both England and Russia in Afghanistan. He then proceeded to defend the policy of the late Government, and twitted the Duke of Argyll with never being able to get beyond the time when he was at the India Office himself, and always ignoring the changes in views which had occurred since that time. On moral grounds and because resistance had been offered to us there we had a right to retain Candahar for the purpose of protecting ourselves by a domination of South Afghanistan. He complained that Parliament was without the papers which would enable it to know what was the policy of the Government in Afghanistan, and attributed, in the main, any feeling at home against the action of the late Government in Afghanistan to the philippics of the noble duke, who, on this question, set himself upon a high eminence above Parliament and all authorities on Indian affairs.

Lord Northbrook having intimated that the further papers respecting India would be presented, expressed his opinion that the war in Afghanistan would not have occurred if the late Government had not entirely departed from the great lines of policy on which successive Viceroys had acted. If an English force and an English governor were stationed at Candahar, that proceeding would be tantamount to the annexation of the Candahar territory. The only danger which Lord Lytton and Lord Cranbrook could point out as being necessarily such was 'covert intrigue,' whatever that might mean; but he could not see how that was to be encountered by our holding Candahar at an expense of a million-and-a-half a year and with great difficulty in the way of keeping up our communications from a distance of 400 miles. He believed that the only feeling which our retirement from Candahar would give rise to in the minds of the natives would be one of confidence in British justice and in the good faith of British assurances.

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on August 5, in spite of the reverse sustained by our troops at Maiwand, was approved by the Indian Government, and by a telegram from Lord Hartington on the 6th. On September 14 the Indian Government wrote, announcing its intention of ultimately withdrawing from the Khyber and the Kuram. It forwarded with this despatch several memoranda on these passes and their value to us, and on the question of the retention of Candahar, drawn up by Lord Lytton, Sir F. Roberts, Sir F. Haines, and others. Sir F. Roberts summed up his views in the following letter, forwarding his memorandum to the Viceroy:—

"His lordship will observe that, while I advocate the exclusion of Afghan control over the whole of the country acquired by the provisions of the Treaty of Gandamak, I am in favour of the withdrawal of our troops to the limits of the frontier held by us previous to the present campaign, excepting in the direction of Candahar.

"My reasons for this are explained at considerable length in the memorandum; they are, briefly, as follows:—

"1. The altered condition of Northern Afghanistan since operations commenced, consequent on the overthrow of the Ameer's power.

"2. The announced intention to maintain a British garrison permanently at Candahar.

"We are thus committed to communication with Candahar being insured, and are, in my opinion, relieved from the necessity of incurring military responsibility in the direction of the Khyber or Kuram."

On November 11, Lord Hartington wrote to announce that the Home Government had determined not to prolong the military occupation of Candahar.

"Her Majesty's Government, sharing the opinions of some of the most eminent Indian statesmen of past and present times, and, up to a very recent date, of every Minister of the Crown responsible for Indian policy, consider that there exists no such danger or apprehension of danger to the security of India from possible foreign invasion as would justify the Government in taking measures which must certainly lead immediately to very heavy additions to their large military expenditure, which will cause a constant strain on the organisation of the native army, and which will almost certainly involve us in future complications and difficulties, the nature of which it is easy to anticipate, though their exact form cannot be predicted. They are of opinion that recent experience has done nothing to strengthen the arguments of those who desire, as a military measure, to advance the Indian frontier, and much to verify the forebodings of those who were opposed to that policy."

In a subsequent despatch with reference to the recognition of Abdurrahman, dated December 3, Lord Hartington stated that Her Majesty's Government could not but think that the deputa-

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tion to Cabul of a native representative would help to maintain and strengthen amicable relations between the Governments of Cabul and India, and the Government would be glad to hear that this would be carried out at an early date.

A few days subsequently Lord Lytton moved for the production of the correspondence which had passed between Shere Ali and the Russian generals found at Cabul during the British occupation, as necessary for the defence of that policy which the present Government had reversed. The Government demurred somewhat to its publication in an official form, and since their coming into office had done their utmost to keep it from the general public—following the example of reticence shown by their predecessors. Only thirteen copies had been privately printed, six of which were sent to India, and the others retained for the use of the members of the Cabinet. Nevertheless the text of the papers appeared in the *Standard*, in a form the accuracy of which was never impugned. The principal doubt suggested was whether the Russian generals had not only anticipated instructions from St. Petersburg, but had entered upon negotiations or initiated a policy on their own responsibility; or else that, in anticipation of further complications in Europe, Russian statesmen had determined to stir up difficulties in Asia as a countercheck to the despatch of Indian troops to Malta. The latter solution seemed more probable, for it was scarcely conceivable that, on the very day on which the Berlin Congress met (June 15, 1878), General Stolieteff should leave Samarcand with the deliberate intention of urging the Afghans to take the field against the British troops. As, however, the telegraphic communications between Samarcand and St. Petersburg were open, it is difficult to understand why definite orders were not sent to General V. Kauffmann to prevent the departure of General Stolieteff, and to cancel the proposed treaty of alliance between Russia and Afghanistan. In any case this was not done, and General Stolieteff having crossed the Afghan frontier early in July reached Cabul on July 22, taking with him from General Kauffmann, the Governor-General of Turkestan, a letter of recommendation to Shere Ali, urging the latter to place confidence in the envoy's words and promises. Not until August 23 does Shere Ali appear to have replied to General Kauffmann, the delay which occurred being attributable to the receipt of proposals from the Indian Government to send a mission (Sir Neville Chamberlain) to Cabul, and the mourning consequent upon the death (August 17) of Abdullah Jan, the heir to the throne. A few days later, General Stolieteff went to Samarcand, leaving behind at Cabul the bulk of the Russian mission, but bearing with him a treaty of alliance with the Ameer.

This treaty contained ten articles. By the first, the Russian Government bound itself to permanent and perpetual friendship with Afghanistan. By the second, Russia undertook to recognise any heir-apparent chosen by the Ameer Shere Ali in succession to

the deceased Abdullah Jan. By the third, Russia promised to give assistance to the Ameer in repelling any foreign enemy. In another version this clause seems to be mixed up with one later in the document. By the fourth, the Ameer undertook not to make war without consulting Russia. In the fifth, he promised to keep Russia informed of all that took place in Afghanistan. In the sixth, he undertook to communicate all important matters to General Kauffmann, while in return he was assured that officer would be directed to meet his wishes. By the seventh clause, Afghan merchants in Russia received promise of protection. By the eighth, the Ameer was authorised to send chosen persons to Russia to learn arts and trades. The two remaining clauses contained, according to one version, a guarantee against internal disorder and a promise of the restoration at some time to the Ameer of "the ancient country of Afghanistan," which could mean nothing but the Upper Punjaub and the district of Kelat.

Meanwhile Shere Ali's evasive reply to the Viceroy's letter relative to the reception of the mission had in India aroused suspicion as to his intentions, and Sir Neville Chamberlain had crossed the boundary of the Afghan territory. Shere Ali at once wrote to General Kauffmann, informing him that before long he would hear that the British and Afghan Governments had become involved in war. In this was enclosed another letter, addressed to the Emperor of Russia, dated October 9, 1878, in which the Ameer, announcing the war as imminent and inevitable, asked for Russian assistance. In reply, the Russian Commander-in-Chief told the Ameer that the English wanted to come to peace with him, and as a friend he advised him to make terms with them if they proposed it. Shere Ali was still incredulous, and developed his reasons in a lengthy letter, and applied more urgently for assistance, though the fall of Fort Ali Musjid and storming of the Peiwar Kotal had proved the weakness of the Ameer's first line of defence.

In the course of the month, and apparently soon after the news might have reached General Kauffmann, the latter replied by a despatch to the Russian representative in Cabul: 'The Ameer knows perfectly well that it is impossible for me to assist him with troops in winter. Therefore it is necessary that war should not be commenced at this unseasonable time. If the English, in spite of the Ameer's exertions to avoid the war, commence it, you must then take leave of the Ameer and start for Tashkend, because your presence in Afghanistan in winter is useless. Moreover, at such a juncture as the commencement of war in Afghanistan you ought to come here and explain the whole thing to me, so that I may communicate it to the Emperor. This will be of great benefit to Afghanistan and to Russia.'

On December 11 the Ameer fled from Cabul, accompanied by the remainder of the Russian mission, announcing his intention of proceeding at once to St. Petersburg; but on his road thither he received from General Stolieteff a letter, in which, after many formal

protestations of friendship and brotherly love, he assured him that the English were anxious to come to terms through the intervention of the Sultan, and the Czar wished the Ameer to follow the advice, but at the same time not to admit the English into his country. "You are to treat them with deceit and deception until the present cold season passes away," and that then the Russians would come to the Ameer's aid. The idea of a European congress at St. Petersburg was held up as an inducement to the Ameer to make terms—and he was promised that by words or diplomatic action English interference in the affairs of Afghanistan should be put an end to for ever, or "else events would end in a mighty and important war." In January 1879 General Kauffmann again wrote to inform Shere Ali that the Russian Ambassador in London had obtained from the British Ministers a promise that they would not injure the independence of Afghanistan, and a few days later he counselled the Ameer not to leave his possessions permanently. The hint not being taken, he was invited to Tashkend, and then told that no instructions relative to his journey to St. Petersburg had been received. The last letter of the series was from Shere Ali, complaining first of the state of his health, and then that in spite of General Kauffmann's assurance of the treaty signed in London, the British continued to advance, and had seized Jellalabad and Pishin, and threatened Candahar. Shere Ali's death in the following month brought to a close a correspondence which might be read to suggest either treachery and double-dealing on the part of Russia, or an honest desire to see Afghanistan accept readily the terms which England offered.

Two smart skirmishes took place between Lord Lytton and the Duke of Argyll (February 15 and 18), relative to the circumstances under which a bridge of boats had been thrown over the Indus, the former asserting that its object was to facilitate the passage of the mail carts between Peshawur and Kohat, whilst the latter held that it formed part of a general plan to invade Afghanistan, and was in anticipation of a 'declaration of war' against that country or against Russia. On both occasions somewhat heated and irregular discussions ensued, leading to no practical results.

On March 9, however, Lord Lytton brought forward a substantial resolution to the effect that nothing in the information laid before the House justified the policy announced by the Government in regard to Candahar. The debate, which lasted over two nights, was in all respects a memorable one. The House was filled with a crowd of attentive listeners, including the ministers of nearly all the foreign Powers accredited to our court; the speeches were weighty and dignified, and it was practically the last occasion on which Lord Beaconsfield's voice was heard in the councils of the nation. He was already suffering from the attack which was eventually to prove fatal to him, and it was only by force of his indomitable will that he was able to take part in the debate; nevertheless his speech on this occasion will be regarded

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as one of his finest displays of oratory. Lord Lytton, after some remarks of a personal nature, examined the communications between General Kauffmann and the Ameer, as well as those to the Viceroy, and expressed his belief that if the late Lord Lawrence, instead of Lord Northbrook, had been Viceroy of India when those letters became known, he would have thought it necessary to take precautions against the unsolicited, illegitimate, and dangerous patronage of Afghanistan by Russia. He asserted that three years before he went to India as Viceroy Shere Ali had ceased to be a friend to this country, and had become an ally of Russia, and that his having done so was a direct result of the Indian policy of Lord Northbrook and of the late Government. If Russia established a garrison at Merv she could exercise sufficient political influence at Herat without occupying the latter place; but if we retained Candahar we might be indifferent to change of rulers at Cabul and to Russian influence in Afghanistan. In addition to that, we should bring the whole export commerce of Central Asia to Kurrachee and Calcutta. If Candahar was to be abandoned by us, to whom was it to be given up, and to what point were we to retire? If we did not retain it, the result would be that it must be given up to the speculation of every political gambler who played for power in Afghanistan, and this was to be done in the name of morality! The influence of Russia had been steadily advancing before the late war; and he contended that if we were to counteract it, there was no choice between the alternatives of the retention of Candahar and reliance on the instructions of non-interference given by the Russian Government to General Kauffmann. The late ministry had placed in the hands of Her Majesty's Government a great trust. He feared that much of it had been dissipated, but he asked the Government to redeem as much of it as remained.

Before any formal defence of the existing ministry was entered upon, Lord Enfield at great length explained the policy of the Liberals when previously in office, and denied that it had tended in any way to alienate the sympathy of native tribes. He quoted native evidence in support of the jealousy which the permanent occupation of Candahar would arouse, and denied its value as the commercial entrepôt of Central Asia. Lord Chelmsford urged the retention of Candahar, founding his views on a long service in India, and an acquaintance with the place. Russia could occupy Herat at any time she liked; but for the purposes of supply to Herat from the Caspian she must establish communications through Persia. If she did this by friendly means she would excite the enmity of the Afghans. If she did it by hostile efforts she would have Persia for an enemy. To talk of Herat as the key of India was a misapplication of military terms; but the possession of Candahar would not prevent Russia from occupying Herat, though if she did, and we were at Candahar, we and the Russians would be face to face at a distance

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of 400 miles, but in the event of a Russian advance through Cabul or on Candahar our previous occupation of Candahar, which was also a distance of 400 miles from our base of communications, would be of no advantage. It would be a false move on our part to oppose from Candahar a Russian advance into Afghanistan. So long as our army was seasoned and loyal, and our rule in India was just, he believed we had nothing to fear in the shape of Russian encroachments on India.

Lord Sandhurst read extracts from opinions given by his father and Lord Lawrence to prove that we had nothing to fear in India from Russia, and that the limits of our territorial possessions in India had been reached. He went the length of holding that if we held Candahar we should facilitate Russia's designs on India, if they existed, by making the Afghans hostile to this country.

Lord Derby saw no use in discussing the past, or even Lord Lytton's policy as Viceroy, because, in his opinion, the sole question for the House was the retention or giving up of Candahar. That question should be viewed from its financial, political, and military aspects. There was nothing to justify us in coming to the conclusion that the retention would be successful economically, and the risk resulting from overloading the natives with taxation would be tenfold greater than any which was likely to arise from leaving a vulnerable point. Politically, the retention was objectionable, because whatever foreign Power occupied that position would be unpopular with the Afghans. Would it then be wise to hold for, say, thirty years, at a cost of a million sterling a year, a place which would be an encumbrance to us in time of peace, on the chance that if a particular route were taken by an enemy that position might be useful to us in time of war? He avowed that he was unable to see how our retention of Candahar could prevent Russian or other intrigues at Cabul. On the military point he admitted that military opinions were divided; but he asked whether, with a vast empire and a small army, it would be wise of us to lock up a very considerable garrison in a very out-of-the-way place; whether, in the event of a general disturbance in India, a garrison at Candahar would not be likely to be cut off; and whether, in a country which was long and difficult, we should not be throwing away an advantage by meeting the enemy half-way. He supposed the resolution would be carried, but it would not alter the opinion of the House of Commons, the Government, and the country; and he doubted the wisdom of putting on record without necessity an opinion which would remain without result.

Lord Salisbury declined to follow Lord Derby's recommendation to the House never to give their advice unless beforehand they knew it would be accepted. In his opinion, that was not a worthy view of the mode in which the House ought to proceed. With regard to the question under discussion he contended that the approach of Russia from the eastern shore of the Caspian,

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with nothing immediately before her but a desert in which there were no Russian interests to be guarded, showed conclusively that she had designs beyond that desert. Further, there was reason to believe that Persia was in her hands and devoted to her interests to an extent that had never been known before. Even if Russia had promised not to advance beyond a given point, experience had shown that her promises were not to be relied on, because never had a great and powerful empire been so afflicted with disobedient officers as Russia was. He did not imagine that any Russian statesmen contemplated a conquest of India, but what we had to guard against was such Russian influence, military and diplomatic, in Afghanistan as would menace our north-western frontier in India, and so control our policy in every part of the world. Loyalty in Asia was a recognition of strength, and he was afraid that the Afghans would think that strength lay with the Power which advanced and never retreated, and not with the Power which retreated and preached all the way.

Lord Northbrook, declining to go into the old story of the frame of Shere Ali's mind in 1874, denied that the present Government had reversed the policy of the late Administration, for the latter had left no policy in respect of Candahar. All had become a blank after the mutiny against the Wali placed at Candahar by the late Government when they had resolved not to annex it. In his opinion the strongest reason against the retention of Candahar was that suggested by Lord Derby when he asked whether it was wise to lock up a considerable force at such a distance from our base of operations. The Afghans hated both England and Russia, but would be most actively hostile to whichever of them might occupy Candahar; and as no conclusive case had been made out by the military authorities, it was unwise to act so clearly in opposition to political considerations.

The second night's debate was opened by Lord Cranbrook, who commenced by asking when there had been "a strong and friendly Afghanistan"? He denied that there had been even in the time of Dost Mahomed, and asserted that from the days of that ruler downwards Afghanistan never had been strong except for a short period during the reign of Shere Ali, and then it was not friendly. He described the present state of Afghanistan as one of disintegration, and then argued that there devolved on us the moral duty of protecting our native friends, not only the sirdars and tribes who had fought for us, but the peaceable populations which had grown under our protection and prospered under our care. He accused the Government of precipitation in the matter of abandoning Afghanistan, and warmly repelled the suggestion that the late Government had failed to cultivate friendly relations with the Ameer Shere Ali. He expressed his belief that Yakoob Khan could have prevented the murder of Sir L. Cavagnari and his companions, and maintained that the massacre at Cabul and our subsequent conquest gave us a right to hold Candahar. He

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pointed out that some of the military authorities on whose opinions the Government relied had written in favour of the abandonment of Candahar only on the supposition that we were to retain Pishin, Major Baring alone being in favour of the abandonment of Candahar. The present Government proposed to make no provision against Russian influence in Afghanistan, though past experience showed that diplomacy would be an inadequate support. We were pledged to support the Ameer of Cabul and several tribes, and only by the retention of Candahar could we expect to find means of performing those engagements. We were there, the place was healthy, and it might be made strong; and with Candahar in our hands we could secure our north-western frontier and, as a result of that, the peace and prosperity of India.

The Duke of Argyll regarded the motion as one of censure of the Government for not absorbing into the Queen's dominions the southern and richer portion of Afghanistan, with a view to the final annexation of the whole of that kingdom. Going back to the first Afghan war, he traced the course of British opinion on the Afghan question during that period with the view of showing that, in respect of Russian influence in Persia and Afghanistan, there had been throughout that period the same controversy as was now being waged. It was an historical delusion to suppose that the great advances of Russia in Central Asia had been made within the last few years. Those advances were made between 1864 and 1869; and yet the late Lord Sandhurst, a great soldier and a great statesman, said at that time that he doubted whether we should advance our frontier even if the Russians were at Cabul and Candahar. He cited the late Lord Mayo and Lord Salisbury as other authorities against advancing that frontier, and Sir S. Northcote to show that the late Government in 1878–79 publicly stated that the advances of Russia in Central Asia ought not to excite alarm or surprise. Reverting to his former charge against Lord Lytton, whose policy towards Shere Ali he characterised as one of "ostensible pretence," he pointed out that the late Government had changed their policy with regard to Afghanistan, they having first announced that they did not intend to remain in any part of the Afghan territory—next set up Shere Ali Khan as Wali of Candahar; and—lastly—arrived at the decision that it should be held. In conclusion he vindicated the policy of the present Government as against that of the late Government, which he described as one of "drift."

The debate was continued by Lord Lawrence, who expressed his conviction that his late father would not have pursued the policy adopted by Lord Lytton; and by Lord Napier, who denounced the permanent occupation of Candahar as costly and useless, but thought that its temporary occupation might obtain for us better terms in negotiating with the Afghan leaders; whilst, on the other hand, Lord Dunraven held that we not only had a moral right, but a moral obligation to remain at Candahar; and

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if its retention entailed a cost of a million and a half a year he would support it as a measure of ultimate economy.

Lord Beaconsfield saw no use in again reviewing the history of the Afghan war, but he admitted that, after the Congress of Berlin and the explanation of the Russian Chancellor, he did announce to the House that of the proceedings of Russia in Afghanistan at the time when war between that Power and England was supposed to be imminent we had no cause to complain. The conversation between him and the Russian Minister at our court to the same effect occurred in November 1878, which was a year before the discovery of the secret papers at Cabul. He repudiated the suggestion of having said to the Russian Minister that the Government of India had forced the hands of the Government at home. The mistake happened through a misapprehension on the part of Count Schouvaloff, who was a most honourable man. The observation about forcing hands had reference not to an operation of war, but to the sending of the mission to the Ameer, which was an operation of peace, taken without the concurrence of the Government at home, and of which they disapproved. Coming to the motion, he expressed his belief that even if we did not retain Candahar we should be able to preserve our empire of India, because the key of India was not Herat or Candahar, but London. It was wise, however, to avail ourselves of local resources. This country had long acted on that principle, and had generally managed to secure a precise and scientific frontier. The fact that the power of England could be felt on the spot was the best security for peace, and consequently for economy.

Lord Granville, after calling attention to the difference of the key in which Lords Salisbury and Cranbrook had pitched their speeches when compared with that of Lord Beaconsfield, stated that the written opinions of the military men, including the Duke of Cambridge, who were in favour of the retention of Candahar, were filled up with 'political and trade padding,' from which he inferred that the military reasons required to be so supplemented. He announced that Lord Cranbrook was mistaken in the assumption that the present Viceroy was in favour of the retention. He was not sure as to the opinion of the other members of the Council of the Government of India, with the exception of Major Baring, who was not in its favour. He was not one of those who thought the diplomatists of Russia were superior to all others; but the greatest diplomatic success he had ever heard of was that of Russia in Afghanistan, which by a mere mission drained us of twenty millions of money, cost us a great loss of life, and brought about a state of feeling which it should have been our object to prevent.

The House then divided, and endorsed the resolution by 165 to 79, thus practically censuring the Government by a majority of two to one.

The Opposition was not slow in following up this blow by a direct challenge to the Government in the House of Commons.

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On the first night after the close of the debate in the Lords, Mr. Stanhope gave notice of a resolution to the effect that the withdrawal of our troops from Candahar was not conducive to the true and permanent interests of India. On the appeal of Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gladstone consented to give up the very first available Government night to the discussion, which was ultimately fixed for March 24. On the eve of the debate a Parliamentary white-book was issued, containing three very important despatches. The first of these, dated December 3, 1880, was from Lord Hartington to the Viceroy, recapitulating the views of the Government (communicated in his previous secret despatch of May 21) with regard to Afghanistan. They objected to the occupation of Candahar in support of a native ruler for the purpose of disintegrating the country, though some such arrangement might be necessitated in consequence of the pledges which had been given to Wali Shere Ali. As to the military position acquired under the Treaty of Gandamak, Lord Ripon was left full liberty of action. The recognition of Abdurrahman as Ameer of Cabul and the withdrawal of our troops were fully approved by the Government, and whilst the exact date of the withdrawal from Candahar was left to the Viceroy, the Government trusted that its occupation would not be prolonged beyond the winter. Lord Hartington went on to express his approval of the withdrawal of our troops from the Khyber Pass and Kuram Valley; and as regarded Pishin, although valuable as a strategic point, its possession would keep the Government of India involved in the complications of Afghan politics, and would be a constant temptation and pretext for interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan; therefore for these and other reasons the Home Government had decided upon the abandonment of the post. Lord Ripon's reply, dated February 2, supported by minutes from the members of the Council, separated the question of the withdrawal from Pishin from that of the restoration of Candahar. Mr. Rivers Thompson especially deprecated the proposed action of the Home Government, and quoted the authority of Sir R. Sandeman that by our withdrawal we should abandon to anarchy and confusion the peace and prosperity we had established. Major Baring, on the other hand, regarded the decision of the Home Government as eminently statesmanlike, and forced upon India by financial as well as by political reasons.

With these State papers indicative of the action of the Government, Mr. Stanhope commenced his attack on its policy. In common with other speakers on both sides of the House he travelled over the lines followed in the Upper House. Laying it down that the cardinal point in our Afghan policy must be to exclude all foreign influence from that country, and to maintain British influence paramount there, he traced the diplomatic advances of Russia to Afghanistan, showing how they became more and more intimate; and contending that though they culminated when the relations between

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England and Russia were somewhat strained, they commenced long before, and continued long after. The danger arising from such relations must be greatly increased by the nearer approach of Russian troops to Afghan territory, and if Russia set her foot in Afghanistan it would only be for the purpose of making it a vantage-ground to embarrass us. Admitting that the late Government had not contemplated the retention of Candahar when the Peace of Gandamak was made, he pointed out that the failure of Yakoob Khan had entirely altered the circumstances, and he called on the Government to state what were their plans for excluding Russian influence from Afghanistan. He objected to the withdrawal, because it was inopportune, and in opposition to the pledges given to the people of Candahar, as well as against the weight of authority. In its hurry to get away from Candahar the Government had made no arrangements for the future, and displayed its strength only by a policy of masterly surrender.

The defence of the Government policy was opened by Sir C. Dilke, who, referring to the Russian advance, pointed out that the first act of the Czar had been to stop it, and to recall General Skobeleff; and, in reply to the argument of the loss of prestige, he asked whether the late Government had sacrificed prestige when it left Cabul, and whether Russia had lost prestige when she abandoned some of her Central Asian conquests. As to the pledges, the people of Candahar had forfeited them by their hostility to our troops after the disaster of Maiwand; and he showed by reference to the "Candahar Official Journal" that the late Government never determined permanently to remain there. All the difficulties with which this Government had to deal sprang from the vacillation of their predecessors, on which he dwelt at length, and on the point of opportuneness he maintained that if we did not withdraw now we should be unable to withdraw at all, and the arrangements they had made, though not the best in the abstract, were the best that could be made under the circumstances which they found existing. Discussing the authorities, he pointed out that Sir G. Wolseley and Sir D. Stewart said that Candahar was useless as a military station; and that we could go there at any time if we wanted was shown by the late war. To occupy it in time of peace, he showed, would impose a strain on the Indian finances which they could ill bear. Next he contended that the position was useless for purposes of trade, as a centre for counter-working intrigue, and as an outwork against a Russian advance. India, he asserted, was stronger for distant operations than Russia herself, and the best security against an invasion was good government in India and a thrifty management of her finances.

The son of the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Northcote) was followed by the son of the leader of the House (Mr. H. Gladstone), who in his maiden speech thoroughly justified the hopes entertained of his ability as a speaker. The chief point of his argument was to prove that it was neither the intention nor the interest

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of Russia to invade India, and that the difficulties in the way were well-nigh insuperable. On the second night of the debate the chief burden fell upon Lord George Hamilton, who devoted himself to analysing the value of the authorities, military and political, on which the Government relied. As to the danger from Russia, it was not invasion but intrigue, we had to fear; and, dilating on this point, he mentioned that the three survivors of the Council who had signed Lord Lawrence's famous minute—Sir H. Maine, Sir R. Temple, and Sir J. Strachey—approved of the Afghan policy of the late Government because they believed that the masterly inactivity policy had failed. As it was common ground with both parties that Russian influence must be excluded from Afghanistan, he asked the Government to state what was their plan for attaining this object. The general direction of Lord G. Hamilton's speech, with that of Mr. Stanhope, his successor at the India Office under the late Administration, pointed to a permanent retention of Candahar, necessitated by the attitude of Russia. Lord Hartington's reply was altogether on the theme that, if we were ever to abandon Candahar, the sooner we did so the better; and that as the resolution did not attack the policy of the Government, but merely its opportuneness, he maintained that whilst Candahar might in some circumstances be strategically valuable, the first condition was its occupation with the consent of the Afghans and of their allies. Sir Stafford Northcote pointed out that the Government had given no reasons for not abiding by the promise contained in the Queen's speech, that the troops would not be recalled until a settled government had been established. The policy pursued by the Government was full of peril; it would inflict a serious blow on our reputation in India; and it gave grounds for apprehending that if a Liberal Government remained in office for twenty years, very little of the British Empire would be left. The division which immediately followed was a strictly party one. Out of a House of which the full complement was 639, no less than 579 voted or paired. The minority voting was composed of 208 Conservatives, three Home Rulers, and five Liberals, including Mr. J. Cowen; whilst the majority comprised 306 Liberals and 30 Home Rulers. Amongst the absentees were 30 Home Rulers, including Messrs. Parnell, Biggar, Dillon, and Finigan. The judgment of the House of Lords having been thus emphatically reversed by the Commons, Indian affairs occupied but little more of the attention of Parliament—the evacuation of Candahar and the Pishin Valley, which was completed before the prorogation, attracting but little notice. The Indian Budget, postponed until nearly the last day of a protracted session (August 22), called forth no serious discussion in an almost empty house. It was chiefly interesting for its summary of the cost of the Afghan war. The total war expenditure (including the frontier railways) was set down at 23,412,000*l.*, of which 5,000,000*l.* was to be borne by England, leaving 18,412,000*l.* as the financial burden thrown upon India. As

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late as February 1880, Sir J. Strachey had estimated the total expenditure on the war as little over 10,000,000*l.* Lord Hartington's estimate was somewhat different:—'If there had been no war charge and no construction of frontier railways, and, at the same time, provision of 1,500,000*l.* had been made in each year for the relief of famine, there would have been in each of the years of the war the following surpluses;—In 1878–9, a surplus of 1,523,885*l.*; in 1879–80, of 3,521,515*l.*; in 1880–1, of 3,623,174*l.*; and in 1881–2, of 855,000*l.*; or a surplus during the four years of 9,523,574*l.* Of course, these surpluses, amounting to nine millions and a half, have gone for payment of the war; the balances of the famine insurance, amounting to 4,035,309*l.*, have been appropriated to payment of the war. There were also contributions from the British Treasury, amounting to 5,000,000*l.*, towards payment of the war; and there was taken from cash balances for the same purpose a sum of 4,513,470*l.*

With regard to the Indian expenditure of 1879–80, the latest year for which the accounts were made up, Lord Hartington showed that the revenue was 68,484,666*l.*, and the expenditure 69,667,615*l.*, showing a deficit of 1,182,949*l.* The first or Budget estimate had put the revenue at 64,562,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 65,917,000*l.*, both of them nearly 4,000,000*l.* short of the truth. For 1880–1, the regular (*i.e.* not the Budget, but the revised) estimate gave revenue, 70,783,615*l.* (including 2,000,000*l.* contributed by England), and expenditure, 77,003,382*l.*, showing a deficit of no less than 6,219,767*l.*, in spite of the English contribution towards the revenue. The Budget estimate for 1881–2 showed a revenue of 70,981,000*l.*, and an expenditure of 70,126,000*l.*, giving an anticipated surplus of 855,000*l.* Lord Hartington stated that the Government fully accepted the obligation of providing 1,500,000*l.* a year as an insurance fund against famine, and that the whole of any balance not used in any year for the actual relief of famine is to be spent either on protective works or on the reduction of debt,—a canal in the Deccan, a railway in the Punjab, and minor relief works in Madras and Bombay, being the first protective works selected for execution.

§ 3.—Foreign Affairs.

The Berlin Treaty and the Greek Demands—Settlement of the Frontier Question.

In the Speech from the Throne, the settlement of the new frontier line of Greece was declared to be under discussion, whilst other portions of the Treaty of Berlin, still unfulfilled, were simply the objects of anxious attention. Lord Beaconsfield, in reviewing the Ministerial position, touched but lightly on its foreign affairs, and contented himself by asserting that, whereas the Treaty of Berlin might have affected or left unsettled various points, it nevertheless secured the peace of Europe; whereas the result of the Conference of Berlin, which seemed to have in view to upset the work

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of the previous year's congress, was that war was being revived in the east of Europe and west of Asia, and England was near being a belligerent against her old ally. Lord Granville protested that the policy of the Government had been to carry out the Treaty of Berlin, and that no effort would be spared to achieve that result. As the month wore on, the impatience of Greece and the dilatoriness or disloyalty of Turkey seemed to render a conflict inevitable, and the question arose whether a display of force on the part of the Western Powers should be again resorted to. But the negotiations entered into with this object met with no response in the Cabinets of Europe; and it was chiefly the changed attitude of France which made Lord Granville's position both difficult and delicate; for this reversal of the French policy in Eastern Europe threw upon English statesmen the burden of carrying out the Treaty of Berlin. M. de St. Hilaire at the close of the year had repudiated the obligations which six months previously he had been ready to enforce apparently by arms. Lord Granville found little or no support at Berlin, and less at Vienna, where the advance of Greece towards provinces on which Austria-Hungary was supposed to look with longing eyes was regarded with but little favour. The European concert was paralysed; a compromise was urged by France which involved the withdrawal of the promises to Greece held out by the Berlin Congress and endorsed by the Berlin Conference. To avoid the consequences which threatened to follow on the collapse of European influence in the Balkan peninsula, France proposed to resort again to diplomacy, and the Conference of Constantinople was agreed upon to assign afresh the limits of the Greek kingdom. For many weeks the issue remained in suspense, and rumours of the failure of negotiations were more frequent and abundant than hopes of their success. Greece had mobilised her forces, and Turkey sent her most experienced general to the frontier; whilst at Constantinople the feeling that the negotiations were unreal daily gained ground in spite of Mr. Goschen's efforts to find a *modus vivendi*. The murder of the Czar possibly did more than anything else to induce a change of attitude on the part of both Powers. The Greeks were in doubt whether the Pan-Sclavonic question might not be on the point of solution, in a sense which gave them fair hopes of obtaining terms from the revolutionists; whilst the Turks, aware that the passive attitude of France and Austria might at any moment be abandoned, hastened to patch up a truce with their neighbour in order to be able to face future eventualities with their hands free. On April 7 the ambassadors of the Powers at Constantinople were at length able to draw up a draft agreement, by which, although the whole of Thessaly was conceded to Greece, more than half of Epirus, including the coveted fortresses of Janina and Metzovo, was left to Turkey; and the Cabinet of Athens was forced under pressure to agree to the new frontier line, which deprived Greece of nearly one-third of the territory promised to her at Berlin. It

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was admitted by all the Powers that the assent of Turkey to these terms was obtained chiefly through the persistence and firmness of Mr. Goschen, who throughout the negotiations found himself supported not only by the active aid of Lord Granville, but by the dignified attitude of the Opposition in Parliament. At the end of July the Turkish troops had evacuated the last portion of the territory assigned to Greece, whilst the annexation of the new provinces to that kingdom was celebrated by general rejoicings, and had been sullied by no insults or injuries to the Moslem population.

It was rather the manner in which the Tunis business was managed than the annexation itself which disturbed the English public, or offended its responsible leaders. As late as the middle of May, M. Jules Ferry had declared in both Chambers that the French Government had no design on the throne or territory of Tunis, and repudiated all ideas of annexation or conquest. Within eight-and-forty hours of his speech, news was received that the Bey had been forced to sign a treaty which practically left him a powerless puppet in the hands of France. The French Minister Resident became the Bey's Chancellor, and directed the whole business of the kingdom, whilst Italian influence was summarily extinguished. The reply given by French apologists to the outcry of English newspapers was that the annexation was the carrying out of an arrangement made between M. Waddington and Lord Salisbury at the Berlin Congress; and although Lord Salisbury denied that his words bore the interpretation put upon them, the official documents which were published at all events admitted the plausibility of this plea.

The grounds upon which French statesmen based their views were shortly afterwards laid before Parliament. They referred principally to the period immediately following the Berlin Congress and the disclosure of the Anglo-Turkish convention by which Cyprus was placed under the administration of Great Britain. On July 25, 1878, M. Waddington wrote to the French Ambassador in London, informing him that the relations of the Mediterranean Powers had been the subject of much discussion between the French and English Plenipotentiaries at Berlin; and that with regard to Tunis, Lord Salisbury had of his own free will stated that in that quarter no obstacle would be raised to the extension of French influence; "et que le Gouvernement de la Reine acceptait d'avance toutes les conséquences que pouvait impliquer pour la destination ultérieure du territoire Tunisien, le développement naturel de notre politique." M. Waddington added that he did not think that the French Government would at that moment undertake the annexation of the country at once, but he claimed full liberty to take up the question at the point to which it had been brought at such time as suited the interests of France. Although Lord Salisbury repudiated the imputation that he had suggested "une annexion pure et simple" of Tunisian territory, he

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seems to have assented to the general correctness of the conversations as put on paper by M. Waddington. And this view is further supported by other evidence.

On July 16, 1878, the day on which the Treaty of Berlin was signed, a newspaper paragraph was published in Paris and Berlin, stating that England had offered the annexation of the Regency of Tunis to France. This statement naturally created a very painful impression in Tunis, and on July 23 Sir Richard Wood, the British representative in Tunis, wrote to Lord Salisbury asking for permission to give it a formal contradiction. On August 7, the day on which Lord Salisbury wrote the despatch to Lord Lyons from which we have quoted, he also wrote to Sir Richard Wood to say 'that no offer of the annexation of Tunis to France had ever been made by Her Majesty's Government to the French Government;' and not long afterwards Sir Henry Layard was authorised to make a similar statement to the Porte.

For two years no change seems to have come over the minds of French politicians; but the affairs of the Goletta railway seem to have attracted the attention of the French Foreign Office to the actual condition of affairs in Tunis. That their condition was thoroughly bad and corrupt was beyond all doubt; nevertheless, when Lord Granville was sounded in the early part of the summer of 1880, he wrote on June 17, 1880, to Lord Lyons, our ambassador at Paris, to say that "in the view of Her Majesty's Government Tunis was a portion of the Ottoman Empire, to dispose of which Great Britain had no moral or international right. But Her Majesty's Government had no jealousy of the influence which France, from her greater power and greater civilisation, exercised and is likely to exercise over Tunis." In the autumn of that year the Enfida dispute aggravated a situation already strained; and in the early months of the present year an incursion of the Kroumirs on Algerian territory furnished France with an excuse for intervention. The Sultan as early as April appealed to Mr. Goschen to use his influence with his Government to prevent the French occupation of Biserta or Tunis; but the only reply was that England, whilst regretting that any new Eastern question should be raised, failed to see that English interests were specially involved in the affairs of Tunis in any way. On May 13 the Bey of Tunis signed under compulsion the treaty presented to him by General Bréard and M. Roustan, by which the Government of the country was practically placed in the hands of France. As might be supposed, from various quarters arose the cry for interference of some kind, never very actually defined, on the part of the English Government; but to all such appeals Lord Granville turned a deaf ear. Nevertheless, on May 20 he addressed to M. Challemel-Lacour a despatch in which, summing up the previous correspondence between the two Governments, he very plainly laid before the French Ambassador that the divergence between M. St. Hilaire's words and the acts of the "Ministry of which he was member could not

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fail to produce an unfavourable effect upon public opinion in this country."

"Her Majesty's Government," wrote Lord Granville, "do not wish to lay too much stress on inconsistencies of language in conversation, or on the various reasons which have been given at Paris and at Tunis for French intervention, first as a protection against the alleged designs of the Sultan for the Bey's deposition, and secondly for the punishment of the turbulent frontier tribes. But it can hardly be doubted that the treaty with Tunis goes far beyond any question of the security of the frontier, and amounts practically to a Protectorate, which they understood to have been disclaimed."

Lord Granville went on to assume that, under the treaty concluded with the Bey, all commercial and other privileges accorded to British subjects would remain undisturbed; and in order that there might be no misapprehension, he explicitly stated that the convention concluded on July 19, 1875, between Tunis and Great Britain must be considered to remain in force. He further stipulated that no change in the constitution of the Financial Commission (established in 1869) should be made without an opportunity being given to the various Governments or creditors interested of expressing their views; and, whilst taking note of M. St. Hilaire's repudiation of all idea of annexation by France of the port of Biserta, or of any other port whatever of Tunis, he claimed for British ships any benefits which might accrue from improved communications with the sea, without being subjected to any higher duties than French or Tunisian vessels.

It is not improbable that, had the French policy been satisfied with the treaty extorted by General Bréard, no further intervention on the part of this country would have occurred; but it soon became manifest that whilst Tunis was to be occupied, if not annexed, in order to protect Algeria from Arab incursions, there was a school of politicians in France who considered that the frontier of Tunis could only be protected by the subjugation or annexation of Tripoli. The pretext put forward was the claim of the French consulate to protect Tunisians resident in Tripoli. Against this the Porte lodged its formal protest, and further threatened to send troops to Tripoli to support the Sultan's rights. Lord Granville at once communicated to Lord Lyons the opinion of the English Cabinet (July 15) in these words:—"I have now to state to your Excellency that, in view of the unquestioned incorporation of Tripoli in the Turkish Empire, as well as its proximity to Egypt, Her Majesty's Government could not regard interference of whatever description on the part of the French Government in that province in the same manner as they viewed the recent occurrences at Tunis. That Her Majesty's Government should take this view of the question of Tripoli cannot, they feel assured, be a source of surprise to that of France, since they have, on all occasions when the question of the extension of French influence in the direction of Egypt has been under discussion, been

perfectly frank in their explanations with the French Government on the subject."

He went on to remind Lord Lyons that only six months previously M. St. Hilaire had more than once expressed his opinion that it would be a most unwise act for France to annex Tunis, which ought to form a "buffer" (*tampon*) between Algeria and the territory in Africa further east. "If France were in possession of Tunis, she would have difficulties with Italy about Tripoli; and she would have got a great deal too near Egypt." In reply, M. St. Hilaire assured Lord Lyons that the views of the French Government with regard to Tunis were unchanged; that it looked upon Tripoli as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, over which they did not pretend to establish a predominant or exclusive influence. He could not regard seriously the schemes attributed to France by certain newspapers, which already saw in France not only the mistress of Tripoli, but of Egypt, with an influence extending as far as Syria and the Red Sea. He was, however, able to give them the most formal denial. From the frontier of Tunis to that of Egypt there were not less than seventeen or eighteen degrees of longitude; the coast was almost uninhabited, and the country little better than a desert. With such facts before them none but the declared enemies of France could desire to see her embarked in such extravagant adventures. France had no designs whatever upon Tripoli, and only desired that there should be no outbreak of Mussulman fanaticism from the Regency, which might spread to Tunis, and even reach Algeria. It was with this object, and in the most amicable spirit, that communications had taken place with the Turkish Government, who had been invited, in view of these apprehensions, to take such steps as might seem to them best calculated to avert a danger perhaps equally threatening to both countries; and the recent explanations exchanged with the Porte on this subject had furnished a proof of the friendly sentiments existing between the two Governments.

Lord Granville expressed himself perfectly satisfied with these assurances, which showed the advantage of perfectly frank communication of the two Governments interested. At the same time he wrote to Lord Dufferin (who by that time had been accredited as ambassador at the Porte), to inform the Sultan of the result of the correspondence between the French and English Governments. He pointed out that since France admitted the Sultan's authority in Tripoli as indisputable, it behoved him to preserve order on the frontier; and he warned him that he would look in vain for support from Great Britain, should the Arabs of Tripoli encourage the Tunisian tribes to attack the French. "It would be well, therefore," he added, "that your Excellency should clearly explain to the Porte that Her Majesty's Government have interests which make it their policy that Tripoli should not be brought under the influence of another Power, and they would

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accordingly desire to see the *status quo* there maintained, and they likewise desire that the territory of the Sultan should not be subject to unjust aggression; but they are not prepared to shield the Turkish Government from the consequences which they may bring upon themselves, should the friendly advice which Her Majesty's Government have tendered be disregarded."

The subsequent progress of French arms in Tunis, and their complete occupation of the city in no way changed the policy adopted from the outset by Lord Granville; and he had the satisfaction of seeing that as the year wore on public opinion accommodated itself without effort to the French occupation, whilst the revelations of the corruptions and weakness of the Tunis Government, made at M. Roustan's trial, convinced most people that the extinction of such a *régime* was less to be regretted than the means adopted by the French Cabinet.

The Cobden Treaty had by special conventions been renewed from time to time since the date of its natural expiration in 1880, but it was evident that the modified freedom of trade which it had developed had in no way commended its underlying principles to those most interested. In 1860 the Emperor Napoleon had both courage and strength to force his own views, whether for political or economic reasons it matters not, upon the nation; but in 1880 the manufacturing classes, who hoped to profit by protection and special privileges, were sufficiently strong to bend the Government to their views. From the first the hollowness of the negotiations must have been apparent to both parties, for it was out of the question that for the mere sake of retaliation or coercion England would go back from the fiscal system with which her commercial prosperity had been identified. The sudden blazing into notoriety of the Fair Trade movement did not mislead the French Government for a moment, and the real question at issue was to what extent it dared sacrifice the feelings and wishes of cotton-spinners and iron-workers to the maintenance of those cordial relations between the two countries which both were anxious to maintain. Sir Charles Dilke, on the other hand, who conducted the negotiations for England, was most concerned to see that no one industry was sacrificed or placed in a worse position than it occupied under the Cobden Treaty. Over and over again the negotiations were broken off and resumed, but with no appearance of a common understanding on general principles having been arrived at. As soon as one set of duties were, it was stated, arranged, questions arose with regard to goods of a similar substance or of analogous fabric.

Great difficulties were met with in the case of leathern and woollen goods on which specific duties had hitherto been levied, and on which the French Government decided to impose higher rates. A still greater obstacle to agreement was in the change of classification of many articles, and the desire of the French Government to impose specific duties in the place of the *ad valorem*

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duties. Examinations of the various tariffs and representations from the principal branches of trade were then made, and showed that the new proposals of the French Government were a considerable departure from the terms of the Cobden Treaty. The next point on which the British Commissioners hoped to obtain some amelioration, was the acceptance of a general proposition to maintain the duties as established in 1860 and 1864. This proposal also having been rejected, the Commissioners tried to return to the system of individual assessment of duty, but on this occasion the negotiations broke down in regard to printed and fancy cotton and mixed woollen goods. At this point the Commissioners separated for Christmas, and in consequence of the imminent change in the French Ministry; but the result showed that during the twenty years which had elapsed Free Trade was still misunderstood or uncared for by the bulk of the French nation.

The outbreak of a mutinous spirit amongst the Egyptian troops on September 10 awoke the attention of France and England to the insecure nature of the settlement which three years previously had with so much difficulty been made. The joint control by the two Western Powers had always rested on precarious political ground, although it was generally allowed that under the supervision of Sir A. Colvin and M. de Blignières, commercial credit was established and material prosperity increased. The harmony of their joint and co-equal partnership had already been compromised by the French Consul-General, but the danger was averted by M. de Ring's recall. From time to time, however, slight manifestations of insubordination had displayed themselves; and although the maintenance of Riaz Pacha in office formed no part of the English or French programme, it was believed by many that any concessions to the mutinous soldiery would later on lead to further complications. The English Government limited itself to offering advice on the occasion, and by degrees matters calmed down again, so that no need for any direct intervention by England, France, or Turkey was found requisite. A few weeks later, Lord Granville was able to review the situation, and to indicate with greater precision the policy he intended to pursue. On November 4 he wrote to Sir Edward Malet, "It is scarcely necessary for me to enlarge upon our wish to maintain Egypt in the enjoyment of the administrative independence secured by the imperial firmans. This desire is not difficult to prove, and is shown by recent events. The British Government, moreover, should be above suspicion in this respect. On the other hand, it is our conviction that the tie uniting Egypt to the Porte is the best safeguard against foreign intervention. If it were broken, Egypt might at no distant date find herself exposed to danger from rival ambitions. Our aim has been to maintain this tie as it actually exists. The only circumstance which could force us to depart from the conduct above mentioned

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would be the outbreak of anarchy in Egypt; and we look to the Khedive, to Cherif Pacha, and the good sense of the Egyptian nation, to prevent such a catastrophe. They may be perfectly assured that so long as Egypt continues in the path of tranquil and legitimate progress it will be the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government to contribute towards so satisfactory a result. We have every reason to believe that France will continue to be animated by similar views. It has been easy for the two countries acting in concert, and with no selfish object, to assist in the improvement of the political and financial condition of Egypt. Any designs of aggrandisement on the part of either Government must of their very nature destroy this very useful co-operation. The Khedive and his Ministers may therefore feel secure that the British Government has no intention of deviating from the paths traced by themselves."

Cherif Pacha, who had succeeded to the post of Prime Minister, expressed his satisfaction with this declaration; and the attraction of France being called away by domestic difficulties, the year closed in complete—though delusive—tranquillity.

An unlooked-for cloud threatened for a moment to fleck the western sky. Mr. Blaine, who held the post of Secretary of State during the short administration of President Garfield, found occasion to address to this country a curious despatch on the rights of the United States over the Panama Canal. Although the final despatch was dated (November 19) subsequent to President Arthur's accession to office, the correspondence had commenced as far back as the month of June. It was generally understood to represent the views of that party in the Cabinet to which the incoming President did not adhere. Mr. Blaine's withdrawal from office, therefore, though following at a short distance, was regarded rather as a general indication of policy than any special censure upon the writer of the despatch. In this document the Government of the United States notified to that of Great Britain that it would be no longer bound by the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. By this document, drawn up when the piercing of the Isthmus of Darien was first under discussion, it was stipulated that neither country should erect or maintain fortifications commanding the canal. The treaty bound "the United States not to use its military force in any precautionary measure, whilst it left the naval power of Great Britain perfectly free and unrestrained, and ready if need were to seize both ends of the canal." In this respect the one-sidedness of the treaty could not be denied, and Mr. Blaine, arguing from the analogous condition of the Suez Canal, came to the conclusion that Great Britain would seek to turn to its own advantage the treaty rights she had secured, and to establish a control over the Panama route, as she had over the Suez route. A paper agreement of neutrality in time of war would in such case be probably blown away by the first cannon shot, and therefore Mr. Blaine claimed the

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right to secure his country beforehand by turning to account the military resources of his country. In a later despatch (November 29) Mr. Blaine went still further, declaring that his "Government with respect to European States will not consent to perpetuate any treaty that impeaches our long-established priority on the American continent;" whilst the great development of American interests on the Pacific coast rendered it of primary importance for the United States "to hold absolute control of the water-way," and to treat the canal as part of their coast-line. Although Lord Granville's despatches bear date of the first fortnight of the year 1882, it is necessary to quote them in order to show the close of this strange episode. In the earlier of the two, dated January 7, Lord Granville set himself to remove from Mr. Blaine's mind a false impression it had formed of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Its provisions had been the subject of frequent discussions and revision, and Great Britain had never shown the least unwillingness to see its stipulations modified in accordance with extended commercial wants, or the wishes of the various Governments of Central America whose interests were involved in its maintenance. He expressed his willingness to enter into a self-denying engagement with the United States, by which both countries should renounce an exclusive advantage in the use of any inter-oceanic route, and should bind themselves not to interfere with free transit. This was the utmost Lord Granville was prepared to offer, but he held that this or some such contract might advantageously be substituted for those stipulations of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty which were open to misconstruction, whilst it would in no way bind either contracting Power in its relations towards other nations, nor interfere with the recognised treaty rights of Great Britain in view of her West Indian possessions and her colony of British Honduras, which imposed upon her duties in those waters which prevented him from assenting to the principles laid down in Mr. Blaine's despatch.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE RECESS.

The Fair Trade Agitation—The Bye-Elections—The Northern Campaign—The Policy of the Government in Ireland—Arrest of Mr. Parnell—Agricultural Discontent—The Farmers' Alliance—The Foreshadowing of the Clôture—The Guildhall Banquet—The Mansion House Committees.

THE 'Fair Trade' movement, although brought to the front by Mr. Ritchie's motion (Aug. 12) on the subject of retaliatory duties to be imposed on French goods, can scarcely be said to have attracted much prominence during the session. The election at Preston, it is true, was believed to turn upon the secret sympathies of workmen for protected industries; and in the debate on Mr. Ritchie's motion, Mr. Ecroyd, the successful candidate at Preston, defended his theories in an effective speech. The obstacles thrown in the way of the English Government in their endeavours to renew the French Commercial Treaty in a not less liberal spirit than that which characterised the Cobden Treaty, gave force and colour to the arguments of the Fair Trade League. Roughly speaking, the object of the League was to make of Great Britain and her dependencies a vast Zollverein, within which the principles of Free Trade should be unhesitatingly recognised; whilst to the produce of foreign states, except the raw materials used in home manufactures, a graduated scale of duties should be applied. In the North Lincolnshire election, which took place in the earliest days of the recess, Mr. Lowther boldly advocated a return to Protection, and avowed his willingness to support a proposal to place upon foreign corn an import duty of five shillings per quarter. Whether the tenant-farmers as a body supported the Conservative candidate in spite of or because of his views on Protection cannot be predicated, but the result (Sept. 1) gave to Mr. Lowther 4,200 votes against 3,729 polled by Colonel Tomline, the Liberal candidate, thus reversing by the transfer of upwards of 600 votes the political opinions expressed at the general election. Two days later (September 3) the Liberals sustained another serious defeat in North Durham, where Sir George Elliot, a former member who lost his seat at the general election, recovered it for his party by a majority of 632 over his opponent, Mr. Laing. The loss of this important seat was variously explained; the Liberal organs attributed to Sir George Elliot's bid for the Irish vote, in denouncing the Coercion Acts calling for the release of the suspects; whilst the Conservatives, with apparently

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stronger reason, pointed to the abstraction of more than 1,300 Liberal voters who had come to the poll in the previous year, and when no Liberal coercion measures were contemplated. In Cambridgeshire the threatened contest collapsed, the Marquess of Blandford finding that the strongly worded Liberal address which he issued failed to produce evidence of sufficient support to justify his going to the poll.

In Ireland, however, a slight compensation awaited the Ministry, where (Sept. 8), in spite of Mr. Parnell's personal intervention on behalf of an English Unitarian candidate, the seat was retained by an Ulster Liberal who supported tenant-right. A few weeks later (Oct. 26) a more remarkable success was gained by the Liberals at Berwick-on-Tweed. The contest lay between a local Conservative, Mr. Trotter, and Mr. H. Jerningham, a Roman Catholic Liberal, who supported the view that Government should settle by direct legislation the Bradlaugh difficulty. Elections at Berwick seldom show much preponderance of political feeling either way, the seat being occasionally occupied by Liberals, but as often by Conservatives, with scarcely more than a dozen or two votes between the rival candidates. On the present occasion, however, Mr. Jerningham was returned by 1,046 votes against only 529 given to Mr. Trotter, a result which the recent increase to the register only partially explained.

By an apparently mutual consent both parties seemed to regard the prorogation of Parliament as the signal for bringing the leaders into direct relations with the masses, and probably never before was the recess filled with so much of that din of battle which hitherto has been mostly heard inside the walls of Parliament. The holidays were not a week old, and the North Durham election was still in suspense, when Sir Stafford Northcote at Sheffield found an opportunity of explaining the views of the leaders of the Conservative party with reference to Free Trade and Mr. Lowther's personal views on Protection. Sir Stafford Northcote declared himself to remain, as he had ever been, a Free Trader, but he desired to see Free Trade universal and fair. The Liberals, in consenting to treaties of commerce, had practically abandoned their primitive faith and belief that Free Trade principles would make their own way among the nations of the earth; and it was therefore only prudent that this country should seek some means of protecting itself against the effects of a doctrine which gave up everything and received nothing in return. A few days later (September 8) Lord Derby at Southport explained his views in a less uncertain tone. He showed, by quoting long arrays of figures, that the poor and the rich were alike better off in 1880 than they had been in 1870. In that period our exports had increased nearly fifty millions, and our imports more than a hundred millions. In 1870 the income liable to income tax was 445,000,000*l.*, in 1880 it had risen to 578,000,000*l.*; whilst in the Savings Banks deposits had risen from 43,000,000*l.* to 58,000,000*l.* Sir Michael Hicks-Beach,

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speaking at Winchcomb (September 21), carefully discussed the condition of agriculture, which deserved and demanded parliamentary relief. Protection he looked upon as dead and buried, and hoped more from a readjustment of taxation, by which the burdens now thrown upon the land would be removed or at least lightened. In opposition to the parties of Protection or readjusted taxation, the Farmers' Alliance put itself prominently forward as the champion of the new-born party of tenant-right, which claimed the application in a milder form to England and Scotland of the principles embodied in the Irish Land Act. Throughout the country meetings were held at which tenant-farmers gave in their adhesion with more or less reservation to the programme of the Farmers' Alliance, and that body eventually drew up the draft of a bill which was distributed far and wide through its branches, and played an important part in the subsequent speeches and elections of the year. Earl Spencer was almost the first (September 27) to deal with the question from a landlord's point of view. He dismissed the idea of a return to Protection as an impossibility, as was also the prohibition of the importation of live cattle. The true relief for which farmers should look was from the landlords; and he held that Parliament should recognise more distinctly than it yet did the right of tenants in all improvements made by the latter.

All these speeches, however, were but as slight skirmishes in advance of the great campaign which was to follow in the North of England. The engagement was on this occasion also to be opened by Sir Stafford Northcote, who at Hull (October 3) solemnly impeached the Ministry for its want of vigour in dealing with Irish disaffection, and allowing the Land League to become a power equal to, or even greater than, the lawful Government of the country. In like manner the Ministry had shown itself wanting in backbone when dealing with France in the matter of commercial treaties, with the Boers in not obtaining a ratification of the Convention, and with its own followers, whom it was often forced to follow against its better judgment. On the subject of the rival claims of Free Trade and Fair Trade the leader of the Opposition was less explicit. He admitted that the results of the Cobden Treaty with France had been advantageous in some ways, but he was not sure that it had not been detrimental in others; because treaties always imply bargains and equivalents, or lead to obligations. He wished to see both our home and foreign markets developed; but as all the data with regard to the latter were not always obtainable, he would like to see more attention paid to the former. With this object legislation should have in view to advance the prosperity or remove the difficulties of the home market. This, he thought, could best be effected by doing nothing which could shake confidence in the credit or capital enjoyed by English commerce; and by relieving home interests of any heavy burdens under which they might be labouring. On the following night, at Beverley (October 4), Sir Stafford Northcote reverted to the question, denying that the re-

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moval of the Malt Tax had been any practical lightening of the load upon the farmers. He said that the burdens upon land had of late years been increasing to a serious extent; and under the altered conditions of farming the land could no longer bear them. The attention of Parliament should, he thought, be given to the whole question of local taxation; and it would be found that the Conservatives would not only support a good scheme of readjustment, but any proposal to give tenants security for improvements. Having twitted the Liberal Government on its increased estimates, and its yet unborn economy, he touched upon the question of obstruction, and expressed his belief that the Conservatives would be able to prevent the House of Commons being put into leading-strings and fetters.

The Prime Minister was not slow in taking up the challenge thus thrown out by his chief rival. In the course of the week he appeared at Leeds, making long speeches at the Town Hall in answer to eighty-eight addresses presented to him at the banquet in the old Clothyard, at the Chamber of Commerce, and at the Liberal Club. In his reply to the Corporation address, Mr. Gladstone alluded to the "slender thread as yet unbroken" which bound him to political life, indicating as his natural successors Lord Granville and Lord Hartington. He repudiated strongly the suggestion that the Irish Land Act was in any way applicable to England or Scotland, though in both countries there was need of careful attention to the claims of tenant-farmers to consideration. Turning next to the question of Fair Trade, he denounced it unsparingly as Protection in disguise. He ridiculed the idea of retaliatory tariffs. If the exports of the country were to be increased, it must be by competing with foreign trade on the most advantageous terms to British manufacturers, and this condition could only be maintained so long as the price of raw material was kept low through the operation of unimpeded Free Trade.

In the evening Mr. Gladstone addressed himself more particularly to the Irish question and the Irish Land Act, which was about to become a living reality. He hoped much from the future when contrasting the present with the past. In forty years the material position of the Irish peasantry had improved in a most remarkable manner, in spite of the drawbacks and disabilities under which they had lived; and much of this he attributed to the effects of the teaching of O'Connell, who had always availed himself for the promotion of any cause, small or great, of every measure which tended to the happiness of the Irish people, however much it might fall short of his (O'Connell's) wishes. Mr. Parnell, the present leader of the National party, followed a different programme, inculcating discontent and covetous desires for other men's property, and substituting for O'Connell's aim of friendship with England, the new policy of hatred of England and everything English. Mr. Parnell, moreover, attempted to win the hearts of his fellow-countrymen by proclaiming a new gospel

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of plunder, and by assigning to landowners a bare rental of three millions sterling, the 'precise' value of their land, in full compensation of the seventeen millions which the land produced. Another principle of O'Connell's agitation was that no political change should be prosecuted by the shedding of one drop of human blood. In the present struggle Mr. Parnell had never repudiated the assassination literature published in America. And now, after doing everything he could to destroy the Land Bill, he was urging the people of Ireland to test the Act, not to use it. "It is," said Mr. Gladstone, "no small matter, if he desires, gentlemen, to arrest the operation of the Act—to stand, as Moses stood, between the living and the dead, but to stand there, not as Moses stood, to arrest, but to spread the plague."

In concluding he referred to the sluggishness of loyal Irishmen, especially amongst the wealthier classes, who seemed incapable, if not unwilling, to do anything to help themselves; contrasting their attitude with the readiness with which elsewhere loyal citizens would have rallied in support of the laws. With regard to the future in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone said:—"In the great impending crisis we depend on the good sense of the people, and we are determined that no force, and no fear of force, and no fear of ruin through force, shall, so far as we are concerned and as it is in our power to decide the question, prevent the Irish people from having the full and free benefit of the Land Act. And if, when we have a short further experience, it should then appear that there is still to be fought the final conflict in Ireland between law on the one side and sheer lawlessness upon the other; if the law, purged from defect and from any taint of injustice, is still to be refused, and the first condition of political society to remain unfulfilled, then I say, gentlemen, without hesitation, that the resources of civilisation are not yet exhausted."

In addressing the members of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Gladstone gave an analysis of the effect of Free Trade upon Great Britain as compared with the outcome of the Protection in vogue in Europe, America, and Australia; maintaining that as long as the United States adhered to their protective system, and fettered their own strong hand, the commercial primacy of Great Britain would be undisputed. At the evening meeting, addressing an enormous audience, he confined his remarks almost exclusively to the foreign policy of the Government, defending its efforts to restore peace to Afghanistan, which the previous Government had reduced to misery and anarchy, whilst loudly proclaiming their desire to make it powerful and independent. In Egypt the previous Government had invented the system of joint control, which had in certain respects been beneficial to the people of Egypt. It was, therefore, the object of the present Government to maintain the friendly relations with France in order to render their joint action most effective, and at the same time to abstain from further interference, unless unforeseen necessity should arise, because they

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held that in every country public affairs should be managed by the free action and judgment of the inhabitants themselves. On South African affairs Mr. Gladstone spoke at still greater length, vindicating the course pursued by the Liberals, who on coming into office found the country engaged in a causeless war with a free nation, which without reason had been forcibly annexed to the British Empire. If the British Government did not at first withdraw its pretensions to the Transvaal, it was because from a purely official source in South Africa assurances were received that the Boers were rapidly being reconciled to annexation, and were prospering under our rule. As soon, however, as a contrary state of feeling was proved to exist, the Government made no delay in opening negotiations, and although their course was for a moment interrupted by an untoward military reverse, the English Cabinet saw no reason to decline to enter again, on the invitation of the Boers, upon friendly relations. The Convention settled by the Commissioners had been referred to the Volksraad, where it underwent minute criticism, and many objections were raised which had been referred to this country for further consideration. The Government, whilst ready to consider these points, and to admit that the Convention was capable of amendment, would faithfully maintain the interests of the native populations, and at the same time would be faithful to the dignity of the British Empire. "While we are opposed to imperialism," he concluded, "we are devoted to the empire—and we who are now in government as your agents will, to the best and utmost and latest of our power—while studying peace with all the world, while endeavouring to persuade men into the observance of the laws of justice and equality—never forget what is due to the dignity of the throne of Queen Victoria; and neither in east nor west, neither in north nor south, shall it be said truly of us that the concessions which we make are concessions wrung from fear, or shall there be a doubt of our determination to the best of our ability to maintain the laws at home and the dignity of the empire throughout the world."

Mr. Gladstone had scarcely concluded his visit to Leeds when Sir Stafford Northcote, now joined by Lord Salisbury, appeared at Newcastle. The latter was not slow or soft in repelling the charges brought against the Conservatives at Leeds and elsewhere; and making a bitter onslaught on Mr. Gladstone's policy at home and abroad, he accused the present Prime Minister of being responsible for the result of the new Irish policy inaugurated by him.

"Up to the death of Lord Palmerston there was," said Lord Salisbury, "a policy towards Ireland common to all parties and to all generations of English statesmen. They may have applied it in different degrees and in different measure, but they recognised the duty of upholding the law and respecting the rights of property. In 1868 Mr. Gladstone was in the position of being out of office, and anxious to obtain electoral power wherewith to oust his adversary. At the same time there was discontent in Ireland, and a general

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election was impending. When these three events come together a prudent astrologer would warn you that anybody who had got any interest in Ireland should look out for evil days. Mr. Gladstone persuaded the people of England to adopt his new policy. The new policy consisted simply in this, of procuring the tranquillity of Ireland by offering to the occupants a portion of the property which had hitherto belonged to the owners. Ten years later, after it had been sufficiently tried and well at work, there came a period of distress—there came again that malefic conjunction. Mr. Gladstone was again out of office. A general election was again impending, and there was again discontent in Ireland. But it is needless to say that again ideas were thrown out and new gifts of their landlords' property were to be made to the Irish tenantry. Mr. Gladstone has complained that Mr. Parnell deserted him. I think, on the whole, he is unjust to Mr. Parnell. The small body of men who preached the doctrine of plunder in Ireland had learnt that doctrine from a still smaller body of men in England. The Disturbance Bill introduced by the Liberals on their return to power contained the provision 'that if a landowner proceeded to recover, through legal process, that which was admitted to be his just debt, he should be fined up to an amount not exceeding one-third of the fee-simple value of his property, and that for having proceeded for a debt justly due to him;' now, if that was not a measure of public plunder, I do not know what definition to attach to those words."

Lord Salisbury said little about the Land Bill, which was still upon its trial; but he pointed out that the difference between Mr. Parnell's policy and Mr. Gladstone's was only one of degree, the principle of the No Rent and Fair Rent doctrines being identical. As for the charge of supineness brought against Irish landlords, it should be remembered that Mr. Gladstone had stripped them of their influence, and brought them down to the level of mortgagees or debenture-holders; and that if the majority of persons following peaceful pursuits had not more vigorously supported the Government, it was because few people care to make themselves martyrs for a Government which will not fight. Law was allowed to fall into disrepute, animals hamstrung, houses burnt, and men 'corded' or murdered without interference, because it was necessary to keep the Government party together. At last the Coercion Bill was brought in, and after great efforts passed, but the only use made of it had been to lock up 150 second-class personages whose presence or absence could not have been material to the peace of the country. This absolute failure to maintain public order was a dishonour to the Government at home and paralysed their influence abroad. They could no longer lecture the Sultan on the state of Armenia or Macedonia, whilst in Ireland people were allowed to plunder one another without restraint. Referring to the news which had just arrived of the opposition to the Transvaal Convention shown in the Volksraad, Lord Salisbury went on to say that the Government had

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humiliated itself and eaten dirt in vain. The difficulties which had arisen in Ireland and South Africa were due to Mr. Gladstone's own incautious speeches; and under his guidance a change had come over the whole Liberal party which would lead to its discomfiture. It had learned to seek its political food and the conditions of its political success in fanning discontent among the various sections of the empire and among various classes of the community.

Sir Stafford Northcote followed, indulging in a more personal strain than he had employed at Hull and Beverley, and ridiculing the extent to which the adulation of Mr. Gladstone had been carried. He complained that Mr. Gladstone never approached the landed interest without displaying prejudice and having a fling at the landlords. In reply to the challenge whether he (Sir Stafford Northcote) was or was not in favour of a five-shilling duty on corn, for himself he did not advocate that plan, but there were many amongst his party who did; and therefore, without putting forward Protection as an article of faith, he saw no objection to its being accepted as "a pious opinion." Sir Stafford Northcote further declared that in view of the widespread sufferings of the agricultural interest, having no relation to a single or several bad seasons, but to the development of agricultural enterprise elsewhere, he asked for inquiry into the causes; and if it could be shown that relief from local or other burdens would improve the farmer's position, measures should be taken accordingly. He would not admit the argument of Mr. Gladstone, that every penny taken off the rates would go to aid the landlords rather than the farmers; but he omitted to explain how this danger might be avoided, and the tenants receive the full benefit of any proposed remissions.

On the following day Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote addressed an enormous gathering of people at Newcastle, but limited themselves principally to criticism of the foreign and economic policy of the Government in regard to Greece, Montenegro, and Afghanistan; and expressed the hope that they would not suffer any alliance to induce them to allow our influence to be made secondary in Egypt. On the question of Free Trade he said he did not desire to return to the state of things that existed before 1846, but he protested against the Government ignoring the commercial difficulties under which we labour by the simple device of accusing their opponents of a desire to return to the state of things existing before 1846. "Whenever the end of the present state of things is pointed out to them, they, instead of replying to them, call us lunatics, or they beat the great 'tomtom' of Free Trade in order to drown our voices." He did not imagine any person would attempt to contradict that in one respect the apostles of Free Trade thirty-five years ago made gigantic miscalculations. They persuaded the people of this country to adopt their system to a very great extent, on the ground that if they did so the rest of the nations would follow their example. That had not been the case. A third of a century had passed by, and all the nations by which

we are surrounded have not only not become more Free Trade, but, on the whole, they have become more Protectionist; and even in our colonies the Protectionist feeling is strong. But ever since we adopted the commercial treaties in 1860, the principle of what in other language is called reciprocity and retaliation is conceded. It was merely a question of policy arising upon the stated facts in each particular case. Lord Salisbury added:—

"I do not know until inquiry has been made what opportunities we have, without pressing either upon the food of the people, or the raw material, or on our industry. Heaven forbid we should do the latter! I do not know what opportunities we may have of asserting this salutary influence upon foreign Powers; but in spite of any formula, in spite of any cry of Free Trade, if I saw by raising the duty upon luxuries, or threatening to raise it, I could exercise pressure upon a foreign Power, inducing them to lower rates and give relief, I should pitch orthodoxy and formulas to the wind, and exercise pressure."

Sir Stafford Northcote spoke more briefly, referring to the question of parliamentary procedure, and the need of maintaining freedom of speech, because we were now governed not by the strength, but by the weakness of the Government.

"In more than one important matter the policy of the Government has been determined, not by their own convictions, but by the actions of external bodies, and those bodies I may at least describe as inimical to the constitution and the greatness of this corntry. It is not the councils of the Government that decide our policy in the Transvaal; it is the strength and the resolution of a certain proportion of the Boers. It is not the policy and the decision of the Government that regulate our conduct in Ireland; it is the resolution or audacity of the Land League."

On the same day a Cabinet Council, suddenly summoned, had brought all the Ministers to town, and after four hours' deliberation the order was given to arrest Mr. Parnell. Mr. Forster hurried back to Dublin with the order for Mr. Parnell's arrest. This was quietly effected on the following morning (October 13), and the Land League leader was removed from his hotel to Kilmainham Gaol. A few days elapsed before any further important steps were taken, but before the end of the week Mr. Sexton, M.P., and Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., were likewise lodged in prison, besides many of the leading members of the Land League. In reply that body issued its famous circular, enjoining on all farmers to refuse all payment of rent until Mr. Parnell and his colleagues were unconditionally released. This publication was met by the formal suppression of the Land League (October 18), which was denounced as "an illegal and criminal association," and by the arrest of many of its officials. The troops in the country were steadily increased until it was estimated that there were 25,000 infantry and cavalry, besides nearly 20,000 mounted constabulary.

A week later (October 25) Sir William Harcourt, at Glasgow,

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made an elaborate reply to the criticisms of the Conservative leaders, taunting them with being in political destitution and on the political tramp, and forced to pick up a Home Rule seat in North Durham, and a Protectionist seat in North Lincolnshire. He compared Sir Stafford Northcote's alliance with Lord Salisbury, as Lord Chatham once compared a similar alliance, to the junction of the Rhone and Saône at Lyons: "One was a dull and placid stream, the other a roaring and turbid torrent, which rolled down together their united but incongruous flood." Sir Stafford had been compelled to declare Protection, though not a Conservative dogma, at least a "pious opinion." But, said Sir W. Harcourt, it was the Jesuits attacked by Pascal, who had laid down the doctrine of pious opinions. It was the Jesuits' view that "a doctor, when consulted, may give counsel not only when it is probable according to his own opinion, but contrary to his opinion, if it is regarded as probable by others; whenever such a view, though opposed to his own, happens to be more agreeable or favourable to the opinions of those who consult him. I even go further, and say that it would not be unreasonable to give him and those who consult him the opinion held as probable by some learned person, even though he is assured that it is absolutely false." That, clearly, was the Jesuitic opinion on which Sir Stafford Northcote was acting, in encouraging the Conservatives to entertain "the pious opinion" of Protection, even though he himself held it to be "absolutely false." "Only you cannot juggle away the common sense of a nation by the legerdemain of 'pious opinion.'"

Sir William Harcourt then defended at some length the policy of the Government in Eastern Europe, Afghanistan, and the Transvaal; and turning to Ireland, contended that the repression of the Land League had become necessary, and said that it was a great comfort and a great support to the Government to know that their conduct had generally been approved. Their task had been a difficult and a painful one. They had not entered upon their present course without deep reluctance, or otherwise than under an overwhelming sense of duty; but having set their hands to the plough, they would not turn back.

On the same day, at Liverpool, Mr. Chamberlain delivered a long speech in defence of the Irish policy of the Government since its accession to office. Going carefully over the history of the two previous years, and the conditions under which the change of Ministry had come about, Mr. Chamberlain contended that the Government had acted neither too hastily nor too tardily. They had to guard against the natural impatience of what was felt to be the unreasonableness of the Irish; but they considered it was "not fair to expect that the bitter memories of suffering and wrong which linger still in thousands of Irish cabins can be at once and entirely effaced by the tardy and the incomplete reparation of these later years." Until very recently, moreover, the greatest of all Irish grievances remained practically untouched. If the Com-

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pensation for Disturbance Bill had been passed, he did not doubt that they would have taken from Mr. Parnell's hands the strongest, the most powerful instrument which he had ever wielded. But the House of Lords rejected that Bill, and Mr. Parnell was able to convince his fellow-countrymen that they must look to agitation in order to secure attention for their grievances. Mr. Chamberlain continued, "I say deliberately that if this agitation had followed English precedent; if its leaders had carried it on within the spirit as well as within the letter of the law; if they had discountenanced violence and intimidation, then there was no agitation in the United Kingdom more deserving of untiring sympathy and more entitled to complete success. But, unfortunately, they did not do that. If they did not countenance, at all events they permitted acts of outrage, a system of secret terrorism which no civilised Government can be expected to endure. It would demoralise any people among whom it was permitted to exist. The avowed objects of the League —the reform of unjust laws—were approved by the Government, which had pledged itself to effect them if they could; but cruelty to animals, arson, and outrage—these are not, in the opinion of any Liberal Ministry, permissible instruments for political ends. The Government accordingly applied to Parliament for further powers, and he was not ashamed to say that they hoped the warning would be sufficient. Between the time when the Tories say they would have suppressed the Land League and the time when the Government suppressed it two great and important events had happened. First, the League had changed its objects and extended and altered its programme; and secondly, the Land Act had been passed. The leaders of the Land League agitation had other objects in their minds than the avowed object of the League; but so long as they pursued their avowed objects they were perfectly in the right. They attempted to find out the nature and to remove the great grievance, but the secret object was to inflame the grievance, not to remove it. It was to use it as a basis for securing national independence." In such a case as this, Mr. Chamberlain said, conciliation was at an end. "Unless the Government and the country are prepared to accept the idea of the secession of Ireland from the Union, and the severance of the two countries, I think that the time had come when the Government was bound to assert its authority. . . . Are we ready to consider the Union itself as a standing grievance? and are we prepared to admit that the question of separation is an open one between us? For myself I am not prepared to admit that it is possible, either in the interests of this country or in the interests of Ireland, that there should be created a hostile Power within striking distance of these shores. I suppose that the first result would be that independence would be the signal for civil war, in which we should be forced to take a side; but if this were avoided, Ireland independent must always be jealous and afraid of England. The greater Power, the commercial supremacy of the larger country, would always be a

subject of anxiety and alarm to the smaller. Ireland would be crushed under the weight of military and naval expenditure, which it would have to maintain in order to secure its separate existence. We should find our burdens enlarged in proportion. The two countries would be a standing menace the one to the other. Sooner or later the condition would be intolerable, and we should have to commence the struggle anew. Ireland would again have to be reconquered, or England would be ruined. I am not prepared to face these contingencies, and therefore I say—Liberal and Radical as I profess myself to be—I say to Ireland what the Liberals or the Republicans of the North said to the Southern States of America, 'The Union must be preserved.' Within these limits there is nothing which you may not ask and hope to obtain; equal laws, equal justice, equal opportunities, equal prosperity—these shall be freely accorded to you. Your wishes shall be our guide, your prejudices shall be by us respected, your interests shall be our interests; but nature and your position have forged indissoluble links which cannot be sundered without being fraught with consequences of misery and ruin to both our countries, and which, therefore, we will use all the resources of the empire to keep intact." Mr. Chamberlain added, however, that he should be false to all the traditions of Liberalism if he did not say that the necessity imposed upon the Government was a hateful one. It was not a fact for insolent exultation. Coercion was a blot on our civilisation, and a condemnation of our past government of Ireland. It was an odious, but he hoped only a temporary expedient. The future was uncertain, but he thought not without hope. Little more than a hundred years since, the people of Scotland were as hotly opposed to English rule as the Irish people are at the present time. Now they were one nation. What time and good government had done for Scotland, time and good government would surely do for Ireland too.

The value of the good-will of Liverpool, although its parliamentary support was hopeless, was evidenced still further by a visit from Mr. Gladstone (October 26), who on this occasion was accompanied by the Earl of Derby. It was thought by some that this presaged the speedy entry of the latest convert to the party to its highest councils, in spite of the very searching criticism to which he had subjected the Irish policy of the Government in an article in the "Nineteenth Century." On this occasion Mr. Gladstone set himself to define and to justify the real aim of his Irish policy as the vindication of true liberty. He declared Mr. Lowther's assertion that "Mr. Parnell commanded the support of a large majority of the people of Ireland" to be a gross calumny. He admitted that there was in that country an organised attempt to override the free-will and judgment of the Irish nation; and the question for the minority to decide was whether Ireland should be governed under laws made by a regularly chosen Parliament, or under laws known to nobody, written nowhere, and enforced by an illegal,

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arbitrary, and self-appointed association. He denounced the No Rent doctrine as sheer rapine, through which the malcontents wished to march to the dismemberment and disintegration of the empire. The thousands of applications to the law courts, however, inspired him with hope, and he looked forward with the firm belief that ere long the results of the Government policy would be seen in the future peace and improved order and prosperity of the country.

On the other side, Mr. Plunket at Chelsea (October 25) reviewed in a masterly manner the Liberal administration of Ireland during the previous eighteen months. His main point was that its policy had deepened the antagonism between England and Ireland, and had made more prominent than ever the idea of eventual separation. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre at Reading (October 27) argued that the legislation of the session was the logical outcome of the report of the Royal Commission appointed by the Conservative Government. Having served upon this Commission, he had succeeded in persuading his colleagues to propose facilities for tenants becoming the owners of their holdings, in spite of the vehement opposition of the Ministerial representatives. Had they listened to the demand for Land Reform put forward by the Irish constituencies, the present crisis might have been averted, and the programme of the Land League defeated. For his own part, he had not lost faith in the Irish tenants. He did not believe they would approve in any numbers, as a class, the policy dictated to them by the League, or that they would refuse to pay rent. Already great numbers were resorting to the new court; and the benefits were not confined to those who applied to the court, but equally pertained to those who abstained from doing so. The tenants were secured in their holdings so long as they paid rent. Although the Act might not cure all the ills of Ireland, or allay at once disaffection, he felt the greatest confidence that it would ultimately create a feeling of security, encourage industry and thrift, and lay the foundation of a more healthy state of things in Ireland. It would also prove to be another step in that policy of conciliation which we might hope would ultimately knit together the affections of two countries which history, geography, and fate had bound together, and of which the safety and very existence of England and the empire forbade the separation.

Besides these, there were speeches at Cockermouth and Workington by Sir William Harcourt, dealing chiefly with the questions of Criminal Legislation and the influence of the Liquor Laws; by Mr. Chamberlain again at Liverpool, on the fallacies of Fair Trade; and by Lord Roseberry at Dundee, on the uses of the Liberal party. At Hull, Lord Randolph Churchill went far beyond his nominal chief in his attacks upon Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party: the former, he declared, having turned away the hearts of the people from Lord Beaconsfield, was now bent upon the disintegration of the empire; whilst the latter, having given to Ireland the birch of coercion, was

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now caressing her into a Land Act, and the gospel of plunder had received royal assent. At Launceston (October 26) Sir Hardinge Giffard, the Tory ex-Solicitor-General, deploring the state of Ireland, proposed the suspension of trial by jury. On the same day, at Wolverhampton, Lord George Hamilton was almost as outspoken, declaring that Mr. Gladstone never came into office without a new outbreak of Irish crime; that Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian speeches were an incitement to the Boers to rebel; and that though taxes on food were now impossible, we ought to threaten retaliation on all countries, especially on France, which would not admit our manufactured goods.

Lord Hartington, speaking in the West of England, at Yeovil (November 4), struck a very different note. Admitting the hardships which had befallen landlords and tenants in consequence of bad years, he declared his disbelief in any permanent benefit arising to the farmers from any shifting of local taxation. Land enfranchisement was of primary importance, so that it might not remain for generations in the hands of men without capital. He thought that the tenant should have full legal security for all the capital he had laid out on his landlord's property, though he would not admit a co-proprietorship of the soil arising from this arrangement. He thought the tenants were now strong enough to obtain beneficial leases, without waiting for parliamentary enactment. In these views Lord Hartington found a few weeks later an able supporter in Sir Thomas Acland, M.P., one of the largest landed proprietors in the West of England, who was opposed to the laws of entail and settlement as they now stood, and was desirous to see the Agricultural Holdings Act made compulsory.

Although Mr. Gladstone spoke once more on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's banquet at Guildhall (November 9), he added but little to his previous utterances; nor did he follow up the suggestion thrown out by the Lord Chief Justice Coleridge on the possible changes which might be in store for the institutions of the City of London. After speaking hopefully of the progress of law and order in Ireland, he devoted his time to proving how needful it was for the House of Commons to reform its own procedure, as the condition antecedent of useful legislation. On the same occasion Lord Granville took occasion to refer to his colleague's useful and brilliant career, which he hoped would still be prolonged for many years; and, in allusion to the French Treaty of Commerce, declared that whilst the Government hoped to obtain better terms than before, they would not conclude one less favourable than Mr. Cobden's, believing that in making such a stipulation they were acting best towards the furtherance of the goodwill between the two countries.

At Birmingham on the same night Mr. Chamberlain also spoke, chiefly with reference to the important changes imminent in parliamentary procedure. As to their nature he made no revelation, but he admitted that they were of a character to alarm timid

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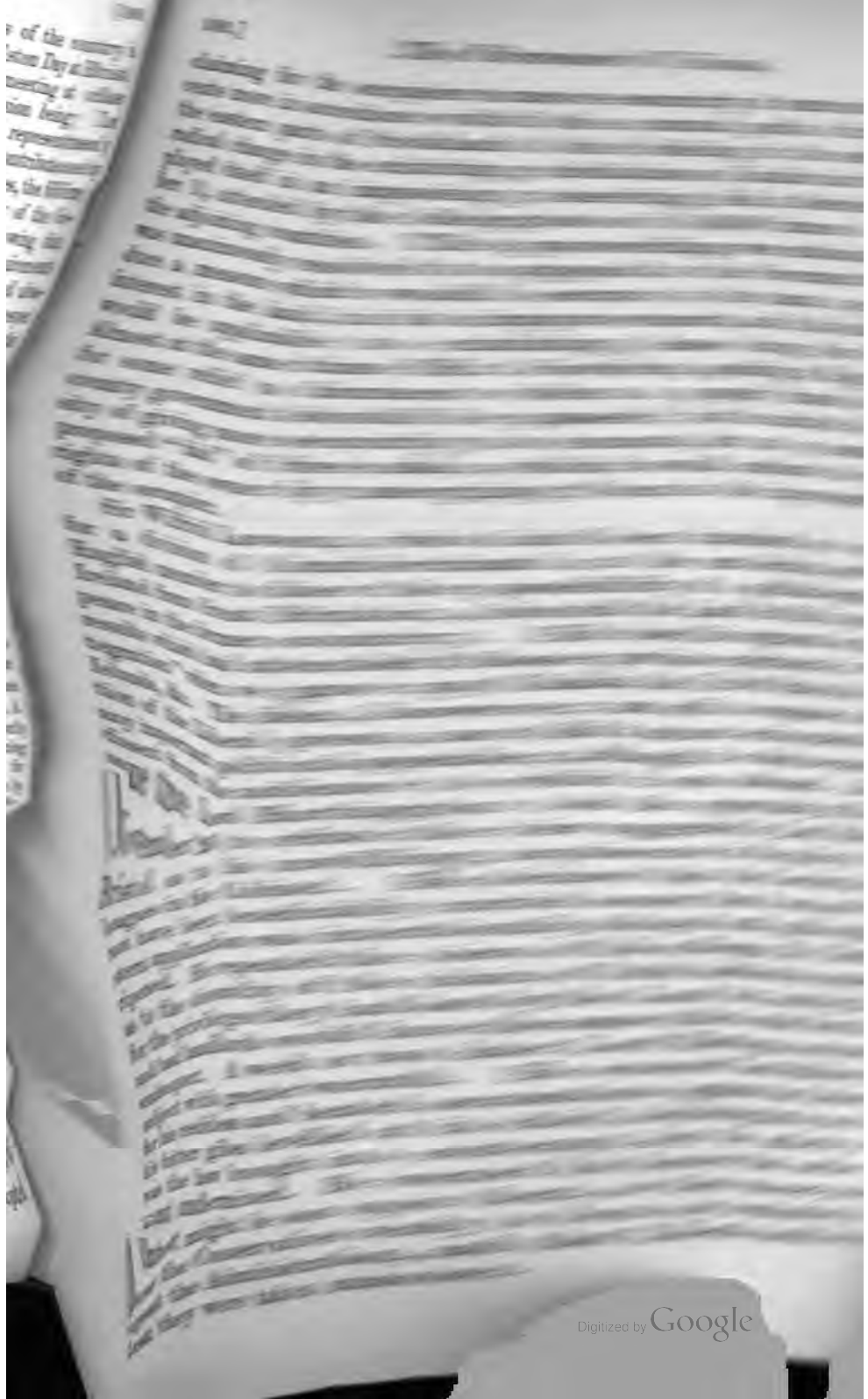
people, in spite of whose fears the real progress of the country in the past had been effected. A day or two later Colston Day at Bristol was the occasion of the two contending parties meeting at closer quarters, the Conservative champions on this occasion being Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gibson, whilst the Liberals were represented by Lord Spencer and Sir Henry James. Neither side contributed any specially novel features to their respective programmes, the former denouncing the anarchical tendency of the Irish policy of the Government, whilst the latter contented themselves in showing that the Conservatives were so divided in opinion as to the requirements of Ireland that their candidates at recent elections professed absolutely divergent political creeds. Lord Salisbury in one respect started an original line of attack by expressing his regret that Lord Hartington's influence in the Cabinet was inappreciable, and by suggesting that his views on Irish as well as on Indian questions were overruled by his more advanced colleagues. The value and need of these repeated appearances of Cabinet and ex-Cabinet Ministers were widely canvassed, marking as they did a new era in political organisation and campaigning. It was felt that the centre of power was shifting from the House of Commons to the constituencies, and that it was only men who could attract the notice and hold the attention of popular audiences who would have weight in Parliament, and in the long run exercise power in the Cabinet. The course pursued by the Conservatives showed that, however much they may have deprecated such a revolution in the national theory of government, they had no choice but to submit, and to follow their opponents in "stumping" the provinces when the labours of Parliament were suspended. In addition to the speeches already referred to, mention should be made of that by Sir R. A. Cross at Stockport (Nov. 21), where he repudiated more distinctly than any of his colleagues had hitherto done the idea of taxing the people's food, though he admitted there was fair ground for inquiry into the causes of our commercial depression; and of one by Mr. Chamberlain, at the Carpenters' Hall (Nov. 24), who put the case in a different and more hopeful light, regarding the temporary depression through which trade had been passing as over, and that the country was on the eve of an era of great prosperity, of full employment, and of fair wages. Two representatives so distinctly opposed as Mr. Dillwyn and Mr. Newdegate agreed in the absolute necessity of rendering Parliament efficient, and of strengthening the hands of the Government. The latter proposed to restrain the possible lessening of the prestige of the Lower House by improving the Upper House, leading to the creation of a considerable number of Life Peers.

It was scarcely to be supposed that, in face of the interest in the land question displayed by the landowners, the farmers would remain dumb. The rising feeling against the existing state of doubt and discouragement was manifested in numerous Chambers of Agriculture throughout the country, and resolutions were adopted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There is little more to be chronicled in the history of the year. Towards its close the Lord Mayor inaugurated two public subscriptions—one for the relief of ladies who had suffered from the non-payment of Irish rents, and the other for the defence of property in Ireland. The scarcely veiled object of the latter was to provide means for counteracting the operations of the Land League in cases where Boycotting or other extreme measures had been resorted to. It was naturally felt by some that the existence of an organisation requiring private support was either a reproof to the Executive for not enforcing the law and maintaining peace, or else it ran the risk of provoking collision between two sections of the population. A somewhat animated correspondence between the Lord Mayor and Mr. Gladstone as to the attitude of the Government towards the Defence Association was published, and led many to hesitate before supporting a movement which, however charitable in its aims, might give rise to much grave misunderstanding in Ireland. The Mansion House Funds, however, were not abandoned, and that designed to assist the ladies in distress collected considerable funds.

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CHAPTER VII.

IRELAND.

The State Trials—The Land League—Michael Davitt—The Attitude of the Priests—The Coercion Act—Father Sheehy's Arrest—The Land Act—The Dublin Convention—The Arrest of the Land League Leaders—The Feeling of the People—The Attitude of Irish and English Politicians.

When the year began, the four courts were still the scene of the State trials. But all interest in their progress was soon over. They were a failure every way. Even the dramatic effect which the enthusiastic crowd afforded in daily escorting the traversers along the Liffey quays was lost when Parliament opened, and Mr. Parnell and the other members on trial hastened to London, and left the play to go on without its principal characters. It was certain from the beginning that the jury would never convict the traversers. In the then condition of the country it would have been impossible for the Government, without restoring the old system of packing a jury, to find twelve men who would be willing to convict Mr. Parnell. It was considered at the time remarkable that they were able to find two good men to hold out against his complete acquittal. Even those who had little sympathy with Mr. Parnell and his associates were ready to admit that the Crown was unlucky in its attempt to make out a constructive case of conspiracy, by holding him and the other traversers responsible for everything done and said, in any part of the country, by any one who professed to belong to the same association, and to speak in the same cause. One memorable thing the trial did bring forth—the declaration of Mr. Justice Fitzgerald that the Land League was an illegal body. At that time the advisers of the Government certainly did not believe it to be such. Had they agreed with Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, it is inconceivable that they would have allowed it to grow and gain strength throughout all the subsequent months, from January to October, without making any effort to suppress it. The Land League had been started some two years before, to promote a combination of the tenant-farmers against the landlords. It aimed at the abolition of landlordism, and the gradual transfer of the soil of Ireland from the landlords to the occupiers. Every Irish peasant had one great desire—to have for his own the bit of land he tilled, and by which he tried to live. He believed himself and his fellows to be the rightful owners of the land, dispossessed by the strength of the conquering race; and he had not learnt to love his masters for the principles

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upon which they lent him the land again. It has been asked again and again, why, if the terms of the landlord were so hard, did the tenant invariably accept them? He was not bound, it would be urged, to take the land at all; he could go without. The answer of the tenant's advocate was always the same. The tenant had to accept the landlord's terms; he could not do without the land. The Land League said, "The land is the life of the Irish peasant; without it he and his could not live. He must accept the terms of the landlord or die."

The Land League maintained that these relationships between buyer and seller were unjust, that the conditions of life in Ireland, which made the land a necessity of life, removed it from the ordinary rules of political economy, and deprived its owners of the right to wring what terms they pleased from tenants whose choice was to accept or starve. No man, they urged, would have the right, had he the power, to withhold air from his fellows till they gave him his price. Neither, they argued, had he the right to act as he would with his land. To those who said that the tenant might find across the Atlantic fairer fields than those of Ireland, and no landlords to oppress him, the Land League answered that the Irish peasant was in his own home and in his own right, and that it was better to get back the land of his fathers, the land which he loved with a love that seems strange to other races, than to form another Ireland in the prairies of the American Republic.

So when the Land League declared itself prepared to give the land to the people, if the people would but stand fast by the League, the tenants saw their dearest hopes brought near to them all over the country. For the first time the landlord class found itself opposed by an organised body, with large funds at its disposal, and under the control of able and determined men. The two powers were at once engaged in a struggle, which at times was certainly within that measurable distance of civil war of which the Premier had spoken. On their side the landlords had all the strength which their possession of the land and the terrible power of eviction gave them. The Land League professed to oppose to them a purely constitutional agitation, based upon the principle of combination and passive resistance. Its enemies soon declared that it used darker means than these. The midnight assassin, the cowardly mutilator of defenceless animals, the bravo and the bully—these were said to be the chosen and chief agents of the Land League's work. The responsible leaders of the Land League always disowned more or less distinctly the criminal acts which dishonoured the struggle. They maintained that such crimes as were committed inevitably accompanied any class struggle, where ignorance and prejudice were to be found ranged in opposition. They insisted that their influence prevented assassination, the vice of all oppressed peoples; and as for the mutilation of animals, they argued that the offence

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was a traditional one, but that its frequency was largely magnified.

The condition of the country, however, became more and more unsettled. The Government had guarded against any possibility of a rising by overrunning the island with flying columns of troops, and watching the coast with gunboats. But though in a short time there was an imposing military force brought together, their presence could not keep the Irish Nationalists from speaking, and from encouraging with all the eloquence at their command the struggles of the people against the Government. For the moment there was no means of silencing these men. The result of the State trials had shown the uselessness of the gagging experiment, and until coercion was passed nothing could be done except by legal methods. There was, however, one speaker who could be laid hold of, perhaps the most eloquent of them all, and the most serious opponent of the Government, Mr. Michael Davitt, the practical organiser and founder of the Land League. He had been a political prisoner, convicted of participation in the Fenian troubles of 1867. Liberated in 1879 on ticket-of-leave, he at once threw his influence into the national movement, then once again springing into life; and by his ability and energy soon became a leader in the Land League and the mainspring of its organisation. Friend and foe alike bore testimony to his personal sincerity, and undoubtedly he had ever since his return from America spoken strongly against all forms of outrage, and had urged again and again that violence could only damage the cause of the League. On January 16 he had made a speech at Kilbrin, near Kanturck, in which he thanked God that the evil genius which had been playing the game of the landlords in the ranks of the people, had been flung back into their own councils, and was now precipitating their cause upon inevitable destruction. He rejoiced to behold the Samson of Irish landlordism, shorn of its locks by the Land League, pulling down the pillars of the British constitution in its blind fury. He bade his hearers remember that no great movement ever triumphed in Ireland or elsewhere without numbers having to suffer for their devotion to the cause of justice and reason. "But glorious indeed will be our victory, and high in the estimation of mankind will our grand old fatherland stand, if we can so cure our passions and control our actions in this struggle for free land as to march to success through privation and danger, without resorting to the wild justice of revenge, or being guilty of anything which could sully the character of a brave and Christian people."

At a meeting of the Land League held shortly after the trials, he had said that while England was wrathful over a few outrages on cattle, a few homicides, and on statistics gathered from the reports of the Irish police, a force more distinguished by its inventive genius than its capacity to detect crime, no one was found horrified at the murders caused by landlord evictions, or the loss to Irish population of three millions since 1845, due to landlord

tyranny. He pointed out that the Fenians deliberately held aloof from the Land League because it was a constitutional organisation, and that it was therefore obviously unjust for Mr. Forster to describe it as a lawless body, and to attribute to it secret meetings. A few days later, at a meeting of the Land League on February 2, in Dublin, while the Parliamentary struggle was going on, Mr. Davitt made a speech in which he attacked the renegade members who, while pledged to support Mr. Parnell, had abandoned him in the face of the enemy; and he moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Joseph Cowen for his services to the Irish party. That was Mr. Davitt's last speech in Ireland. On the following day he was arrested, and at once conveyed to England. His arrest, instead of discouraging, gave a fresh impetus to the cause, and infused an additional bitterness into the national quarrel. Meetings were held in every county, in every barony, to denounce the Government, and to encourage the supporters of the Land League to firmer alliance and sterner hostility to compromise.

Boycotting, the keenest of the Land League weapons, was used with greater vigour than ever, and under its pressure the Irish authorities, for the first time since its creation, became alarmed for the loyalty of the Irish constabulary. The new movement was so entirely a movement of the peasantry, of the humblest classes of small farmers, the classes from which the Irish constabulary was chiefly recruited, that the misgivings of the authorities were not wholly without reason. The authorities feared that such a body of men might not be relied upon to act against their own fathers and their own brethren, might not be able to withstand the shame of being shunned by every girl in their village, by their sisters and their sweethearts, for wearing the Castle uniform, and assisting to evict men whose chief offence was that they belonged to the Land League.

During the slow progress of the coercive measures Mr. Parnell had constituted himself the ambassador extraordinary of the Irish nation, and visited France, accompanied by his colleague, Mr. O'Kelly. They had interviews with M. Rochefort, who introduced them to M. Victor Hugo. The great French poet listened with interest to the views of the Irish members, and compared the struggle between Ireland and England to that of Poland against Russia. Whether, however, other arguments told more heavily on the author of "Les Misérables" than anything Mr. Parnell or Mr. O'Kelly could adduce, certain is it that M. Victor Hugo disappointed many hopes by issuing no manifesto in favour of Ireland or against England. The visit, however, caused great excitement in the French capital. The Irreconcilable press hailed Mr. Parnell as a new revolutionist; the Clerical journals denounced him as a dangerous demagogue; the Ministerial prints treated him coldly. His name, which had been placed on the Honorary Committee for the Victor Hugo Festival, was removed by the order of the Prefecture of Police on the ground that it was an infringement of international propriety for his name to appear near that of

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the President of the French Republic in an official programme. The interview with M. Rochefort, on the other hand, was the cause of some slight trouble at home among the followers of Mr. Parnell, who, being strong Catholics, were horrified at the merest semblance of alliance with members of the Paris Commune; and it took an interview with and a cordial reception from the Archbishop of Paris to set Mr. Parnell quite right again with some of his Catholic following.

The Irishwomen had meanwhile been called upon to aid their brothers, their husbands, and their fathers in the fight against landlordism. A "Ladies' Land League" was at once formed, with Miss Anna Parnell, a sister of the popular leader, for president. It was immediately denounced as immodest and wicked by Archbishop M'Cabe of Dublin in a pastoral letter, which was promptly replied to by Mr. A. M. Sullivan, M.P., himself a devout Catholic, who vigorously controverted the archiepiscopal arguments, and hailed with joy the advent of woman upon the scene of international politics. But Archbishop M'Cabe was to find a more formidable antagonist than even an Ultramontane representative of the Irish people. Archbishop Croke of Cashel followed up Mr. Sullivan's letter with an epistle of his own strongly supporting the Ladies' Land League, warmly approving of Mr. Sullivan's championship of it against his Grace of Dublin, and hurling against his reverend antagonist all the thunders that lie ready to the hand of an eloquent and indignant prelate. The Nationalists at once hailed Archbishop Croke as the representative of the Church militant come to their aid, and he went through a great portion of Ireland in a sort of triumphal procession, receiving everywhere an enthusiastic reception from a peasantry rejoicing to find the Church extending its benign influence over the popularity of the Land League. The doctrines of the League now issued frequently from parish pulpits, sometimes with theatrical effect enough, as in the case of the Rev. J. Brennan, Catholic curate of Parsonstown, who improved an occasion which found some soldiers amongst his congregation to introduce the political element into his homily. Up sprang the officer in command, Lieutenant Keatinge of the 28th, exclaiming with vigorous vehemence in condemnation of the preacher as he caught up his sword and belt and strode out, bidding his men follow. Instantly arose wild confusion on the part of the people, furious at what they considered an insult to their priest; and prompt obedience on the part of the soldiers, who fell in and marched out of the church amidst a storm of popular anger. Bitter complaint was made of the disturbance and alarm which Lieutenant Keatinge's order caused in the church; but his action was approved of by his superior officers, on the ground that he could not allow his soldiers to listen to a political speech in place of a sermon.

In Ireland a vigorous campaign against the Government was being conducted by the popular leaders, who went about the country making speeches to crowded meetings, where the extremest

opinions were greeted with the most enthusiasm. Mr. Dillon, who had gone over to Ireland as soon as the Coercion Acts were carried, made himself especially conspicuous by his passionate attacks upon the Government, which were but so many challenges to the Executive to arrest him. In a speech at Borrisokaine, in his own county of Tipperary, he declared that the Coercion Bill would only make the Land League organisation stronger, though so far it had gained everything and lost nothing, and bade the people fight out evictions and coercion to the bitter end. At another time he laughed at the promised Land Bill, which could not be passed till July, if it passed at all, and he did not believe it ever would pass. In the meantime what was to become of the evicted farmers, who would be left to die on the road-side before the Land Bill became law? He assured the people that if they stuck to the old policy, and worked actively and helped themselves on these lines, the policy of the Land League could be carried on just as effectually now as before the Coercion Act was passed. He defied the Coercion Act to break the power of the League, and gave it as his opinion that the more the Act was put in force the lower ought to be the rent which the tenant should pay.

At a meeting of the Land League on March 15, Mr. Brennan made a strong speech against the Government, declaring that the principles of the Land League were founded on the economy of John Stuart Mill, and upon the authority of Scripture, and denounced Mr. "Outrage" Forster, the chief slanderer of Ireland, and described Sir William Harcourt as the Red Indian of debate, the rejected representative of a sink of iniquity. He concluded by asking all his hearers to render obedience to the law, the supreme law, of the Land League; to carry on the passive agitation, redouble their efforts in the work of directing public opinion, to show how strenuously the League discountenances outrage of every kind—that was Mr. Davitt's last word to the Irish nation. He agreed in word and action with his movement, and he asked the people, who loved Davitt so well, to remember that if he could speak now he would say, "If ye love me, keep my commandments."

Mr. Dillon made a speech at the same meeting, in which he went through the list of men imprisoned at Kilmainham, and asked which of these could be called either a *mauvais sujet* or a dissolute ruffian. He assured the meeting that the country was still determined to hold out to the last, and that six weeks would show the landlords that the League was more powerful in the country, and had a greater hold on the love and affections of the people, than ever.

At the meeting in Carlow on March 20, Mr. Gray, M.P., expressed briefly what opposition to coercion meant, and said that succeeding Governments would see that it was not possible to restrict the liberties of the people. He laughed at Mr. Forster's policy of mixed braggadocio and fear, which had destroyed his reputation as a public man, and advised the Irish constituencies to

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pledge every candidate to oppose coercion for the future to the point of expulsion from the House of Commons.

At the same meeting Mr. Brennan bade the people remember that the land was meant for the use of the people, and that the child born yesterday in Carlow, or in one of the lowliest houses of the city, had as much right to the land as the wealthiest landlord.

At a meeting at Woodford, on the same day, Mr. Dillon declared that if the Land League were broken up the people would still be imbued with its principles, that the farms would lie as idle and desolate then as they did that day, and that the men who took a farm from which an honest man had been evicted would be treated, as before, as a traitor, a swindler, and a robber, with whom no honest man or honest man's children would speak or deal. He repeated, and invited the Government to prosecute him if they chose for it, that the man who took the farm from which an honest man had been evicted should be pointed out as a traitor, and his children after him cursed by his neighbours.

The making of such speeches, and the existence of Coercion Acts, were two opposing elements in Irish affairs which could not be mixed together in the political crucible without an explosion. Naturally, rioting on the one hand and repeated arrests on the other increased rapidly. Process-servers pursued their fearful profession at the peril of their lives; the invariable escort of armed policemen could not always keep the hostile mob from assailing the hated instrument of evictions, and bloody affrays were the result. At Clogher, Gurteen, near Ballaghadarin, where the process-server and his guard of police were attacked, one policeman was killed by a stone, while the constabulary fire killed two peasants; and at Ballinamore, Kiltinagh, a few days later, in a similar riot, the fire of the police killed one girl and wounded another. A great funeral was given at Gurteen to the two men, both leading Land Leaguers, who had been shot, and the "murder of Ballaghadarin," as it was called, was the subject of a speech of Mr. Dillon's at Clough, in which he said, "May the blood which has been shed, and the curses of the children, be on the heads of Mr. Forster and Mr. Gladstone, who refused to hearken to our repeated warnings." Meanwhile the Government were not idle. The prison doors opened daily to admit crowds of "suspected" Land Leaguers, chiefly members of local Land League branches, whose names conveyed but little idea across the Irish Channel, or even outside their own districts. But in their own districts they were heroes, and the men of the locality would come in a body and till for them their deserted farms, scores often co-operating to do in a single day work that would otherwise have demanded weeks of labour.

The Irish people seemed at one time to imagine that the obstructive tactics of their representatives in Parliament would succeed in overawing the Government and compelling it to abandon coercion. But their anger and disappointment at the inevitable end did not diminish their enthusiasm for their leaders, or weaken

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for the time their adherence to the Land League and its policy. The action of the Government, for some time after it had obtained these additional powers which it had demanded, almost appeared to justify the assurances of the National leaders that coercion could not be carried out. The first "suspects" arrested were Mr. Boyton, an American citizen, one of the traversers in the State trials, and the organiser of the Castlebar Land League; Mr. Walsh, the secretary of the same League; and a farmer named Cornelius Keogh, of Limerick. But with one exception, at the first the Government used its strength only upon obscure followers of the League, unimportant men whose arrest made no noise whatever in the country. But that exception was, from its peculiarity, so important that it deserves some special attention.

Mr. John Dillon was one of the most "thorough" of the Land League members. He had inherited rebellion from his father, without inheriting the belief in constitutional agitation which was his father's characteristic. His father, Mr. John B. Dillon, was one of the founders, with Gavan Duffy and Davis, the sweet and tender national poet, of the *Nation* newspaper, which was then, as now, the representative of the extreme opinions of the Irish people. He was at first strongly opposed to the '48 rebellion. His convictions were entirely in favour of constitutional agitation, and in the beginning he earnestly opposed what he believed to be an ill-advised and hopeless attempt. But when the insurrection had actually broken out, and the enthusiastic young men who had hung upon the words of Meagher actually descended into the streets, he no longer held aloof. He was one of the very few who, in Tipperary, stood by Smith O'Brien's side in his chivalrous but ill-advised effort to destroy the Union. When all was over, John Dillon was fortunate enough to escape to France, and so avoid the long terms of imprisonment to which O'Brien, Mitchell, Meagher, and the others were condemned. From France he went to America, and rose to distinction at the bar. Under the general amnesty which was granted in later years he came back and stood for the county Tipperary, where he had begun his career as a rebel. He was elected, and earned honourable distinction in the House of Commons, where his efforts were chiefly directed to the bringing about of an alliance between the Irish party and the English Radicals, in whom he had the greatest faith. With this end in view he was one of the leading men in organising a banquet to John Bright in Dublin, at which he was to have presided, but he died a few days before the banquet took place. Mr. Dillon's son, the present John Dillon, grew up in that strange intense detestation of English rule which it is difficult for English politicians to understand. But the arguments in favour of English rule fall on the ears of men like Mr. Dillon unheeded. He always, after he became elected to the House of Commons, made it clear that he had little or no sympathy with Parliamentary action—little or no belief in the good intentions of English statesmen. It was obvious

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that he would, if the condition of things had allowed it, gladly have seen his country attempting to win her independence after the fashion of the Italians, the Hungarians, and the Poles. But realising the impossibility of such action, he contented himself as best he could with the policy of Mr. Parnell. When, later on, he found this policy too temporising, too full of compromise, he withdrew altogether from the party, and left his leader the responsibility of accepting the Land Bill offered by an English Government.

When, at the end of the month of May, Mr. Dillon was arrested, not a few anxious persons in London feared that this step on the part of the Government would be a signal for some armed rising in Ireland, some miserable abortive struggle ending in meaningless shedding of blood. But no such open revolt against force ensued, and although the action of the Government was loudly denounced in national prints and by national orators, the matter passed almost into oblivion; and some months later Mr. Dillon was liberated on account of his ill-health. He retired, however, from political life during the remainder of the year, because he was unable to accept the attitude of his chief with regard to the Ministerial measure.

It is now necessary to say a few words on the attitude of the Catholic clergy of Ireland towards the League. At first it was confidently predicted that an alliance between the Church and the League would be impossible. Yet day by day the Land League gained fresh recruits from among the Irish ecclesiastics. Archbishop Maccabe, of Dublin, was bitterly opposed to the movement, spoke and wrote with vehemence against it, and yet his words had no influence, except indeed to arouse against him the fiery eloquence of Archbishop Croke, of Cashel, who proclaimed himself a warm ally of the Land League. The priests in general accepted the Land League cordially. The younger men among the Catholic clergy were with the movement because it was national, as they would have been in sympathy with any movement that had Nationalism for its watchword. Many, too, of the elder priests were more in sympathy with the Land League cause than they would have cared to tell their bishop, and many others were perfectly satisfied that they would have to join sooner or later in any movement which the great bulk of the agricultural population looked upon with favour. The hopeless rebellion of '48 was a total failure in a great measure because the priests as a body would have nothing whatever to do with it. But, on the other hand, the very fact that the priests would have none of it had discredited them and weakened their influence with the young artisans and peasants of Ireland. Partly out of this feeling arose the Fenian movement, which boldly went in direct opposition to the wishes and the teachings of the priests, and yet obtained a great influence over the minds of the Irish peasantry. It was remembering this which made the majority of the Roman Catholic priests, most of whom wished for quiet times and an orderly peasantry, and had a genuine belief

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in the good intentions of English statesmen—which made them come to see that by the necessity of the situation they must go with the people, and that they could only keep up an appearance of leading by consenting to follow the direction of the national purpose. Thus it was that the reply of Archbishop Croke was hailed with enthusiasm by the Irish peasantry, who were delighted to discover that they could reconcile their sincere love for their priests and their devotion to their Church with allegiance to the movement which promised them so much, and an adherence to the chiefs whom they had learnt to obey. The Archbishop of Cashel became at once a popular idol. Wherever he went throughout the country his progress proved a triumph, and his words were listened to with as much enthusiastic attention as if they had come from the lips of Davitt or Dillon or Parnell. The Government might carry out coercion, might expel the Irish members from the unsympathising assembly at Westminster, but the Irish peasant was convinced that with the Land League and the priesthood hand in hand his case promised great things. Such a moment was therefore ill chosen to inaugurate a policy which would still more closely drive the clergy into open alliance with the national cause. The Government, however, thought otherwise, and one of their earliest uses of coercion was to arrest, on May 20, a Catholic priest, Father Eugene Sheehy, of Kilmallock. Father Sheehy had come into public notice at a meeting called by Miss Anna Parnell, at Kilmallock, on March 26, and on that occasion he had exerted himself to save two unpopular representatives of the Government from the anger of the mob. It was no wonder that this act strengthened the peasants' belief in the determined hostility of the Government to their religion and their race, while at the same time it forced a number of the clergy into joining the Land League ranks, as a protest against what they considered to be an insult offered to their body. In other respects, however, coercion seemed to do little.

The Land Bill now became the all-engrossing topic of thought and talk in Ireland. It was perfectly clear that some serious effort of reform was needed. The condition of things made it clear that Ireland had become a country brought to a point which was dangerously close to rebellion. The growth of disaffection since '48 was obvious enough to the student of Irish affairs. The movement now embraced all classes, but the vast majority of its supporters were of the peasant class, and the peasantry, as we have shown, brought their priests with them. Mr. Gladstone was forced to recognise the fact that some radical change in the land laws was necessary. His Land Bill of ten years before, which had seemed then so daring, so recklessly innovating, had positively grown old-fashioned and out of date, and the new situation demanded new legislation. The Government Land Bill was undoubtedly a great piece of statesmanship. It did not, of course, satisfy the Land League, and the Land League has been severely blamed for its ingratitude by people who forget that in every case

of popular legislation, legislation has always been somewhat behind the extreme demands of the party which created it. But the measure introduced a tremendous change into the laws of land in Ireland. It practically abolished for ever the absolute power of the landlord, which had been always the strongest factor in promoting disaffection in the country.

Mr. Parnell, at a meeting near Newry on April 23, had spoken his mind upon the Land Bill. He did not believe it would be possible to create a fair tribunal, and he considered that the "attempt at fixing a fair rent, though it offered an enticing prospect to the rack-rented farmers, would result in disappointment to them."

Soon afterwards, and shortly before his arrest, Mr. Dillon had judged it still more disparagingly. He, moreover, urged his hearers at Grangemaller, near Clonmel, "Obstruct the levying of rack-rents by every device which your ingenuity suggests," and to "punish the man who assists the landlords to levy their rack-rents." He advised them to keep within the law; "not because I respect the law; not because I believe you respect the law; but simply and solely because it does not pay to allow the landlords to catch you outside the law. I would, therefore, advise you to exercise your ingenuity in sailing as close to the wind as you possibly can. . . . Now, if you want earnestly, and like men, to carry out the policy of the League, you must learn to know that the only way in which you have got to revenge yourselves, or to protect yourselves against such acts of tyranny, is to attack the men whom you have the power to attack; and wherever you see a man, no matter what his profession in life, helping a landlord who does a thing like that, let the Land Leaguers of Tipperary follow him through every turning of his life—let them, if they can, ruin him as he sought to ruin you in your difficulties." The next day Mr. Dillon was arrested at Portarlington.

Scarcely had Parliament finished with the Land Act and closed its protracted session, when notes of defiance to the successful Ministry were sounded, and, at a great meeting in the Newcastle Town Hall, thousands of persons cheered Mr. Joseph Cowen in his vigorous and impassioned attacks upon the administrators who employed coercion as pacification.

The Newcastle convention was rapidly followed by a great convention of the Irish Land League in Dublin, where, for three days, delegates from all the Land League branches of Ireland met in the Rotunda to discuss the Land Act, and to decide upon the future action of the body.

The Land League convention of September 1881 represented the public feeling of Ireland as far as public opinion can ever be represented by a delegated body. In the crowded hall were representatives of the tenant-farmers from every part of Ireland. Men from the north, from Orange Ulster, descendants of the Scotch Cromwellian settlers, sat side by side with men of the rebel blood

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of Tipperary—with the impetuous, impatient people of the south—with the active, eager, shrewd men of the midland hunting counties. Every man in that thronged hall was the chosen representative of a large number of his countrymen. But the most remarkable feature of the meeting was the large number of priests present. Nor had the priests come to give a merely tacit assent to the proceedings. Priest after priest arose—old men with white hair, approaching the term of their stewardship, and young men fresh from Clontarf or Maynooth—to speak in favour of the Land League and its leaders. All had the same tale to tell; all alike gave the Land League credit for the existence of any Bill at all; all admitted that there was good in the measure, though not enough; all were prepared to act with regard to it as their leaders in Parliament judged best. The lines of action were laid down by Mr. Parnell. He declared that the League was willing to make the best of the Land Bill, but that the Bill had not put an end to the work of the League. Its duty was to watch the action of the Land Courts, to study their action by test cases, and to see as far as lay in their power that justice was done to the tenants under the Act.

The movement of labourers which at one time seemed likely to prove a serious opponent of the Land League was now won over to the side of the older body by the declaration of Mr. Parnell that the time had come for something to be done for the labourer, and that he was ready, if necessary, to put himself at the head of the labourers' movement.

There was nothing in the convention or the words of its chairman to alarm the world. The proceedings were quiet, decorous, even dull. The programme of action was moderate to a degree, which was highly distasteful to men like Mr. Dillon.

When the convention concluded, the Land League, with a new sub-title that linked it with the Association, was stronger and more popular in the country than it had ever been before. Land League meetings of great size were held all over the country, and everywhere speakers adopted a tone of triumph and hopefulness. The remarkable moderation, however, of the speeches was not traceable in the improved and more settled condition of the country. The "No Rent" cry grew louder and more frequent, and stories of intimidation, of maiming and outrage of those who were suspected of conforming to the law, became daily more common: the prospect of smooth things which had been prophesied by many was not realised; violence stalked abroad unchecked; order was defied; and the law proved to be powerless.

A few days after the convention, one of the most remarkable events in connection with the whole land movement took place. Mr. Parnell, who had been attending some meetings in the country, returned to Dublin to receive the most extraordinary demonstration of popular enthusiasm which had perhaps ever been accorded to any Irish popular leader since the days of Daniel O'Connell.

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He was drawn in triumph through the Dublin streets, accompanied by an enormous crowd bearing torches, from the station to the offices of the Land League in Dublin, where he and Mr. Sexton delivered speeches to their enthusiastic and excited followers.

In the face of demonstrations like this, the Government took the curious step of liberating the most important of the political prisoners, Father Sheehy. He had been put into prison at a time when he was but little known, for speeches the violence of which was certainly counteracted by the comparative obscurity of the speaker. He came out only to make speeches tenfold more violent than those which he had been sent to prison for uttering, and to make them in the character of a popular hero—a martyr whose words would be read and treasured by every Irishman, not in Ireland alone, but in every other part of the world. No sooner was he free than he commenced a vigorous crusade against the Ministry who had imprisoned and released him, and his entry into Cork in company with Mr. Parnell resembled a Roman triumph more than the reception of an Irish agitator.

But at the moment when it seemed most powerful the Land League was nearest to its fall. Mr. Gladstone made a speech at Leeds on Friday, October 7, in the course of which he bitterly attacked Mr. Parnell for his action with regard to the Land Bill, and accused him of standing between the living and the dead—not, like Moses, to stay, but to spread the plague. To this speech, in which Mr. Gladstone exhibited Mr. Parnell as a dangerous and unscrupulous enemy, whom it was worth his while thus publicly to attack, Mr. Parnell replied by fierce denunciations of the Prime Minister. In these he was joined by Mr. Dillon, who, having been singled out by Mr. Gladstone as an honourable contrast to his leader, left his political retirement to reject scornfully the Ministerial compliments. The Government, in return, showed that they considered the situation to be something more serious than a duel of angry speeches between the Prime Minister and the member for Cork city, and that they were prepared to treat with all gravity the menaces of their enemies. A few days after Mr. Parnell's reply a descent was made upon the leaders of the Land League in Dublin. Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Kelly, and the chief officials of the League were at once arrested and conveyed to Kilmainham Prison. Mr. Egan, the treasurer of the League, escaped to Paris, whilst many of its leading members only saved themselves from arrest by keeping out of Ireland. The suddenness of the *coup d'état* startled the Land Leaguers into extraordinary action. An address was issued to the Irish tenants, signed by the imprisoned Land Leaguers, calling upon the tenants to pay no rent at all while their leaders were in gaol. The Government immediately retorted by declaring the Land League an illegal body, and by firmly suppressing its branches throughout the country. If any attempts at resistance had been feared they were not realised; and in a few

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days the vast organisation which had seemed so formidable ceased to exist.

While the Land League seemed to have thus collapsed the Land Act appeared to be everywhere triumphant. The Courts were soon overcrowded. The Commissioners were unable to accomplish all the work that fell into their hands, and fresh Commissioners had to be appointed to meet the strain. Nationalist journals made calculations to show that under these conditions the work which the Land Act was to accomplish would take years to carry into effect, and that in the meantime the majority of the tenants would be no better off than they were before the Act was passed; and they urged that the existing condition of things was the complete fulfilment of Mr. Parnell's prophecy with regard to the Land Courts. But neither the suppression of the Land League nor the application of the Land Act succeeded in allaying the agitation and disturbance in Ireland. The outrages that had existed before the arrest of the national leaders existed still. The lawless districts were no less lawless because the Land League had been forcibly put to death, and the year ended, unfortunately, as it had begun, in hostility and disaffection. The two countries were brought no nearer together. It is at first difficult to account for this curious result of the work of a Liberal Government on the one hand, eager and determined to give justice and prosperity to Ireland, and a body of men on the other hand, who undoubtedly represented the feeling of the large majority of the Irish people, and who may fairly be assumed to have had the welfare of their country at heart. The Government, with Mr. Gladstone at its head, and men like Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain in its Cabinet, was obviously a Government that meant well to Ireland. Even the most fanatical Land Leaguer could hardly believe that such men as these were animated by a feeling of hatred to his country, and a deliberate determination to do her injury. On the other side, the Parliamentary leaders of the Irish people included men of education and position, who could hardly be assumed by the serious political student to be unprincipled adventurers, dead to all sense of patriotism, of honour, and of humanity. The real reason, perhaps, for the unhappy condition of things is to be found in the unwillingness of either party to make any concessions to the other, to understand its difficulties and its desires. English statesmen are too often governed by the belief that what seems reasonable to themselves, and is in fact reasonable, must therefore appear reasonable to others. They are not willing, as a rule, to allow much for sentiment in political life, or to recollect that acts of justice and reform do not always immediately obliterate the recollection of past injustice. The error, therefore, of the Liberal Government lay in regarding too angrily the unfortunate and ungracious spirit with which their well-intentioned advances were met. Perhaps if they had known how strong the dislike of English rule is still amongst Irishmen, and how that tradition of dislike can animate

not only men who have been born and bred in Ireland, but others who have never seen Ireland at all, they would have been more ready to pardon the spirit of opposition which met them in their efforts—in their honest and generous efforts—after reform. The Irish leaders were, on the other hand, most unhappily inspired at the beginning with a spirit of mistrust in the Liberal Government. The Government had hardly come into existence before the Irish party assumed towards it an attitude of active hostility, and of disbelief in its promises and its purposes. From such a beginning it is easy to see how the difference between the parties widened out. With such a temper amongst the Irish leaders it was difficult indeed for the Government to carry out those measures of reform for Ireland which it had so much at heart, and it can hardly be blamed if its impatience at seeing its best efforts frustrated by the leaders of the people they were endeavouring to benefit, provoked them into actions which in times of cooler judgment they would be ready to regret. It seems the very irony of fate that an English Government coming into office pledged and eager to give satisfaction to Irish demands, and a body of representative Irishmen trusted in by the majority of their countrymen, should make between them so hopeless a business of their common purposes. It is to English statesmen that Ireland owes all the reforms that have bettered her condition, and aimed at making her forget her dislike to foreign domination. It is to the good intentions and the good purposes of English statesmen that Ireland has yet to look for the reforms that must still be granted, and which will be carried into effect the sooner when the Irish leaders recognise that English statesmen are now their friends and not their enemies.

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FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

I. FRANCE.

THE result of the municipal elections held in the first week of January 1880 had a marked and reassuring effect on public opinion in France. The defeat of the two Extreme parties was, for the moment, equally decisive. In Paris the fifty-three candidates of the Right obtained only 41,000 votes out of 260,000, and though they succeeded in wresting two seats from the Republicans, one of these was carried by M. Hervé, the Orleanist editor of the *Soleil*, who was known to advocate the Republican form of government as next best to that of the limited Monarchy, which he considered to be at present impossible. As for the Revolutionary candidates (nine of whom were ex-members of the Commune), they were everywhere defeated, and mustered only 14,000 votes all told. Yet not a single district out of eighty-one was uncontested, and whereas, three years ago, there were only 215,000 voters out of an electoral body numbering 362,000, on the present occasion, out of the 391,000 registered, 260,000 went to the poll. The same proportions as to the relative strength of opinion were to be observed all over the country, with Republican gains in cases where the obstructives had anything to lose. Caen, like Nîmes, for the first time witnessed the triumph of the Republicans over the reactionaries; at Agen alone did the Reds obtain a complete victory over the opportunists, and that by means of an unholy alliance with the clericals.

When Parliament met on the 11th the Reds at once attempted by a similar combination to prevent its adjournment till the 20th, in order to force on the election of office-bearers in a thin house, and thus, by an apparent diminution of his majority, to injure the prestige of M. Gambetta's re-election to the Presidentship. On the 20th, when the House reassembled, Louis Blanc, Clémenceau, and other members of the Extreme Left voted with the thirty who supported M. Brisson, as against the 262 who cast their votes for M. Gambetta. Both he and M. Léon Say, who had been re-elected President of the Senate, delivered their inaugural addresses on the following day. M. Gambetta recapitulated at great length the work that had been accomplished by the Chamber

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since the "memorable struggle of May to October 1877." "You have restored Paris to the Parliament and the Parliament to Paris. By a great act of clemency and political sagacity, you have drawn a veil over the remains of our civil discords, without incurring any peril to Republican order. . . . After restoring in their integrity the too long disregarded rights of the State, you have insured the education of all French youth. By embodying for the first time in the law an absolute respect for liberty of conscience, you have thoroughly remodelled higher and intermediate education, richly endowed the three branches of public instruction, and thereby prepared a crop of men for the future. Public works have received from you an unprecedented impulse. . . . Alongside the industrial and economic machinery, you have taken a jealous interest in reconstructing and refounding the military and naval machinery of France; you have taken a special interest in the men charged on land and at sea with the custody and employment of that machinery. . . . The staff has been organised; it remains for you, by passing the Bills laid before you, to recast the recruiting law, organise the military administration, fix the rules of promotion, and the belief is warranted that you will not separate without giving the last touch to the work of national defence. You have been able to accomplish such a programme—thanks to the wonderful industry and thrift of the country, which for five years has annually yielded you in surpluses the large remission of taxation by which you have lightened each Budget. You have set the Budgets in equilibrium, devoted large sums to all the public services, and placed the credit of France out of the range of comparison. A special law of the greatest moment for the different branches of social economy—the total recasting of our general customs' tariff, as well as the postal and telegraphic reforms, the fusion of these two services—and a long series of business laws, remain a lasting proof of your activity. . . . You have secured the right of meeting. The press will shortly be made free by your coming deliberations, and you will confer legal recognition on professional associations. . . . The foreign policy of France masks neither secret objects nor adventures. . . . This policy, these reforms, these results, these hopes, will enable you to submit yourselves with confidence to the judgment of the country, whatever be the mode you adopt for interrogating it. . . . It is not immediately after the magnificent elections which have just taken place for the municipalities, that your entire community of ideas and principles with universal suffrage can be contested. . . . . To respond to the interest and to the wishes of France, we must encircle the Republic we have founded with institutions more and more liberal and democratic."

The passage in which the President of the Chamber sought to allay the natural alarms of those who feared lest a change in the mode of election should cost them their seats, attracted much attention, for these phrases were skilfully calculated to win support for

the great circle of reforms indicated as necessary in his closing sentences, by convincing those present that the nation, at the day of reckoning, would look to the nature of the support which liberal and democratic measures had received from their representatives in the house. The chief interest centred, however, on the assertions which he made as to the pacific character of French foreign policy. These assertions were regarded as intended to reassure those who had professed, or who had felt alarm at the tone of his celebrated Cherbourg speech. But these assertions, positive as they were, did not silence those who had determined to make M. Gambetta's attitude on questions of foreign policy their point of attack. He presided throughout the debate, raised on February 3 by M. Antonin Proust's interpellation concerning the Greek question, with a quiet impartiality which was all the more striking since most of the hits aimed at those who advocated a warlike policy were clearly directed against himself. On M. Proust sitting down, disgusted with the studied indifference shown by the Chamber to his solemn and laboured periods, M. de Cassagnac exclaimed, with a gesture which directly applied his words to M. Gambetta, "The comedy has failed." "That interruption," replied M. Gambetta, "is very improper." To which M. de Cassagnac retorted, "I rarely have to eat my own words like you. Do you think I don't know what I said?" "But you forget," again replied M. Gambetta, "what you said first of all—that my comedy had failed." "I did not say your," answered the incorrigible Cassagnac, "though I thought it." "Ah!" was the reply, amidst laughter and applause, "you see candour has in the end got the upper hand!" This debate was closed by the Chamber unanimously accepting a harmless order of the day submitted by M. Devès, of the Pure Left, but on the publication of the English Blue-book on Greece, containing Mr. Corbett's despatches, M. Gambetta was openly accused of exercising an occult influence in a warlike sense. On February 21 another interpellation was brought forward in order to give him an opportunity of reply. In the most positive terms he denied, from the tribune, the truth of these charges. "I affirm," he said, "without fear of contradiction, either from past or present ministers, that I have never intervened in any way to give orders or even advice. I have no right to give any, or to influence the Government even by expressing my own opinions—opinions which may be known but which I deem it my duty to reserve. . . . I have long felt these calumnies sorely. . . . Every phrase, every word in my slightest speech, and in the writings of those who come about me—everything that could be interpreted in this sense has been magnified, and people have said, 'That is the policy of M. Gambetta, who is compromising France,' and the country is told, 'M. Gambetta will infallibly lead you into war.' That, I assert, is an electioneering manœuvre which I point out to the country. Who made capital out of the Cherbourg speech? For a week nobody saw in it either menaces or criminal designs. These comments, prompted by passion, were awaited from abroad,

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and then, when the speech thus weighted came back over the frontier, it was endeavoured to form by their aid a general opinion. Those who had never read the speech declared that it was a warlike speech. It contained nothing more warlike than those of the Head of the State. . . . I only spoke of the duty of protecting what remained of a mutilated country. . . . The object of these accusations is to damage the Republican party at the elections, and as taxation, education, and even a return to the enforcement of the laws furnished no handle, it was resolved to trade on the passion of the country for peace by representing me as bent on war. . . . It is all concerted. There is a collection of funds; as recently as last Saturday pamphlets were registered, 100,000 copies of which have been printed, entitled, 'Gambetta, c'est la guerre.' Ten years ago a national vote was taken by surprise just when France was wounded and tottering, at the moment of disaster a vote was forced from her on peace or war. The idea is now to repeat the same game, but the nation will judge between those who desire only to mislead it, and those who love it even to the death." The effect produced by this speech was so decided that the order of the day was carried unanimously, and when, on March 5, M. Clémenceau, who had been reproached for his silence on this occasion, endeavoured to renew the attack under cover of regretting the discrepancy between the acts of ministers and their professed neutrality, he found himself in a minority even amongst his own supporters. His motion was negatived by 298 to 152; the minority consisted of 133 Reactionaries, 2 Independent members, and but 17 Radicals; for 39 Radicals, the bulk of his own party, had remained neutral.

Meanwhile, various measures of domestic importance had been initiated or completed. On January 24 the Chamber began the discussion of the proposed Press Laws, on the 27th of the same month the Senate passed the Merchant Shipping Bounties Bill, in which it had made only trifling amendments. The second reading of the Bill regulating the Right of Public Meeting was taken in the Upper House on February 14, and on the same day the discussion of the General Tariff Bill was opened. It closed on March 4, having extended over many sittings, in the course of which (February 17) M. Pouyer Quertier delivered a long and indignant speech, in which he set forth his bitter disappointment at the fruits of the commercial legislation adopted in 1860. "He had expected," he said, "that England would buy enormous quantities of French wines, whereas the whole nation did not absorb as much as a single French town—St. Etienne for example." The Senate, however, showed itself insensible to this and other arguments in which the ultra-protectionist views of M. Pouyer Quertier and the Tariff Committee were embodied, and on more than one occasion rejected their proposals, negativing by 143 to 131 those brought forward as to woollen fabrics on March 22. On the same date, the Cabinet, by 8 against 2, decided to remain neutral on the question of

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Scrutin de Liste, a decision which had been taken in the teeth of many hesitations accompanied, as usual, with rumours of intended changes in the constitution of the ministry which were now understood to be definitively abandoned. A declaration was accordingly made by M. Ferry on the following day, to the Committee on the Bill, in which, whilst proclaiming the intention of the Government not to intervene, he plainly indicated the hostility with which he himself viewed the proposed change, and ended with the words: "We invite the Republican party to follow our example," which was tantamount to a proposal that the measure should be withdrawn. Pressure, in this sense, was immediately brought to bear on M. Bardoux, its promoter, but he declined to yield, alleging that if he did so the Bill would be at once brought in by somebody else, and the conflict, instead of ceasing, would only become the more embittered.

Attention for the moment was now distracted from home questions by the sharp attack made (March 24) on the Governor of Algeria, M. Albert Grévy. The special charge brought against him—which he came over to Paris to meet—was that of having permitted the arbitrary imprisonment of eighteen Arabs, but the real issue was much wider, and although he was backed by the Minister of the Interior, and the accusation in question was dismissed by 320 to 141, it was generally felt that M. Grévy had not shown himself equal to the work of transforming the old military system in force in that province. M. Grévy's appointment had been pressed for by the Radical deputies of Algiers, on the understanding that he would carry through the reform of the old system, and his failure to do so would certainly, it was felt, sooner or later involve his fall. The question was, in fact, only staved off for the moment, and on November 5 M. Grévy resigned his post, a measure being shortly afterwards gazetted which divided Algeria into two districts, and provided for the civil government of the settled portion of the province.

The anxieties felt as to the government of Algiers were deepened by the disorders ever increasing on its borders, and the irritation caused by the incursions of hostile tribes from over the Tunis frontier was aggravated by the dispute which had arisen in Tunis itself about the Enfida property. In 1877 General Kheredin, who had for many years held high office in Tunis, left the country for Constantinople, where he became Grand Vizier of the Sublime Porte. Amongst the great estates possessed by the General in Tunis was a domain called the "Enfida," near Susa, containing about 1,000 square miles, and comprising some of the richest and most fertile land in the country. In 1880 the Société Marseillaise, a French financial association, entered into a contract with Kheredin Pasha for the purchase of nearly all his real property in Tunis, including the Enfida estate, for 2,500,000 fr., it being expressly stipulated that the sale was to take place according to the provisions of the local law of Tunis.

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The Tunisian law recognises the right, under certain circumstances, of "shoofâ," or pre-emption, which can be exercised by part owners, and all persons possessing property immediately adjoining the estate sold. The domain of the Enfida is surrounded by the property of other persons, and among these was a Maltese, Mr. Levy. As soon as the sale to the French company became known, Mr. Levy asserted his claim to exercise this right. Mr. Roustan, the French Consul, on the other hand complained that Mr. Levy acted as the agent of others, and it was believed by the French generally that Mr. Levy, who was a British subject, had been purposely selected as the instrument of the Italian interest in order that they might secure the aid of England in pressing their claims. The state of the case having been represented by Mr. Reade, who forwarded also a petition from Mr. Levy on December 8, 1880, he was instructed by Lord Granville, on the 29th of the same month, as follows:—"It appears to me that this case is one which depends entirely on the local law, and which should await the decision of the local tribunals. I have, therefore, to instruct you to support Mr. Levy in vindicating his legal rights in such manner as you may in your discretion think proper, if you are satisfied that he has a *bonâ fide* claim and that his proceedings are not simply vexatious." On January 17, 1881, M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire spoke to Lord Lyons respecting the purchase of the Enfida estate by the Marseilles company, saying that he was sure that British protection would not be used to enable a fictitious claim to be asserted to the injury of a French company, to which Lord Lyons replied almost in the terms of Lord Granville's despatch. Mr. Levy, who had fulfilled the formalities necessary to the exercise of his right of pre-emption, was met by the statement that a precaution had been taken by Kheredin Pasha, which rendered his exercise of "shoofâ" impossible. Kheredin had, in fact, retained a zone of territory round the domain of the Enfida, a precaution which freed him as regarded the remainder from all claims on the part of his neighbours. This statement was, however, rebutted, for a map of the estate was produced which showed that Mr. Levy possessed in addition to his adjoining property two pieces of land and an olive garden within the estate. Whether an isolating belt had been drawn round these also does not appear, but the Marseilles company assert that there is another means of evading "shoofâ," for the vendor may declare the sale to have been made for a certain sum, *plus* a purse of money, the value of which he does not reveal; the pre-emptor is then unable to tender the precise sum for which the property was sold, which is an essential condition of "shoofâ." The very existence of the right of pre-emption was indeed also in dispute, and the Marseilles company published a *Mémoire* setting forth that the Ecclesiastical Tribunal which has jurisdiction over landed property in Tunis was divided into two Courts, practising according to the tenets of different sects, called Hanéfi and Maléki, the former of which recognises

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"shoofâ," whilst the latter does not. Herein was an excellent reason for the struggle between each of the two contending parties to avoid the position of plaintiff. "Defendants, we are free," said the *Mémoire*, "according to the law of Tunis to choose our rite, and select the Malekite, which does not recognise the right of 'shoofâ.' All the fabrications of our adversaries fall to the ground. Plaintiffs, in an action against the pretended 'shoofâ,' exercised by M. Levy, by that very fact we declare ourselves Hanefites, and deliver ourselves up to a justice which is to us a legitimate object of suspicion, and which will shrink from no illegality."

Early in the course of this dispute the French Government took a step which showed the importance which they attached to the claims of the Société Marseillaise, for a large ironclad, the "Friedland," was sent to Tunis, "in consequence," as M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire (on February 22) informed Lord Lyons, "of the difficulty which had arisen there in connection with the sale of the Khedive's estate." The "Friedland" was followed to Tunis by H.M.'s ship "Thunderer;" both vessels were, however, withdrawn by common agreement on March 11. But, before the month of March came to an end, rumours were rife in Tunis that the French intended to invade the country with a military force. These were confirmed by the publication in an Algiers newspaper of a memorial addressed by French subjects and protected subjects in the Regency to M. Roustan, complaining of the neglect of French interests by the Tunisian Government. The Bey sent to M. Roustan, March 24, 1881, a formal denial of the statements in the memorial; but on April 4 M. Jules Ferry announced to the Senate that sufficient forces had assembled to chastise the tribes on the Tunisian frontier who had occasioned recent disorders and who had come into conflict with French troops on March 30 and 31. On the 7th of the same month he submitted to the Chamber a vote of credit of 4,000,000 fr. for the army, and of 1,675,276 fr. for the navy for the Tunis expedition. It was at once referred to the Budget Committee, which shortly afterwards made its report. A Bonapartist deputy, M. Delafosse, supported the vote as a national necessity; he remarked that the presence of M. Roustan, the French Consul, at Tunis, proved that France was not at war with her, and that indeed would be illegal without parliamentary sanction. The troops would, however, occupy Tunisian territory, and might eventually march on Tunis. Reparation and guarantees must be obtained, and all documents ought to be produced. Before voting the money he wished to know the ulterior projects of Government; but he obtained no reply, and the vote was unanimously agreed to.

Whilst M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire was admitting to Lord Lyons that the "Friedland" had been sent to Tunis on account of the Enfida dispute, M. Challemel-Lacour declared to Lord Granville that this was not the case, but that that vessel had gone

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thither in consequence of Turkish designs against the Bey. Of the menacing nature of these designs the Bey was himself informed, early in February, by M. Roustan, who asserted that the Sultan intended to "constitute Tunis a Pashalik like Tripoli, and to select Kheredin to rule over it. The realisation of such a scheme," M. Roustan went on to say, "would not be permitted by the French Government, whose decision to maintain the independence of the country would," he suggested, "be greatly facilitated by the Bey's entering into negotiations with him for the establishment of a French Protectorate." The Bey, however, refused to believe in the designs imputed to the Porte, he declined the offer of a French Protectorate as uncalled for, and when, ultimately, the French troops crossed the frontier, both of the reasons given above for the prosecution of their enterprise disappeared, and were replaced by a third. In the reply of France to the protest of the Bey, communicated to the Government of Tunis by M. Roustan on April 11, the French simply reaffirmed their intention of crossing the frontier in order to chastise the Kroumirs, and expressed the hope that their troops might count on the support of those of the Bey.

On May 1 the French fleet arrived at Biserta, and in two days' time 10,000 French troops were there disembarked; on the 8th the column moving from Algiers under General Logerot pushed forward from Souk-el-Arba and occupied a Kroumir stronghold which had been previously deserted, whilst another column, 12,000 strong, advanced from Biserta on Mater, the richest and most populous district of the neighbourhood. The Tunisian troops, under the command of Ali Bey, the heir-apparent, who had been nearly surrounded by the French on April 26, had already retired on Tunis, and that city was entered by General Bréart's column, 4,000 strong, on May 11. He encamped at Sabella, a few miles from the Bardo Palace, and on the following day the Bey was requested by M. Roustan to receive a visit from the French General. The Bey agreed to do so, and the interview took place at four o'clock, the palace being completely surrounded by French soldiers. The Bey, having no other course open to him, at six o'clock in the evening accepted the French terms, unconditionally, exactly as they were dictated. M. Roustan was present at the interview, and the attitude of General Bréart, who had previously received from M. Roustan a copy of the Treaty which he was to force upon the Bey, was severe and peremptory. "I arrived to-day (May 12)," said General Bréart in his telegram to the French Government, "at Maccouba, two kilomètres from the Bardo, and installed my camp there. Immediately after, I received the visit of M. Roustan, who told me the Bey would receive me at four. I gave his Highness the assurances in your telegram received yesterday, and read him the text of the Treaty. His Highness asked to consult his council, to which I consented, but refused to give him a delay until to-morrow. After waiting two hours, I was once

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more received by the Bey, who signified his acceptance of the French conditions, and affixed his signature to two copies of the Treaty, one of which I handed to M. Roustan. The Bey expressed his desire that our troops should remove from the neighbourhood of Tunis. I replied that I must refer to the Government of the Republic." The reply to this telegram was a strong note from M. Barthelémy St.-Hilaire, "signifying the will of France, and stating that no intervention, direct or indirect, would be tolerated."

On the afternoon of Friday, May 13, M. Ferry made a declaration in the Senate which embodied all the principal provisions of the Treaty, and which ran as follows:—"I have the great satisfaction of being able to announce to the Senate that the Treaty of Guarantee, which definitively settles our situation in the Regency of Tunis, was last night signed by the Bey. The official text of the Treaty is not yet in our hands. . . . But I am in a position to make the substance of its clauses known. In a military point of view the Treaty secures us the right of occupying the positions which the French military authorities will deem it necessary to hold in order to maintain order, and ensure the security of the frontier and sea-coast. In a political point of view the Government of the Republic guarantees the security of the Bey's person, of his dynasty, and of his dominions. In a European point of view the Government of the Republic guarantees the execution of treaties at present existing between the Regency of Tunis and the European Powers. As regards the future, his Highness undertakes not to conclude any International Convention without having previously come to an understanding with the Government of the Republic. The Tunisian interests and subjects in foreign countries are placed under the protection of the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the Republic. It is moreover stipulated that the financial *régime* of the Regency shall be thoroughly investigated by both Governments, with a view more effectually to guarantee the rights of the creditors of the Regency. A further convention, to be subsequently drawn up, will settle the amount and the mode of levying the war contribution to be paid by the rebellious tribes, for which the Bey's Government is to be answerable. Finally, the Bey undertakes to prohibit the introduction of arms and ammunition by the southern coasts of Tunis, which was a permanent source of danger to the south of our Algerian possessions. We hope that this Treaty, which completely guarantees the security of our position, and fully attains the object aimed at by the Tunisian Expedition—we hope that this Treaty, when laid before you, will be ratified by the Senate." No attempt at a debate followed this declaration.

It may here be as well briefly to recite the heads of the circular on this question sent by M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire to the representatives of France in foreign countries, and presented to the Chambers on their reassembling, together with the Yellow Book on Tunis. After having recapitulated the history of the relations of France to Tunis, and the history of Tunis itself, from 1534, in

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order to show its independence of the Porte, M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire went on to enumerate the effects of French enterprise on the country. "Since 1847," he said, "we have established a postal service; in 1859 and 1861 a telegraph service; in 1877 a railway of fifty leagues from the Algerian frontier to Tunis. We are at present constructing for it two new railways—one connecting Tunis with Biserta in the north, of twenty leagues in length, and the other connecting Tunis with Soussa in the south. We are about to begin a port at Tunis itself, so that ships may advance from the roads of Goletta to the capital." He then noted the fact that three-fifths of the debt was held by French bondholders, that a French engineer had restored the Adrian aqueduct, and promised the speedy execution of a "host of other beneficial enterprises" as soon as "good relations" were re-established—lighthouses, irrigation, foresting, mining, and agricultural operations, and even hot baths were to be built, set on foot, or improved; and he went on to say, "We may add that, if the Bey will trust us, the internal administration may receive not less necessary and certain improvements." The services offered in the name of France, by M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire, as regarded the administration of finance, were also promised in the reform of the administration of justice, "according to the principles the Powers have adopted for judicial reform in Egypt. Europe," he concluded, "as well as France, will profit by all this progress, which may be acquired by the Regency if it wishes," and the circular ended with declaring that there was nothing to prevent France from doing, "without fighting," in Tunis what England is doing for India. "It is," said M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire, "a sacred duty which a superior civilisation owes to inferior peoples."

One of the first points which M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire sought to establish was, it will be observed, that in dealing with Tunis, the French were dealing with a country absolutely independent. The only link by which it was bound to the Porte was, he contended, a religious link, and the homage done at Constantinople on the accession of each Bey was done not to the Sultan, but to the Caliph. The Powers of Europe had frequently, it was urged, been at war with the Regency without being at war with the Ottoman Porte. The Porte had, indeed, it was admitted, been constant in its claims over Tunis for upwards of half a century; and in 1835, after recovering the suzerainty of Tripoli, only renounced its similar designs on Tunis in consequence of the energetic opposition of France. In 1864 the Bey himself, terrified at his own situation, had appealed to the Porte, and sent Kheredin Pasha to Constantinople to obtain a firman, but France again pronounced her *veto*, and he had to be content with a simple vizirial letter containing the same clauses. In 1871 the Porte and Tunis had, however, seized their opportunity, and, on November 18 in that year, the desired firman was proclaimed at the Bardo in the name of the Sultan, and accepted by the Bey.

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It is clear, from the above analysis of M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire's argument, that though Tunis had been more or less restive, the Porte had been ready enough to assert its authority whenever occasion served; and if we review the treaties between France and Tunis (a list of which will be found in most French diplomatic histories), we shall find that France herself had also acknowledged its supremacy, as in the clause which defines the object of the Treaty of 1604 (renewed in 1710), which sets forth that the "capitulations and treaties of friendship and alliance made between the Kings of France and the Grands-Seigneurs the Emperors of the Turks . . . . shall be kept and observed henceforth as they ought to be." This treaty was followed by several others, from which we learn that, as early as 1665, France claimed political predominance in Tunis. It was then stipulated that the French Consul should have "la prééminence sur tous les autres Consuls," and this clause in all following treaties was studiously maintained. In 1770, it should be noted, the French actually accepted the mediation of the Porte during the war which had arisen in consequence of the refusal of Ali Bey to allow the French African Company to pursue the coral fisheries. Tunis was blockaded, Porto Farina, Biserta, and Susa were bombarded without effect, until the arrival of an ambassador from the Porte, who had come to demand a Tunisian contingent to aid the Sultan against the Russians. In respect also of M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire's argument that the Powers had frequently been at war with the Regency without being at war with the Ottoman Porte, we may quote the remarks made by Baron de Sesta, who says in his "Recueil des Traités de la Porte Ottomane avec les Puissances Etrangères" (vol. i. p. 320):—"The conclusion of separate treaties between the Christian Powers and the Regencies of Africa has often served as an argument in proof of the independence of these last. We note this fact, in order to oppose to it another fact, which is not so much forgotten as unknown, namely, that in many of these treaties with foreign Powers the Sublime Porte has formally conceded to them the right of making treaties with the Barbary Regencies." The attitude of France, therefore, up to the conquest of Algiers, may be said to have implied an acquiescence in the suzerainty of the Porte, modified by the apparent want of power of the Sultan to exercise his authority.

That his want of power was more than apparent, the Sultan would by no means admit. In a note handed to M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire by Essad Pasha, the Turkish ambassador at Paris, on April 28, the Porte raised the question of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, to which it had previously called attention early in the same month, and he went on to remark that the Sultan of Turkey, as the Bey's suzerain, by a single order might compel him to make amends, and France would be thus spared the necessity of coercive measures. The signature of the Treaty of the Bardo called forth a yet more emphatic protest on the part of the

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Porte, but it was duly ratified by both Houses on May 23 and 24, and on June 9 a circular letter was forwarded by M. Roustan to the agents of the Powers at Tunis, notifying the fact; he, at the same time, announcing that he himself had been promoted to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary of the first class, to hold office as Minister Resident; and that he had been delegated by the Bey to act as sole intermediary for the transaction of all business between the Tunisian Government and the representatives of foreign Powers at Tunis.

As to the attitude of the Great Powers, it must be observed that Germany, followed by Austria, abetted the aggressive action of France, in the hope of causing ill-blood between France and Italy. The English Government had also been more or less pledged to acquiescence by their immediate predecessors in office. In the course of the explanations on the maintenance of French interests in Syria and Egypt, which were exchanged between M. Waddington and Lord Salisbury at the Congress of Berlin, they also exchanged views concerning the Regency of Tunis. M. Waddington's despatch to the Marquis d'Harcourt, dated July 26, 1878, informs us that Lord Salisbury, "anticipating of his own accord the feeling which he supposed us to entertain, gave me to understand, in the most friendly and explicit language, that England had made up her mind to raise no obstacle against us in that quarter; that, in his view, it would be solely for ourselves to settle, as suited our convenience, the nature and extent of our relations with the Bey, and that the Queen's Government had accepted beforehand all the consequences which the natural development of our policy might entail on the ultimate destiny of the Tunisian territory." Returning to the subject on another occasion, Lord Salisbury said, "Prenez Tunis. Vous ne pouvez laisser Carthage aux mains des Barbares"—a phrase which, though not contained in the Parliamentary papers published on the subject, is known—through the revelations of M. Waddington—to have been used at Berlin. But France was not the only country which lay in close proximity to Tunis, and the English Cabinet, in revising the despatches which embodied the conversations at Berlin, expressly reserved their opinion as to the position which Italy might take up in reference to the Tunis question. A like caution was also observed by Lord Granville, when, in his turn, sounded by M. Léon Say upon the subject. Italy, although sorely aggrieved by the Treaty of the Bardo, was not able unaided to do more than protest. At an early stage she had repeatedly declared her readiness to follow England in any course which England might decide to take; she now refused to recognise the state of things created by the action of the French in Tunis. The English Cabinet, after strongly insisting on the fact that "Her Majesty's Government did not in any way waive any of their treaty rights," drew attention to the inconvenience that might result from the continuance in the same person of the double functions entrusted to M. Roustan as the offi-

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cial organ of communication between the Bey of Tunis and the representatives of foreign Governments, and, at the same time, Consul-General of France. The treaty engagements between Great Britain and Tunis entitled her to have her agents received and treated on a footing of equality with those of all other foreign countries, France included; and, in order to obviate difficulties which might under these circumstances arise, it was suggested that the person who should henceforth represent the Bey's Government in its external relations, had better not be the same officer with whom, as the Consul-General of France, the ordinary Consular business would have to be conducted. The English Government also pointed out that an instance of the difficulties which might arise from the position of France towards Tunis had been recently reported by Her Majesty's Acting Agent in Egypt, who stated that he had been informed that the French Agent claimed to exercise protection over Tunisians in Egypt, amounting, it was believed, to several thousands. In respect of this matter the English Cabinet informed France that it assumed "nothing more to have been intended" than that the "good offices of the French Consular and other Agents in foreign countries should be used, as occasion might require, in favour of Tunisian interests and of the 'nationals of the Regency,'" and particularly that it was "not intended either to require from the Khedive's Government any change in the view of the nationality of Tunisians in Egypt on which that Government has hitherto acted, or to bring Tunisians in Egypt, for the purposes of the Consular or any other jurisdiction, within any rule different from that hitherto in force with respect to them." On this matter the French gave no satisfaction to the English Government; but as regarded their objection to the double functions entrusted to M. Roustan, a nominal concession was made by the appointment of a person to whom his consular duties were transferred.

Amongst the chief measures of domestic importance which had occupied the French Chambers during the months of March, April, and May, had been Bills making primary education both compulsory and gratuitous; extending the provisions of the Factory Children's Labour Bill (1874) to convents and charitable institutions; abolishing all exemptions as to the holding of educational diplomas by those engaged in teaching, and regulating the right of public meeting. All these Bills, as well as the Revised General Tariff and the Press Laws, passed both Houses before the close of the session. The most lively interest was, however, excited by the proposal to substitute *scrutin de liste* for *scrutin d'arrondissement* in the election of deputies to the Chamber. *Scrutin de liste* signifies the election of all the members for each department in a block, whereas by *scrutin d'arrondissement*—the present method —they are elected by single member wards. Even amongst thorough-going Republicans opinion as to the merits and demerits of the two systems was not unanimous, although they had practical

experience of both, for *scrutin de liste* had been in use under the Republic of 1848, and also during the life of the National Assembly of 1871.

M. Lanfrey, whose hostility to the Empire and coldness towards the Royalists was rivalled only by his loyalty to the Republic, stated, a short time before his death, the serious objections which he felt to the proposed change in the following words: "This scheme has been conceived with the object, decidedly laudable, of bringing to the front men of general rather than local celebrity. But this advantage loses much of its value if it must be bought at the price of an honest vote. In the bosom of the commune, where all citizens learn early to make themselves known, to judge each other, *scrutin de liste* has few drawbacks. In the bosom of the department the majority of the electors are strangers to the men who solicit their votes. A few are known by reputation, but as to the greater number the electors are obliged blindly to trust to the recommendation of a committee. They are asked, therefore, for a vote of confidence, and a vote of confidence is essentially anti-Republican." These considerations, reinforced by others of a more or less personal nature, unfavourably disposed the Parliamentary Committee, to which the Bill had been referred. On May 16 M. Boysset, in their name, reported against it, and in doing so attacked M. Gambetta, who had from the first most strenuously advocated the proposed change. M. Boysset declared that the Chamber had always been inclined to treat Ministers with deference, and that Ministry after Ministry had fallen, not under an adverse vote of the Chamber, but through the action of a more powerful influence—that of its President, who, whenever he condescended to abandon the chair and address the House, carried it with him. "*Scrutin de liste*," said M. Boysset, "would serve to make his power over Parliament absolute." The scene in the House on this occasion was one of great violence. M. Gambetta himself had to intervene in order to obtain a hearing for M. Boysset, who was almost hooted down. Saturday, May 21, was suggested for the debate, on which M. Janvier de la Motte satirically remarked that that day was fixed for the President's trip to Cahors. M. Gambetta thereupon objected to personalities, and M. Janvier de la Motte taxed him with indulging in them often enough himself. On the following day M. Bardoux brought in an additional clause, which was, on his motion, inserted in the Bill, and which provided that, although each department should form one constituency, having one deputy for every 70,000 inhabitants, yet, as regarded the next Chamber only, each department should have at least as many deputies as at present. By this provision the immediate fears of many in respect of their seats were relieved, and on the 17th, after a discussion in which M. Gambetta intervened with great eloquence, the Bill was carried—a division being taken only on the first clause, the numbers in which were 299 to 222. On the 30th the Senate, in their turn, elected their

Committee on the Bill: eight out of the nine members were it was understood, against it, and on the same day the very existence of the Upper House was called in question by M. Lemaire, who opened the debate in the Chamber on M. Barodet's proposal to revise the Constitution. "Revision," said M. Lemaire, "was the inevitable consequence of *scrutin de liste*. The arguments brought forward against *scrutin d'arrondissement* were far more applicable against the Senate as that House was now constituted." M. Jules Ferry, in the name of the Government, opposed the proposal as inopportune, and on a division it was rejected by 354 to 186.

The fate of *scrutin de liste* was, also, speedily sealed. On the 3rd of June the Senate Committee reported against it, and on the 9th it was rejected by the very substantial majority of 34 the figures being 148 to 114. The announcement that the Bill was thrown out seemed to take the Senate and the large audience in the galleries by surprise, and produced an air of something like consternation, the Senators themselves looking, it was said, astonished, and even awestruck, at what they had done. By many it was regarded as a declaration of war against M. Gambetta on the part of the Senate, with the connivance of the President of the Republic and the open support of the Reactionary, with a portion of the Revolutionary, Party. An attempt was made by some of his most active supporters to bring the session to an immediate close, and to fix the general election for the 17th July; but a proposal to this effect submitted to the different groups of the Left by M. Bardoux was negatived by an enormous majority. The matter was therefore dropped, and the two Houses continued to sit up to July 29. M. Gambetta, in closing the proceedings, spoke a few guarded words of farewell. "It will not do," he said, "to enter on questions of future policy; universal suffrage will shortly give its verdict." The elections were indeed immediately impending, for the date fixed had been suddenly changed from September 14 to August 21 in consequence of a communication from General Saussier, who was alarmed by the situation in Algeria and feared an insurrection in the autumn.

The electoral campaign had really opened with M. Gambetta's visit to Cahors on May 28; his journey thither resembled a triumphal progress, and at his departure he bade his fellow-citizens farewell with—"I can henceforth reckon on the future; you have publicly promised it to me." Out of the various speeches made by him on this occasion, one sentence attracted especial notice. "Respect the senate," he had said. "Who knows whether it may not become at a certain moment our supreme resource?" But the course shortly afterwards taken by the Senate in reversing the decision of the Chamber as to *scrutin de liste*, taken together with its persistently obstructive action in other matters of importance, had removed the politic scruples which might otherwise have continued a check to plain speaking on the subject. In the great

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speech which M. Gambetta delivered on August 4 at the exhibition banquet at Tours, and which embodied his programme for the approaching contest, he deprecated any attempt to overthrow the Senate, but at the same time declared that it must be reformed. "It was," he said, "essential that its electoral base and attributes should be amended by a partial revision of the Constitution . . . . in the present method of nomination to the Senate, proportional equality amongst the Communes" (at present, the smallest Commune in France sends one delegate to the Senatorial elections, and Paris itself but one) "should be introduced . . . . exclusive authority in matters of taxation would be conferred on the Lower House;" and he also proposed that the election of the life members, now chosen by the Senate itself, should in future be a question submitted to a congress of both Houses. As to education, he wished that the State, after "furnishing the child with that first capital called the elementary school, should afterwards afford him, by absolute gratuity, the means of passing through all the educational grades." The work of the Chamber in this respect had been stopped by the Senate on the question of the secularisation of certain branches of instruction. *Scrutin de liste* would, he went on to say, have delivered the central power from the oppression of the local interest. This speech, which, according to the *Pays*, showed M. Gambetta to be "the most monumental mountebank of ancient or modern times," was followed on the 9th by the peaceful and paternal allocution delivered at Raon l'Étape by the Prime Minister. From the concluding remarks of an otherwise colourless speech, it was inferred that M. Jules Ferry would before long announce his conversion to the revision scheme of M. Gambetta, and when he did so at Nancy two nights later it took nobody by surprise. He drew, it is true, a distinction between violent radical revision and "a moderate partial revision, such as was recently explained by a great orator at Tours," declaring that in this partial revision he saw "no danger, but a warning, which would be understood in high places." The moderate Republicans, who were much embarassed by his change of front, accordingly asserted that "M. Gambetta wished to punish the Senate for having voted badly before the vacation, and M. Ferry wished to threaten it if it did not vote better after the reassembling." The Gambettists, on the other hand, welcomed their new ally. "It is easy to understand," said the *République française*, "how happy we feel, now that we are certain that we follow the same line of policy together."

The elections, which took place ten days later, resulted in large gains to the Republicans. The old Chamber contained 387 Republicans, 81 Bonapartists, and 61 Royalists. The new Chamber consisted of 467 Republicans, 47 Bonapartists, and 43 Royalists. In the old Chamber 43 departments were wholly Republican, whereas the new could show 47; and whilst the Reactionaries in the old had a monopoly of 3 departments, a majority in 17, and

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a moiety in 4, in the new they obtained a majority in 7 only, with a single seat in 19. The entire Republican gain was 68, and the loss 10; the Bonapartist gain 3, and the loss 40; and the Royalist gain 11, against a loss of 18. The Bonapartists had suffered most severely. Early in August their parliamentary chief, M. Rouher, had announced his retirement from public life, and their party programme put forth by the Comité Napoléonien-révisioniste had passed unheeded by the democracy to whom it was addressed. But the satisfaction felt by the moderate Republicans at the overthrow of the Reactionaries was somewhat diminished by the fact that the extreme Left had increased their strength by 7.

The only electioneering event that excited any interest in Paris was the contest in the two districts of Belleville, between M. Gambetta and MM. Sigismond Lacroix and Tony Révillon respectively. In the first district M. Gambetta was returned by 3,798, against M. Lacroix, who polled 2,971; but in the second circumscription a second ballot was necessary. On August 25, therefore, M. Gambetta issued a letter to the electors electing to sit for the first circumscription, for which he had been duly returned. Compared with the hosts who had voted for the popular orator on previous occasions in his "own Belleville," the majority by which he held his seat in one section only almost deserved the epithet of "ridiculous" applied to it by his adversaries. But the Monarchists had combined with the Intransigeants to fight a decisive battle against their great enemy in the 20th arrondissement, so that the result might rather be taken to show that even in one of the most Radical constituencies of France there "yet remained," as M. Gambetta himself put it, "a majority of determined Republicans, faithful to the rational doctrines of politics."

Rumours were rife throughout the electoral campaign as to the alarming situation of South Algeria and Tunis. Early in July the native population of Sfax rose in arms, backed up by the nomad tribes, drove out the Europeans and the Jews, and occupied the forts. The disturbance spread; the bombardment and occupation of the town (July 17) by the French did not end it, and things wore a threatening aspect when, on August 7, the Government sent a note to the press in which it declared that "nothing had happened either in Algeria or Tunis to justify the rumours abroad. In the south of the province of Oran, the *plateaux* had been entirely freed from the presence of the agitator. . . . In Tunis, the position of affairs is not less normal." Notwithstanding these reassuring statements, bad news continued to arrive: the tribes to the west of Tunis revolted, the Arabs in the Kroumir mountains joined the insurgents, and in Algeria, the Sahel gave ominous signs of rising. Ammunition despatched from Constantinople was said to be received through Tripoli, and early in September, a large body of Turkish troops, with several batteries of artillery, disembarked there. A correspondence had taken place

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between the English and French Governments, in the course of July, in reference to the possibility of serious complications arising should the French attempt to cross the Tripolitan frontier in pursuit of retreating Tunisian insurgents. Lord Granville then stated that "Her Majesty's Government could not regard interference of whatever description on the part of the French Government in that province in the same manner as they viewed the recent occurrences in Tunis:" he received satisfactory assurances in reply, and on July 26, when the Duc de Broglie raised the question of the designs of the Cabinet as to Tunis and Tripoli, M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire, in a speech containing various equivocal statements, declared that "they had already put down the insurrection in Tunis, in concert with the Bey," and added that "the conquest of Tripoli was a dream." But, the "insurrection in Tunis," so far from having been put down in July, did not cease to be a subject of embarrassment and anxiety. Although by the middle of September the French had over 50,000 men on African soil, they could not take as vigorous measures in dealing with Tunis as they might have done had the condition of Algeria given them less cause for uneasiness. The reports as to the sufferings and privations of the troops deepened the disfavour with which the expedition now began to be generally regarded, and the batch of apologies and explanations on this and various other points, which appeared in the "Journal Officiel" of September 18 were ill received.

Under these circumstances an early session seemed desirable; but the powers of the old Chamber which had not been dissolved did not expire until October 28: it was, therefore, impossible for the new House to meet before that date. In the interval which elapsed before its assembling, the determination of the Left to insist on M. Gambetta's taking office made itself very plainly evident. He became a candidate for the temporary Presidentship of the Chamber, and the result of the ballot for this office on October 28, which had been looked to as a test of strength, was—for M. Gambetta, 317; for M. Brisson (who succeeded him in that post on November 3), 29; and blank voting papers, 14. The Government were immediately interpellated on the Tunis question, and a stormy debate, which lasted throughout four days, closed with an extraordinary scene, for the Chamber, whilst unwilling to pass a vote of censure on a Cabinet which existed only in form, steadily rejected every proposal which resembled a vote of confidence; the greatest confusion prevailed, which was only brought to a close by a motion made by M. Gambetta:—"The Chamber, resolved on the integral execution of the treaty signed by the French nation on May 12, 1881, passes to the order of the day." On the following morning the Cabinet resigned; M. Gambetta was summoned to the Elysée, and on November 13 the new ministry formed by him was gazetted, M. Ferry countersigning the appointment of M. Gambetta as Minister of Foreign Affairs

and Premier, and M. Gambetta countersigning the appointment of M. Cazot (Justice), M. Waldeck-Rousseau (Interior), M. Allain-Targé (Finance), General Campenon (War), M. Gougeard (Marine), M. Paul Bert (Education and Worship), M. Raynal (Public Works), M. Rouvier (Commerce and Colonies), M. Cochery (Posts and Telegraphs), M. Devès (Agriculture), and M. Proust (Arts).

M. Gambetta had at first requested M. de Freycinet and M. Léon Say to take office with him, but they both, alleging different reasons, declined the offer. M. Léon Say, although attached to his post of President of the Senate, would, notwithstanding, have made up his mind to quit it if he had found himself in sympathy with the financial programme of the Gambetta Cabinet. These leading men having shown, therefore, no great alacrity in response to M. Gambetta's overtures, he was forced to form his ministry from those of less mark, but possibly the more ready for that very reason to receive their direct impulse from himself, as was said at the time, "Le ministere est moins grand, mais M. Gambetta y occupe une plus grande place." On November 15 the Ministerial Declaration was read by himself in the Chamber of Deputies, and by M. Cazot in the Senate. The future policy of the cabinet was summed up in the following sentences: "In order to ensure necessary reforms, the nation has marked its intention, by a wise and limited revision of constitutional laws, to bring one of the powers of the State into a more complete harmony with the democratic character of our social system, and we, in due obedience, propose to you:—to reorganise all our judicial institutions; to follow up perseveringly the work of national education so well begun by our predecessors; to take up again and complete without loss of time our military legislation; to try and find, without injury to the power of France, the best means of reducing the military and naval charges borne by the country, and to alleviate, without disturbing our finances, those which weigh down agriculture; to fix by commercial treaties the economic conditions of our different industries and to develop our means of production, of transport, and of exchange . . . . to foster provident and friendly associations; to ensure by the strict application of the provisions of the Concordat respect for the established powers in the relations between Church and State."

This programme, which had been foreshadowed in M. Gambetta's speech at Neubourg (September 4), was somewhat coolly received: in spite of his warnings, in spite of his distinct expression of his intention to proceed by gradual and well-digested reforms, and to eschew a chimerical policy, which striding ahead of public opinion might bring about a reactionary movement at home, or arouse dangers abroad, people had, it would seem, continued to expect something showy and startling in effect from "le grand ministère." The folly of his friends, and the craft of his foes had so wrought on the public mind, that any statement of policy, which could be seriously made, necessarily fell short of the

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expectations aroused. The fact that the Ministry of Public Worship was filled by M. Paul Bert, who held the portfolio of Public Instruction, seemed indecent to many on account of the notoriety which attached to his anti-religious opinions: discontent was also felt, and expressed, at the creation of new ministries (arts and agriculture), without previous parliamentary sanction. The Chamber showed, however, a general indisposition to work, the only important debate which occurred before it dispersed, on December 17, being that on the Tunisian and Algerian credits. M. Camille Pelletan made a very effective maiden speech on this occasion, in which he advocated an entire change of policy, and M. Gambetta was obliged more than once to intervene. The general tenor of the discussion, and the demeanour of the Chamber, showed the intense dissatisfaction felt concerning the expedition, and the resentment with which those who had originated it were regarded. M. Roustan, himself, was violently attacked both in the Chamber and in the press. So strong was the feeling against him, as the author of what had come to be looked on as a dangerous political blunder, that he failed in his prosecution of M. Rochefort for the disgraceful accusations which had been brought against him in the "Intransigeant," although it was generally felt that the graver charges had not been proved. The revelations made in course of the trial as to the atmosphere of intrigue and corruption which surrounded M. Roustan at Tunis were, however, so offensive that it was supposed that the French Government would not venture to send him back to his post, but after a week's reflection M. Gambetta decided to do so. It was probably felt that if M. Roustan deserved to be removed, the step ought to have been taken long before, and that to cashier him on the unsuccessful issue of his trial would appear to be an act of weakness; but, his return to Tunis will doubtless tend to aggravate the difficulties of an already difficult situation.

The work of revising and renewing the Commercial Treaties, which began early in 1880, slowly proceeded throughout 1881. The negotiations with Italy, Belgium, Austria, and other countries of minor importance, were brought to a satisfactory conclusion, but those with Switzerland hung fire, and the treaty with England also presented serious difficulties, chiefly due to the substitution in the new General Tariff of specific for *ad valorem* duties, for this change bore heavily on the principal articles of trade between the United Kingdom and France, namely, cotton and woollen goods. Active negotiations were begun in London in May. Five French High Commissioners, presided over by the French ambassador at the Court of St. James's, M. Challemel-Lacour, met the English Royal Commission of five members, presided over by Sir Charles Dilke, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and sat through June at the English Foreign Office. The whole of the draft Conventional Tariff was examined in detail. At the first meeting the French High Commissioners repudiated, under strong protest from

the English, the bases signed in 1880 by Lord Granville and M. Léon Say. On iron, concessions suggested by the French at an early stage in the proceedings were, at a later sitting, virtually withdrawn, though at the fifteenth meeting it seemed understood that these concessions would be made in any treaty that might eventually be signed. Definite reductions of duty on rates proposed in the draft Conventional Tariff were also offered by the French on certain chemicals, and on the first class of linen yarn and tissues, and indefinite concessions on straw hats and some other articles. The sittings were resumed in Paris in September, and the French tariff was then gone through a second time, when it plainly appeared that the greatest divergency of views existed, as above indicated, concerning the increase of duty on cotton and woollen goods, which resulted from the conversion of *ad valorem* into specific duties, and the increase of duty on leather. The great cotton and woollen trades are essentially British interests: in 1879, of woollen goods France took from England for her home consumption 51,000,000 fr. worth, her import from all countries being 68,000,000 fr.; of cotton goods, she imported from the United Kingdom 27,000,000 fr. worth, or considerably more than the import from Germany, the country next most interested. The change of classification in the rates of duty proposed was such as would tend, in the judgment of the British Commissioners, to check, diminish, and in many cases destroy the existing trade, for by the substitution of specific duties, nominally based on average values, the French Government would strike with the greatest severity the very cheap goods which are the most largely exported from England to France. The thirty-seventh sitting took place at Paris on the last day of the year. Further concessions on fine cotton yarns, on some cotton goods and on shoddy woollens were proposed by France, but were refused as insufficient on the part of England.

The formation of the Union Générale must not be overlooked even in this brief summary of the history of France in 1881, for it was one of the great events of the financial year. This concern was said to be founded with Catholic capital, chiefly derived from the religious orders, and designed to combat the operations of the great Jewish capitalists in every quarter of the world. The directors are all men of ability, with the Duc Decazes at their head, whom the present situation of political affairs in France has driven from public life. The shares, which started at 500 fr., were quoted at the meeting of shareholders on November 5 at 2,500 fr. On that occasion M. Bontoux and M. Feder, the manager, stated that the profits of the society up to September 30 amounted to 36,000,000 fr., and added that the profits already ensured for the next three years exceeded that figure. M. Bontoux on this occasion denied also that the Union Générale was backed by the religious orders. "I know," he said, "many of these, but they only beg, and do not bring us capital. We possess the funds we state,

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and the profits we declare really exist. We have half a million of capital at our disposal, and our operations extend from Brazil to Russia." These results, it must be remembered, had been arrived at in spite of the most desperate efforts to crush the new society. For months it had been the subject of fierce conflicts on the Bourse, and its financial statement accordingly excited more interest than the Budget itself.

Yet there were questions of the gravest importance in connection with the Budget for 1883, which occupied the attention of Ministers at the close of 1881. It had become necessary to choose between new charges and a progressive reduction of taxation, for it was impossible to carry on the two simultaneously any longer. In order to give an idea of the present situation, we may state that, after having voted the Budget of 1882, the old Chamber proceeded to vote various laws which, taken together, imposed on the State a yearly supplementary charge of 55,000,000 fr., beginning in 1882. Add to this that fresh legislation will cause further burdens (as, for instance, in the case of 10,000,000 fr., voted for the augmentation of the salaries of teachers), so that, as compared with 1881, the Budget for 1883 will present an excess of 150,000,000 fr. On the other hand, the reductions of taxation which have been uninterruptedly carried out for the last five years have deprived the treasury of important resources. The question is, therefore, Can any further reductions of taxation be proposed for 1883? If any such possibility exist, it is understood that the remission will be in favour of agriculture. The old Chamber had, indeed—after passing the Budget of 1882 (July 12)—carried an amendment appropriating 10,000,000 fr. to that object, although the Government represented that this vote would not be binding on that which was about to take place. It must also be noted that the Budget for 1883 is roughly estimated at 150,000,000 fr.; but these figures are said to represent the determination of the present Government to avoid, as far as possible, all supplementary credits, so as to obtain a clearer notion of the financial situation, and avoid the surprises of 1881, when, after the Budget was voted, the Minister of Finance applied to the Chamber for 140,000,000 fr. of supplementary credits, exclusive of the expenses of the Tunis expedition.

Of the action of France in Europe during the year, there is little to say. Following the line adopted by M. de Freycinet, she no longer took a leading part in the settlement of the Eastern question, but simply contented herself, as regarded Greece, with allowing her Agent to support the British Ambassador, Mr. Goschen, at Constantinople.

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II. ITALY.

When the Italian Chamber reassembled on January 24 a measure of capital importance was awaiting consideration—the Committee on the Bill for the abolition of the Forced Currency had ended its labours, and Signor Magliani, the Minister of Finance, could congratulate himself on the fact that, though on various minor points they had considerably modified the proposals of the Government, yet the leading features of his great project remained untouched. The discussion of its provisions in the House lasted for twenty days, and on February 23 the Bill was carried by 266 to 27. On April 5 it passed the Senate, and on July 5 arrangements were concluded by the Government with the National Bank of Italy and Messrs. Baring and Messrs. Hambro for the necessary financial operations, the contract being signed on the following day. The desirability of the measure in itself was hardly open to question. The inconveniences of every kind entailed by a forced currency had been brought well before the public by the Parliamentary enquiry of 1868; serious politicians of both Right and Left had in turn called attention to the subject, and the same grave evils were pointed out by Minghetti and Finali in their report on the circulation of paper as were recited in the preamble to the Bill projected in 1877 by Depretis, and Maiorana-Calatabiano. The special point on which differences of opinion arose was the length of time which would be required for effecting the return to a metallic currency. The period of three years fixed by Government for the completion of their scheme was deemed by many insufficient. Adverse critics maintained that Signor Magliani had based his calculations on the assumption that the prosperous condition of the country which had, for the moment, given him a surplus revenue, was certain to endure; and they thought it imprudent to count on what might after all prove to be only a temporary improvement in the resources of the State. They would have preferred to prolong the operations over a period of five, or even seven years, and feared the chance of speculative combinations which might force the Government to pay an exorbitant price for gold, in order to meet its engagements at the close of 1883.

The financial statement laid before the Chamber, by Sigr. Magliani, two days before the Bill for the Abolition of the Forced Currency was passed by the Senate (April 3), did much to remove these apprehensions, at least in so far as they were felt by the general public. Signor Magliani was able to point to a larger surplus from 1880 than that which he had predicted, and gave reasons for setting forth an equally satisfactory Budget for 1881. In referring to the accounts for 1880, he showed that whilst he had cautiously announced, in the provisional estimates, a surplus of only 3,500,000, that amount had increased to 11,500,000 in the

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definite Budget, and the closed accounts for the surplus of 28,250,000; this surplus would, he added, to 53,500,000 had it not been counterbalanced by 25,000,000 in the expenditure. He compared 446,000,000, which marked 1862, with the existing affairs. Then, it had been necessary to sell State tract heavy debts to meet the expenses of the pol a considerable portion of the debt was being the ordinary income, and a steady yearly re improve the financial situation of the Treasury. these encouraging facts, Signor Magliani st rigid economy, so that burdensome taxes might national credit upheld, and the national wea considering the definite Budget for 1881 he est of 7,000,000, calculated on in the provisional increased to 15,000,000; he explained that the surplus of 1881 as compared with the surplus the decrease of one-fourth in the receipts from in course of extinction, and to the receipts fr revenue being estimated at the lowest rate. the current returns were showing a large advan anticipated, and concluded by stating that It forward with confidence to the maintenance of brium, even under the pressure occasioned by two great reforms—the gradual abolition of the the forced Paper Currency.

Before proceeding to examine the Budget, concluded (March 15) the discussion of the Bill of 50,000,000 for public works to be carried o payment of this sum was to be made at the year; new Houses of Parliament were included ings to be at once taken in hand on a scale capital of a great nation, and which should also intention of Italy never to abandon her hold o A motion was agreed to on the same day which that the ministry would speedily present the ne improvement of the Tiber and of the Roman Ca of the construction of the works proposed for th estimated at 20,000,000, and the total expe Extraordinary Public Works, the debate on wh in the Chamber on June 7, amounted to 225,0 96,000,000 was to be deducted from the proce Church property which had already been paid in

The desire was shown, by more than one spe cussions, to urge on the works intended to be und in order, as it were, to affirm the irrevocable un with the State, and put to silence other claims attitude of protest maintained by the Vatican tow state of things was a source of constant irritation

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definite Budget, and the closed accounts for the year revealed a surplus of 28,250,000; this surplus would, he added, have amounted to 53,500,000 had it not been counterbalanced by an increase of 25,000,000 in the expenditure. He compared the deficit of 446,000,000, which marked 1862, with the existing condition of affairs. Then, it had been necessary to sell State lands and contract heavy debts to meet the expenses of the public service; now, a considerable portion of the debt was being extinguished out of the ordinary income, and a steady yearly increase continued to improve the financial situation of the Treasury. Notwithstanding these encouraging facts, Signor Magliani strongly advocated a rigid economy, so that burdensome taxes might be reduced, the national credit upheld, and the national wealth increased. In considering the definite Budget for 1881 he stated that the surplus of 7,000,000, calculated on in the provisional estimates, had been increased to 15,000,000; he explained that the diminution in the surplus of 1881 as compared with the surplus of 1880 was due to the decrease of one-fourth in the receipts from the Grist Tax, now in course of extinction, and to the receipts from other sources of revenue being estimated at the lowest rate. He also added that the current returns were showing a large advance upon the surplus anticipated, and concluded by stating that Italy might now look forward with confidence to the maintenance of her financial equilibrium, even under the pressure occasioned by the carrying out of two great reforms—the gradual abolition of the Grist Tax, and of the forced Paper Currency.

Before proceeding to examine the Budget, the Chamber had concluded (March 15) the discussion of the Bill, granting a subsidy of 50,000,000 for public works to be carried out in Rome. The payment of this sum was to be made at the rate of 2,000,000 a year; new Houses of Parliament were included in the list of buildings to be at once taken in hand on a scale befitting the great capital of a great nation, and which should also establish the fixed intention of Italy never to abandon her hold on the Eternal City. A motion was agreed to on the same day which expressed a hope that the ministry would speedily present the necessary Bills for the improvement of the Tiber and of the Roman Campagna. The cost of the construction of the works proposed for the Tiber alone was estimated at 20,000,000, and the total expenditure voted for Extraordinary Public Works, the debate on which was concluded in the Chamber on June 7, amounted to 225,000,000, of which 96,000,000 was to be deducted from the proceeds of the sale of Church property which had already been paid into the Treasury.

The desire was shown, by more than one speaker in these discussions, to urge on the works intended to be undertaken in Rome, in order, as it were, to affirm the irrevocable union of that city with the State, and put to silence other claims for ever. The attitude of protest maintained by the Vatican towards the existing state of things was a source of constant irritation to the national

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party in Rome; and this irritation, always ready to manifest itself on the slightest provocation, broke out in July into various anti-clerical demonstrations on the removal of Pio Nono's remains from the Basilica of St. Peter's to that of St. Lorenzo. The Roman papers, led by the *Capitan Fracasse*, began to open the question of the Guarantees, and on August 7 some 5,000 persons attended a meeting in the Politeama Theatre to agitate for their repeal. The Government on this occasion held a middle course, not prohibiting the meeting, for that would have been illegal, but forbidding the publication of the placards which announced it, on the ground that they might lead to disturbances. The right of free discussion was also treated with a similar amount of hesitation, for the proceedings in the Politeama were permitted to take their course, until Signor Lemmi attempted to put a resolution to the effect that the people of Rome desired the abolition of the Laws of Guarantees and the occupation of the Papal Palaces. At this moment agents of the Government appeared and forbad the reading of the resolution which embodied the wishes of those present, and the uproar which ensued might have led to serious consequences had not the President, Signor Petroni, obtained a hearing. He bid his hearers disperse quietly, and so defeat the aims of their enemies: in answer to his question, "Do you vote for the Abolition of the Laws of Guarantees?" came a tremendous shout of "Yes," which drowned every other sound, and the meeting then dispersed in perfect order. Several anti-clerical clubs were immediately founded, and in the course of the autumn, when M. Renan was in Rome, the leaders of the movement endeavoured to elicit from him an expression of sympathy with their objects. But, M. Renan, in a letter published by the *Lega della Democrazia* pleaded, in face of a political danger, for philosophical toleration, and talked of religious liberty to men who had spent, like Signor Petroni, the best years of their lives in the pontifical prisons.

Early in the year, another great popular demonstration had taken place at Rome. The Congress called to consider the question of Universal Suffrage held its sittings during the first week of February in the Sala Dante. It was attended by delegates from all parts of Italy, and the final meeting (February 12) closed with a resolution in favour of Universal Suffrage, the terms of which included both men and women. This resolution it was intended to proclaim from the Capitol on the morning of the following day, but this was forbidden by placards posted in the streets of Rome, at an early hour, and the ceremony was accordingly held under the presidence of Alessandro Castellani in the Sferisterio. Roman society deceived itself as to the stamp of the men who were engaged in this agitation: they were generally spoken of as a handful of crackbrained fanatics, unworthy of a minute's serious attention. It was, however, impossible to watch them (as did the present writer) defile through the streets on their way to the place of

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meeting, without coming to a very different estimate of their character, and of their strength. The large proportion of those who followed the banners on Sunday, February 13, were evidently the most industrious and intelligent of the artisan class; but in the ranks of these men, who were not likely to be a force in themselves, there were others of a very different order, the makers of revolutions. These men had come with their mission from the north and from the south, and it was clear to everyone who looked upon them that they held it for something unutterably sacred. There were types which it was impossible to see and not remember; men whose set gaze told of the entire absorption of their whole being in one fixed purpose, and whose faces bore the strange blue tinge which, to the initiated, speaks of never-to-be-forgotten years spent long ago in an Austrian prison. These are the men who dog the heels of every Government, who raise the cry for Italia Irredenta; for the repeal of the Guarantees, and for Universal Suffrage as the basis of every radical reform. Nor must their power be estimated by their numbers, for it is impossible to limit the effect of the constant propaganda carried on by a united body of men, devoted with absolute integrity to the realization of resolves for which they believe the time is ripe.

The meeting of the Congress, which closed its proceedings with the demonstration in the Sferisterio, would, it was hoped, produce an impression tending to modify and enlarge the provisions of the Bill on Electoral Reform which, it was known, was about to be discussed in the Chamber. This Bill, which to the Extreme Left appeared in the highest degree insufficient, was for different reasons equally distasteful to the leaders of the Right. Signor Sella was known to fear the dangers which might follow on any further extension of the franchise in the South of Italy; and Signor Minghetti's general disapproval was deepened by the strong objections which he felt in respect of certain clauses which introduced the elements of a fancy franchise into the Bill: he declared, therefore, that he should prefer Universal Suffrage to a measure which contained provisions which were in his opinion highly mischievous. On this point, Signor Minghetti thus placed himself in accordance with the views of the "Young Right," to whom the new base proposed appeared a fantastic co-ordination of three distinct qualifications—property, education, and military service. The general discussion of the Bill, which had been brought up from Committee on December 21, 1880, began on March 24, and was complicated by the question of *scrutin de liste*. The proposal to substitute *scrutin de liste* for uninominal candidatures was also before the House, and division of opinion on this subject further accentuated the split in the ranks of the Right.

Signor Bonghi and others of the Old Right, whilst all but unanimous in their opposition to the proposed scheme for the extension of the franchise, were by no means ill disposed towards a change in the mode of voting. The Young Right, on the other

hand, though ready to make large concessions as regarded the extension of the franchise, were by no means friendly to *scrutin de liste*, and on the second day of the debate, Signor Fortunato made a very brilliant speech in which he both advocated universal suffrage, and defended the existing system of election. He stated the usual objections to *scrutin de liste* with much force, and asserted that it would put power into the hands of political intriguers and electioneering wirepullers, would tend to the suppression of minorities, and would render more acute the antagonism already existing between the different provinces of the Kingdom of Italy. The prolonged and animated discussions which continued to take place on every clause of the Bill rendered its progress through the House extremely slow. It did not pass the Chamber till June 29, when it was carried by 202 to 116; it lingered in the Senate till December 20, being then voted (with considerable amendments, one being a provision granting the right of voting to "all who can read and write,") by 145 to 55, and has now been referred by the Lower House to the Committee, which will report on it next session as amended by the Senate.

The action of France in Tunis produced violent indignation throughout Italy, and brought about the fall of Signor Cairoli from power. The deputation from the Bey, which accompanied that sent from Tunis in January to the Italian colony to greet the King and Queen at Palermo, had attracted special attention on account of the critical condition of affairs. The *Agence Havas* immediately published a letter from Algiers in which Italy was warned not to attach too much significance to a message of mere courtesy, for France, of necessity, could tolerate no rival in Tunis, and must strive to establish there an effective protectorate. To this the *Diritto* replied in terms of great moderation, expressing the conviction that French statesmen would disavow any such designs. But the course of events did not long permit the *Diritto* to retain any illusion as to the intentions of the French Government, and when, early in April, the French troops crossed the Tunisian frontier, the excitement in the Roman political world became intense. On the 6th the tribunes of the Chamber of Deputies were thronged by an audience eager to watch the effect of the interrogations on the subject about to be made by Signors Massari, di Rudini, and Damiani, for it was known that they would take the shape of an energetic attack on the foreign policy of the Government. In reply to the questions concerning the alleged agreement between France and the Cabinet of Lord Beaconsfield, concerning the occupation of Tunis by the French, Signor Cairoli said that Sir Augustus Paget had repeated to him on the very day previous that Lord Salisbury denied in the most absolute manner having entered into any such agreement (see France, p. 228). He added that France had made categorical declarations to both Italy and England of her intention to maintain the *status quo* in Tunis. An official declaration had also, he said, been made by

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M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire to the Italian ambassador in Paris to the effect that the French troops in the province of Constantine, requiring to be reinforced, other troops would be sent from Toulon in order that the Algerian stations might not be left unprotected, but there was no question of sending ships of war. "We continue," concluded Signor Cairoli, "to take note of this declaration with that calm and firmness which are necessary in dealing with matters which involve responsibility not only for to-day but for to-morrow. We have the right to see in it an assurance that France, while providing for the necessities of her defence, will respect that political situation, any change in which could not be viewed with indifference either by Italy or the other Powers. On one side, therefore, we have the assurances of France; on the other, the right of Italy and of England to take note of them. Italy and England were, and would continue to be, in the most cordial concord on all questions." When Signor Cairoli sat down, Signor Damiani—having expressed his dissatisfaction at the explanations which he had received—asked the Prime Minister whether he really believed that France had no other intentions than those of defence, and of repressing the insurrection of the tribes, and presented a motion to the effect that the Chamber, disapproving the policy of the Government, passed to the order of the day. This proposal for a vote of censure offered an opportunity which was at once seized by all the parties in the Chamber who are opposed to the present Ministry, and on April 7 it was carried by means of a combination of the old Right, the Crispi and Nicotera groups, and the Extreme Radicals.

Signor Cairoli at once placed his resignation in the hands of the King, who sent for Signor Depretis. An attempt was then made to bring about an understanding between the various leaders of the Left; but, although this was to some extent accomplished, Signor Cairoli refused to hold office in a new Ministry under Signor Depretis, who found it impossible to form a Government without him. The King then sent for Signor Sella (April 17), who expressed his opinion that, in the actual state of things, the resignation of the Cairoli Ministry should be declined, as an accord appeared to have been established amongst the Left even with the dissentient fractions who voted against Ministers on the 7th. On this advice the King acted, and after the Easter recess the Cairoli Cabinet presented itself once more to the Chamber. Its existence was immediately challenged on a motion of Signor Zeppa's condemning the solution of the recent crisis; but, after an impassioned debate of three days, a vote of confidence was obtained on an order of the day presented by Signor Mancini (May 1). Of the 409 deputies present, 262 supported Signor Mancini's motion, 146 abstained, and 1 voted against it. But in addition to those who abstained, it was observed that Signor Crispi and some 28 others left the Chamber before the vote was taken; the actual majority obtained was therefore 86, in a House numbering 438

members. The Government now appeared to be likely to command ample support in the House; but within a few days' time the announcement of the signature of the Treaty of the Bardo (May 13) upset all their calculations. On the 15th Signor Cairoli again resigned; the King sent at once for Signor Sella, who endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to form a Ministry which might reckon on a working majority. Signor Depretis was next entrusted with the task, which—supported by Signor Cairoli, who persisted in his determination to retire from office—he promptly accomplished. The crisis may indeed be said to have ended with a change of Premiers rather than a change of Ministers, so many of those who had composed the Cabinet under Signor Cairoli retained their posts—as will be seen from the following list—under Signor Depretis. He himself took the portfolio of the Interior; Mancini, Foreign Affairs; Magliani, Finance; Zanardelli, Justice; Baccarini, Public Works; Bacelli, Public Instruction; Berti, Agriculture; Ferrero, War; and Acton, Marine.

From the very beginning of difficulties in Tunis, Italy had believed that England would be forced to act, and, unable to take active steps alone, was more than ready to act with her. She urged on the English Government those political reasons for interference which had grave importance for herself, and could not recognise the fact that they had less weight for England, who would accordingly be content with safeguarding her commercial interests. The public had interpreted the assurances given by Signor Cairoli to the effect that Italy was acting in concert with England on the Tunis question in the light of its own desires; they had convinced themselves that the French would not be permitted to possess themselves quietly of Tunis, and the attitude of the English Government regarding the Treaty of the Bardo was viewed with resentment, intensified by surprise. The Right at once utilised the occasion which offered itself for propagating the chief article of their creed in foreign politics. Mr. Gladstone's accession to power in 1880 had been welcomed by the Left with open satisfaction, and the English Government, in consequence of their friendly relations with Italy, withdrew their opposition to the establishment by the Italian Government of a station in the Bay of Assab, at the mouth of the Red Sea—a scheme which had been initiated under cover of forming a coaling depôt for the ships of the Rubattino Company, but which was finally avowed as an object of the Government itself. The English Government had also employed its friendly offices to induce the Egyptian Government, which claimed the territory, to withdraw its opposition to the project. But the disappointment felt at the situation of Italy in Tunis inclined both Government and people to look elsewhere for an ally, and made them ready to listen to those who were never weary of bidding the country turn to Germany (and to the allies of Germany) as the only Power in Europe whose interests were identical with the Italian, and from whom alone, therefore, Italy could expect

to receive effective political support. Before long, the *Opinione* and *Diritto* alike cried out to Bismarck for help and protection, and not even his attitude regarding the situation of the Papacy—with which it was said he intended to interfere, in order that it might be regularised by an international agreement—prevented their warm advocacy of a German alliance. Later in the year (November 10) these views received official sanction in the visit of the King and Queen to Vienna, for the proposal for this meeting came altogether from Italy. In short, the journey was intended, in the words of the *Opinione*, "to put an end to the distrust and suspicions of the Austrian Government, and to protest against an inopportune and hurtful agitation . . . . an assurance to Austria of the firm intention of the Italian Government not to tolerate any act contrary to the integrity of the Austrian Empire." It is now understood that the Emperor and Empress of Austria intend to visit Rome; and before the King of Italy started for Vienna, the German Government informed Signor Mancini of its satisfaction, and stated that "what was done at Vienna would be considered as being done also at Berlin."

Bitter as was the feeling in Italy against France, the only course open to her was that of protest; she refused, accordingly, to recognise the position created for M. Roustan in Tunis by the Bardo Treaty. The Italian Consul at Tunis, Signor Maccio, took leave of absence, and leave was also granted to General Cialdini, the Italian Ambassador at Paris, who returned to Rome. There were, however, interests at stake which Italy in her relations with France could not afford to overlook; and on June 21 Signor Mancini appealed to Signors Nicotera and Billia to withdraw their motion on the Tunis question. He urged the necessity of "union between France and Italy in the work of pacification . . . . the present state of things arose from conflicting economic interests. . . . France and Italy had a common enemy against whom they should be on their guard." In August, the sufferings of the inhabitants, and especially of the Italian colony, on occasion of the occupation of Sfax, caused further irritation. The Italian Consul was directed to open and continue a special inquiry, although the Government were invited by the French to join the commission which they themselves had appointed. The sittings of this commission broke off (through the withdrawal of the French Commissioner, who refused to hear evidence unfavourable to the conduct of the French soldiery) without any satisfactory resolutions having been come to; the question of an indemnity is still open; Signor Maccio is still represented by a deputy at Tunis, nor will the Italian Government appoint a successor to General Cialdini.

This state of political tension did not prevent successful negotiations for the renewal of the Commercial Treaty with France, which had been for some time under consideration, and which was signed at Paris on November 3. Negotiations with other Powers were also commenced during 1881, and a general prolongation—

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till June 1882—of existing treaties (including the Anglo-Italian) was agreed on.

The Chambers reassembled for the autumn session on November 17 (the day on which the King and Queen returned from Vienna), and immediately proceeded to take the Estimates. In nearly every instance these involved questions of great interest. The Minister of Justice, Signor Zanardelli, informed the House (November 25) that he had under consideration the draft of a Bill which he considered necessary for remedying what was defective in the Law of Guarantees. The naval estimates (November 28) necessarily brought up the great question of the merits of the "Duilio," which involved the yet greater question of the merits of the whole system of heavy armoured vessels. Admiral Acton had been interpellated on March 8 with much violence by Colonel Geymet, who accused the Government of giving incomplete reports of the trials of the "Duilio," which had then just taken place. These trials had, he said, given excellent results, and he further reproached the Government with having wished "to carry out extravagant tests, such as would be calculated, in the event of failure, to injure the reputation of the vessel. He wished," he said, "to discover whether the unfavourable issue of the last experiments, which had just been announced, was borne out by facts, or was due to the mere trick of Party. . . . The nation had a right to know which system of naval construction was to be followed up, and whether the monster ships could or could not defend themselves." To this Admiral Acton replied that the technical Commission had expected that the "Duilio" would be damaged by certain further experiments, but that he himself had determined on these further experiments, because he deemed it necessary to verify the capabilities of the vessel under any circumstances likely to arise in time of war. He added that he was ready to lay on the table all the documents desired concerning these trials. The discussion of this subject, both in and out of the House, soon assumed an angry character. A fortnight later (March 23), on the occasion of another interpellation, a violent attack was made on Acton by the extreme Left, aided by Signor Sella and the old Right, ended only by Signor Cairoli's acceptance of Nicotera's motion to adjourn the debate for two months. Admiral Acton was taxed with having been led—through his dislike to the system of giant ships—into imposing the impossible on the "Duilio" and her crew, so that he might be able to point to a disaster in proof of the correctness of his own previsions. Many went even further in their accusations, and declared that his dislike to the system was based on no technical grounds, but on purely personal, political, and parliamentary calculations. The truth seems to have been that Admiral Acton by no means considers the monster ships, constructed by his predecessors Brin and Saint-Bon, to be good for nothing and unserviceable, but rather he is of opinion that—having regard to the means and necessities of Italy—it is undesirable to build these

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gigantic vessels and nothing else; he believes that the four at present built or in course of building are sufficient, and that what is now wanted is a number of lighter, less costly, and less unwieldy ships of war. From the remarks which he made, in reply to General Ricotti, when the Navy Estimates were taken in the Chamber of Deputies, it would seem that Admiral Acton has, to some extent, given his own sanction to the plans on which the "Duilio" was constructed. He had "preferred," he said, "the 'Duilio' as the type of the new ironclad (then in the dockyard) because her sea-going qualities had already been tested, whereas no experiments had as yet been made with the 'Italia.'" As regards the question of thickness of the armour-plating, Admiral Acton maintained that "an armour of 45 centimètres in thickness could not be pierced by either 43, 76, or even 100-ton guns." France and England, he added, although they had no such formidable guns as Italy, nevertheless adopted a thickness of 45 centimètres for the armour of their ships; and he asserted, in conclusion, that, in the point of size and armament of her ironclads, Italy still remained ahead of the other European Powers.

The principal measures proposed by the Minister of War, General Ferrero, for completing the organization of the Italian army, have not yet been laid before the House, and on November 20 Signor Depretis stated, before the Budget Committee, that the Cabinet had not yet discussed the proposals made by the Minister of War on the subject. At the same time, he added, the Government were in a position to provide gradually for an increase of the active army and for the indispensable works of territorial defence out of the ordinary Estimates. Three small Bills dealing with points in connection with General Ferrero's main scheme were, however, laid before the House when the Military Estimates were taken at a later date; in the course of the discussion which followed he was strongly urged to provide for the defence of the southern provinces by a strong system of fortifications. But, to this General Ferrero replied—whilst admitting that certain works were indispensable—that their proper defence could alone be secured by the existence of a powerful fleet.

On the Foreign Office Estimates (December 7), Signor Mancini made an important statement: he avowed the political object of the journey to Vienna undertaken "in accord with Germany," and referred to Prince Bismarck's recent statement in the Reichstag, "that liberalism in Italy was tending to a Republic," in terms which so gratified the German Chancellor that he instantly telegraphed his satisfaction. On the 22nd Signor Mancini again assured the House that, in making representations at Paris relative to affairs in Tunis, he had carefully avoided all recognition of the Treaty of the Bardo. The bitter feeling on this question, and on the situation of Italy in Egypt, found expression in the course of the debate in an interpellation taxing the Government with neglecting to defend and protect the interests of Italian commerce and ad-

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venture in Africa. Nothing positive on this head was elicited from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. German papers had, however, asserted early in the year, that, so far from this being the case, the Italian Government under Signor Cairoli had concluded a secret treaty with the King of Abyssinia which assured them the protectorate of a large district, the possession of the Bogos territory, and of that in the neighbourhood of Massowah, whence an expedition would be made destined to open up the road to Assab Bay. This statement was semi-officially denied in the *Diritto*, and the expedition itself, which was massacred at Beilul, was disavowed by Government (June 14) in the House.

With the exception of the vote for Secret Service money, which Signor Crispi vainly proposed to increase on the grounds that the Government was so ill served that the sum at their disposal was clearly insufficient, the Foreign Office estimates passed without opposition. Not so, however, those of the Ministry of Public Instruction. The reforms attempted or threatened by Signor Bacelli called forth indignant protest, and the estimates of his department were only carried after stormy discussion; the majority obtained was indeed considerable—117, but the urns showed no fewer than 122 black balls.

As for the Minister of Finance, he could point triumphantly to the fact that the official returns showed that the revenue from taxation during the first eleven months of 1881 was 50,000,000 lire in excess of the amount yielded during the corresponding period of 1880. So far, therefore, the brilliant calculations on which Signor Magliani has based his schemes, have been justified by results which surpassed his expectations, and the hopeful prospect of an equilibrium being at last established on the conditions of Italian finance without onerous taxation or unjustifiable expedients, is likely to give greater stability not only to the economical but to the political position of the country.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY.

THE year began in Germany by a repetition of those disgraceful outrages upon the Jews which show that Prussia, with all her boasted civilisation, still retains the old mediæval spirit of savage intolerance towards people of another race and religion. The riots which took place at Berlin and other large Prussian towns were not only fomented by socialist agitators, who thus worked upon the prejudices of the lower classes in order to get up a crusade

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against the capitalists, but by men of education and position; and among those who showed the most rancorous antipathy towards the Jews were the students of the University of Berlin. Liberal politicians, on the other hand, loudly expressed their indignation at these barbarous acts of violence and disorder, and on January 12 several Liberal meetings were held in the Prussian capital to protest against them. While thus protesting against one form of intolerance, however, the Prussian Liberals did not scruple to support the oppressive policy of the Government with regard to the Roman Catholics. On January 26 Herr Windthorst, whose small stature, together with his position as an ex-Minister of the kingdom of Hanover and chief of the Particularists and Ultramontanes, had procured him the nickname of "his little Excellency," introduced a Bill in the Prussian Parliament for exempting the dispensation of the sacraments and the reading of the mass from the penal operation of the Falk laws. He showed that in consequence of those laws making it penal for any priest whose appointment had not been sanctioned by the Government to perform the offices of religion, 601 Roman Catholic parishes were entirely without curates, and 584 with only half the number requisite for the wants of their inhabitants; and, referring to the Constitution, which promises civil and religious freedom to all Prussian citizens, he urged that it was monstrous that so many of them should be deprived of the right of baptism, marriage, and burial according to the rites of their church merely because they were Catholics. The governments of China and Japan, he said, were, in things ecclesiastical, much more liberal than that of Prussia. The only reply vouchsafed by the Government and the leading National Liberals to this argument was that if the Roman Catholic authorities did not choose to conform to the regulations of the State for the appointment of clergymen to parishes, the parishes must go without clergymen; and after a hot debate, which extended over two days, Herr Windthorst's Bill was rejected by 254 to 115, the Centre, the Poles, and a few Progressists voting for it, while the Conservatives, the National Liberals, and the remainder of the Progressists sided with the Government.

Prince Bismarck made his first speech of the year (February 4) during the debate on the *Verwendungsgesetz*, or Bill for applying surpluses on the budgets of the German Empire towards the abatement of certain direct taxes, chiefly on incomes. The Radical deputy, Herr Richter, having delivered one of his usual philippics on the financial policy of the Chancellor, saying that he was striving to curry favour with the lower classes in view of the approaching Imperial elections, and that the new tariff had raised the price of food without increasing wages, the Prince made an elaborate defence of his financial schemes, speaking with unaccustomed calmness and at great length. As to the rise in prices, he argued that this was due, not to the protectionist tariff, but to the failure of the harvest in Southern Russia, which, he said, ought to teach Prussian econo-

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mists to encourage native husbandry rather than rely on foreign countries for food supplies. In his opinion, a man who had nothing but his two hands, and was an unskilled labourer, should be exempt from public burdens; taxation should only begin where there is productive capital, either in the form of material or intellectual capacity, higher than that possessed by the workman who has nothing to rely upon but the precarious employment afforded by the vicissitudes of the seasons. The direct taxes of the Prussian monarchy should, he added, be lowered by increasing the indirect taxes of the Empire; a new tax should be introduced for exemption from military service, the tobacco tax should be increased, and fees for attendance in government elementary schools abolished; and he concluded by observing that the present was a favourable opportunity for making fiscal reforms, as, in all probability, Germany would be at peace for a long time to come. The Chancellor's proposals were still further developed at the meetings of the new Economic Council, which began its sittings on January 27, and consisted of merchants, manufacturers, farmers, tradesmen, and working men, assembled from all parts of Prussia to assist the Government in the preparation of measures affecting the economical interests of the country. The first scheme laid before the Council was one for establishing a system of compulsory insurance against accidents to workmen in mines and manufactures, which had already been submitted to the Federal Council. According to this scheme, the workmen in question are to be compelled to insure in a Government office against accidents resulting in death or inability to work. Half of the premium would be paid, in the case of workmen with salaries of more than 750 marks, by the masters, and the other half by the workmen themselves; where the salaries are less, the masters would pay two-thirds of the premium, and the remainder would fall on the poor-rates. The insurance thus obtained would, with aid from the State, provide also for widows' pensions, allowances for orphan children under fifteen years of age, and medical attendance for workmen who are injured. Another proposal, even more socialistic in character, was to revive the artisan guilds of the middle ages with a view to improving the condition of the working men.

These plans, directly they became known, excited great opposition all over Germany. The smaller German States strongly objected to such wide-reaching measures being undertaken by the central government; and the Liberals regarded them as calculated both to weaken Parliament and make the poorer classes personally dependent upon the Imperial authorities, while the wealthier and more cultivated, besides being mulcted in heavier taxes, would be deprived of all independent influence on the conduct of public affairs. Prince Bismarck, however, was not a man to be daunted by opposition, and his financial policy occupied a prominent place in the speech from the throne read by Count Stolberg Wernigerode, the Vice-Chancellor, at the opening of the fourth and last session

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of the Imperial Parliament on February 15. The objects of the financial policy of the Government were declared in this speech to be the alleviation of pressing burdens and the improvement of the condition of the working classes. A new stamp law and a re-arrangement of the tax on brewing were promised, and it was announced that the Emperor had laid before the Federal Council a "Working Men's Accident Insurance Bill," which was described as part of "the legislation directed against the tendencies of social democracy," the inadequacy of the provisions hitherto in existence for protecting working men against destitution when incapacitated by age or accidents "having contributed not a little to induce them to seek means of relief by supporting socialist schemes." Other measures which were to be introduced with a similar object were a Bill for facilitating the formation into corporate societies or guilds of persons engaged in the same trade, "thus raising their economic capacity as well as their social and moral efficiency;" and another for providing pensions for the widows and orphans of public servants. It was also announced that "a very considerable increase having taken place in the number of crimes and offences committed in a state of drunkenness," an extension of the criminal code would be proposed to provide for such cases; and that the Bill for the establishment of biennial budgets, which had fallen through in the previous session, would again be laid before the House, "as the allied Governments are now, as formerly, under the weight of difficulties inseparable from the annual and simultaneous sitting of Imperial and provincial parliaments." Special stress was also laid in this speech on the Emperor's confidence in the maintenance of peace.

While Prince Bismarck was thus urging on his policy before the German Parliament, he lost one of his ablest assistants in the Prussian Ministry through one of those outbursts of temper which had already caused the retirement from office of such men as Delbrück, Camphausen, Falk, Hobrecht, and Savigny. The immediate cause of the Chancellor's irritability on this occasion appears to have been a dispute in the Prussian Parliament with the ex-Finance Minister Camphausen. Referring to his plan of freeing the poor from direct taxation and supplying the consequent deficiency in the exchequer by indirect taxation, Prince Bismarck remarked that when Herr Camphausen was in office nothing whatever was done for the poor. To this the ex-Minister replied by a scathing criticism of the Chancellor's financial system; and on the following day nearly the whole of the members of the Berlin municipality left their cards at Herr Camphausen's house to show their approval of his policy. A few days after, an animated debate took place in the Prussian Upper House on the question whether the communal councils were to be controlled by the Government or by the County Boards, which consist chiefly of large landed proprietors. Count Eulenburg, the Minister of the Interior, declared himself in favour of the latter arrangement; but Herr

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Rommell, a councillor in the Board of Trade, said he had been directed by Prince Bismarck, who was prevented from attending by illness, to state that he objected to the view taken by the Minister of the Interior, and would advise the Emperor to have the Bill altered accordingly. Count Eulenburg then resigned, and although Prince Bismarck afterwards explained in the House that he did not intend the statement to be read in public, the Count persisted in his resignation, which was accepted with much reluctance by the Emperor, and amid a storm of condemnation of the Chancellor's arbitrary conduct. In the German Parliament the attitude of the deputies with regard to his policy daily grew more hostile. On February 24 Herr Richter again attacked it in a long speech, pointing out the losses inflicted upon the people by the protectionist tariff, condemning the Working Men's Accident Insurance Bill as a step towards Socialism, and describing the present condition of Germany as "a medley of confusion and absolutism." When Prince Bismarck got up to reply, most of the members left the House; and after dealing with a number of technical points of little general interest, he defied Herr Richter to turn him out of office so long as he had the confidence of his Sovereign. The prosperity and power of his country had always been his sole object, and while Liberalism might be acceptable if the Empire were firmly consolidated, the occasion might arise when dictatorship would be preferable to parliamentary government. These words produced no impression upon the country, whose dissatisfaction with the existing state of things was reflected in the speeches of its representatives. They showed that France, notwithstanding the catastrophe of ten years ago, was materially far more prosperous, and politically more free than her late conqueror, who now finds it difficult to obtain sufficient funds for armaments which France is preparing without any apparent effort.

Prince Bismarck's curious tendency to reduce political to personal questions gave rise to a very undignified scene in the German Parliament on March 4. The Prince had for some time complained that he had a larger official house placed at his disposal than he required for the duties of his office, and that his house had been assessed at more than its real value by some of his political adversaries in the Town Council, and he accordingly brought in a Bill[1] providing that in the rating of official residences the rental shall not be taken as more than ten per cent. of the tenant's salary. In supporting this Bill he violently attacked the Town Council, which he described as a "Progressist Ring." Owing to its unfairness and mismanagement, he said, living in Paris was much better and cheaper than in Berlin, and the notice of his assessment, which rated him at far more than the value of his house, "came upon him like a breath of progress." Replying to his old adversary Richter, who had disputed the accuracy of the Government statistics that accom-

[1] This Bill was commonly called "lex Tiedemann," after the name of the Chancellor's chief assistant.

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panied the Bill, and asserted that civil employés were assessed at only half the rent-tax paid by other citizens, the Chancellor observed that good orators were hardly ever good politicians, and often said what was beautiful in sound rather than what was strictly true. Whatever may have been the assessment of other citizens, he contended that he was overtaxed; and he would add that he intended to move next session for the removal of the German and Prussian Governments to some other city more equitable in her demands and less likely to influence Parliament. This threat was of course merely a joke, but the House showed its displeasure by referring the Bill to a committee, where the limit of the tax was fixed at fifteen instead of ten per cent., and the Bill ultimately passed by a majority of six only. The next important subject taken up by the German Parliament was the Government Bill for establishing biennial parliaments in order to prevent the Reichstag and the Landtag from sitting simultaneously. To this proposal the National Liberals, headed by Herr von Benningsen, unanimously objected, on the grounds that the change would only produce more confusion, and that if Parliament were convoked only once in two years to vote the budget, while other matters of at least equal importance would have to remain in abeyance, such a course would greatly impair its power, independence, and dignity. This Bill also was referred to a select committee, which reported against it; and the House then rejected all the articles of the Bill except one, which extended the duration of Parliament from three to four years.

During the Easter holidays some excitement was caused by the Government refusing to recognise the appointment by the Chapter of the Cathedral of Trèves of the late vicar-general de Lorenzi as vicar of the chapter. Herr de Lorenzi was administrator of the diocese while the bishopric was vacant, and in this capacity acted as the leader of the extreme Ultramontane party. The Clerical organs violently attacked the Government for its refusal, which they described as a departure from the policy of conciliation that had lately been adopted towards the Roman Catholic Church in the matter of appointments to high ecclesiastical dignities (the secular oath having, as in the case of the bishop of Paderborn, been dispensed with), while the Liberals expressed the hope that Prince Bismarck would now pause on his march to Canossa.

The reassembling of the Reichstag was signalised by the most complete defeat which had yet been inflicted on any of the Chancellor's measures. When his Bill for laying a special tax on persons exempted from service in the army or navy was introduced in the House for second reading, Field-Marshal von Moltke walked out, the Minister of Education, Dr. Lucius, voted against it, and the Bill was unanimously rejected. The failure of the Accidental Assurance Bill was also practically decided in the debate on its second reading (June 2). The committee to which the Bill had been referred had struck out the provision for part of the insurance premiums being paid by the State, and the House confirmed its

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action by a majority of 185 to 39, although Prince Bismarck had declared that the principle of State assistance was an essential part of the Bill. The measure was ultimately passed as amended; but on June 25 it was rejected by the Federal Council. On June 10 another large majority in the Reichstag (153 to 102) decided against the payment of salaries to the members of an Economic Council for Germany, similar to that which Prince Bismarck had created for Prussia. The Conservatives, the National Liberals, and the Progressists all united to denounce this body as an engine for the suppression of parliamentary liberty and for the augmentation of the already excessive personal influence of the Chancellor. On the 15th the German Parliament of 1877 sat for the last time; and on the 20th Herr Puttkammer was transferred from the Ministry of Public Worship to that of the Interior, vice Count Eulenburg, Herr von Gossler, late President of the Reichstag, being appointed to the vacancy thus created in the Cabinet. Shortly after, a change in the Imperial Chancery was also announced: Count von Stolberg, the Vice-Chancellor, was succeeded by Herr von Bötticher, owing, it was said, to differences between the Count and his chief.

In the midst of all these defeats and disappointments the Chancellor could at least console himself with one triumph: the long-pending question of the entrance of Hamburg into the Zollverein was at length settled on June 15 by a majority of 106 to 46, the Hamburg municipal council accepting the convention which had been drawn up for that purpose by the German Government. According to this convention, Hamburg, together with the whole of its territory, is to enter the Zollverein on October 1, 1888; but a district bounded by the line of quays on the northern bank of the Elbe, and by the islands on its southern bank to the west of the bridge, including the portion of the river flowing between them, is to remain a free port.

The next three months were almost entirely occupied by preparations for the elections to the German Parliament, which were to take place in October. During the past session Prince Bismarck had aroused the opposition of every political party in the country except the insignificant fraction of old Conservatives, and it was necessary to do something to obtain the support of at least one of the great parties. The Prince accordingly made another attempt to conciliate the Clericals, who represent the political opinions of large populations in Posen, the Rhine provinces, Alsace, Hanover, and Bavaria. The vacant bishopric of Trèves was filled by the appointment of Dr. Korum, an Alsatian, to the see, and he was recognised by the Prussian Government without being required to swear obedience to the May laws. Shortly after, Herr von Schlötzer, the German Minister at Washington, was despatched to Rome to enter into negotiations with the Pope; and although no definite result was arrived at, it was understood that both parties were inclined to a compromise. Meanwhile a violent agitation was begun in the official and semi-official press against the Liberal

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party and its friends, and every effort was made to prevent the holding of Liberal meetings, on the plea that they would be used for the propagation of Socialist opinions. Indeed, it is the dread of the growing influence of Socialism which appears to have been the ruling motive of the Prince's home policy since the two attempts on the life of the German Emperor. It was in order to disarm this influence that he adopted the socialistic idea of insuring the working classes against accidents, and providing for them in old age, at the expense of the State; while, on the other hand, he wished to strengthen the Government for the struggle against the forces of revolution by providing that Parliament should assemble only once every two years, by abolishing direct taxation, and by making all local administration subject to the authorities at Berlin. His determination to persist in his efforts to carry these measures was strengthened by the virtual failure of the Anti-Socialist Law. Notwithstanding the establishment under that law of "the little state of siege" at Berlin, the Socialist propaganda was as active as ever; Socialist newspapers and pamphlets were still surreptitiously introduced into the city, Socialist meetings were held in secret at Berlin and in its vicinity, and large sums of money were being collected for the purposes of the agitation. In selecting the party, therefore, to which concessions were to be made in view of the coming elections, it was natural that the Chancellor's choice should not have fallen on the Liberals, whose principles compel them to oppose measures the tendency of which is to reduce parliamentary government to a mere name.[1]

The elections began on October 27, and it soon became evident that they would not be favourable to the Government. Herr Richter, the leader of the Progressists, and Prince Bismarck's principal adversary, was elected in two constituencies—Berlin and Hagen—and his majority in the latter was no less than 7,000. In all the districts where special efforts were made to secure the rejection of the candidates most obnoxious to the Chancellor, the Liberals were equally fortunate. Herr Lasker was victorious at Meiningen, Herr von Bunsen at Hirschberg, Herr Rickert at Dantzig, and Herr Karl Mayer at Stuttgart. On the other hand, the Chancellor's son, Count Wilhelm, lost his seat; and the same fate befell most of the Conservative leaders. A specially gratifying feature of the elections was the victory of Professor Virchow, the first distinguished German who denounced the agitation against the Jews, over Herr Stöcker, the leader of the *Judenhetze*, by a majority of nearly two to one, notwithstanding the influence possessed by the latter, owing to his position as chaplain to the Emperor and to the violent speeches with which he had succeeded

[1] The feeling of the Liberals with regard to these measures was pithily expressed by Professor Mommsen, in one of his electoral speeches, in these words: "The Prussia that we had, the Germany that we believed we had, are at an end. We must now all stand together, or we are all lost—National Liberals and Progressists, and the freedom of Germany for many years to come."

in inflaming the prejudices of the Christian inhabitants of Berlin against their Jewish fellow-townsmen. Less gratifying to the Liberals and to all friends of German unity was the result of the elections in Alsace-Lorraine, where all the newly elected members belonged to the party which protests against the annexation; and the Autonomist party, which it was hoped would bring about a reconciliation between the malcontents and the German Government, was beaten by large majorities. As to the Clericals, they maintained their ground, and even the Liberal successes were mostly those of candidates belonging to the Progressist and Secessional parties. The Socialists, too, gained several victories at the elections, although all agitation in their favour had been prohibited under penalties, their placards had been torn down by the police, and voters had been imprisoned for cheering their candidates. The following table shows the relative strength of parties in the new and the old Reichstags respectively:—

	Old	New	Losses	Gains
Conservatives	58	57	1	—
Free Conservatives	48	25	23	—
Clericals and Guelphs	105	107	—	2
National Liberals	64	47	17	—
Secessional Liberals	22	45	—	23
Progressists	28	56	—	28
Volkspartei (Autonomist Radicals)	4	8	—	4
Other Liberals, Savages, &c.	37	6	31	—
Poles	14	16	—	2
Protest Party (Alsace-Lorraine)	5	15	—	10
Social Democrats	10	13	—	3
Danes	2	2	—	—

If the members of the German Parliament with a Conservative tendency and those with a leaning towards Liberalism could be formed, as with us, into two great parties, the former would have a considerable majority; for out of the 397 members of the Reichstag, the Conservatives, Free Conservatives, Clericals, Guelphs, Poles, and Alsace-Lorrainers taken together amount to 220. But in Germany no such fusion of different shades of political opinion is possible, for the distinctions between the various "fractions," as they are called, are too strongly marked. A member of the Clerical party, for instance, would be inclined to vote with the Conservatives on most secular matters; but the Culturkampf is now one of the burning questions of German politics, and the Clericals would refuse to combine with any party that is not prepared to go much farther in modifying the May laws than even the Conservatives have shown themselves to be. Similarly, there can be no solid alliance between the Conservatives, who are above all Germans and Imperialists, and the Poles or Alsace-Lorrainers, the chief article of whose political faith is self-government for their own nationality. On the Liberal side, too, there is a strong an-

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tagonism between National Liberals, Progressists, and Social Democrats, though the points at issue do not touch upon such matters of warm religious and national feeling as is the case in the Conservative camp. But though neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives could claim the victory, it was evident that the elections were a defeat for Prince Bismarck, for they increased the number of his opponents in the Reichstag, so that there was even less prospect of a favourable reception for his projects of home policy in the new than in the old Parliament. The Chancellor declared, in reply to a telegram from the students at Leipzig, that the result of the elections had "neither surprised nor discouraged" him, and that "chronic diseases require time and patience for their cure;" but soon after the old expedient of threatened resignation was hinted at. The semi-official *Post* of Berlin published an article stating that the Chancellor was "weary of being made the butt of all the wickedness, baseness, calumny, and envious suspicions of forty-five millions of people," and that he would therefore shortly tender his resignation to the Emperor, "as it is impossible to govern Prussia on the monarchical system, and at the same time on the principles of the Progressist party." It was remembered, however, that only nine months before (February 4) he had declared in the House, quoting Marshal MacMahon's famous saying, "J'y suis, j'y reste," that he had abandoned all idea of retirement from office, that he intended to remain as long as the Emperor should wish him to do so, and that "the Emperor's will alone would lift him out of the saddle." The statement in the *Post* proved to be a mere *ballon d'essai*, and shortly after Prince Bismarck openly admitted at a parliamentary soirée at his house that he had no thought of leaving office, though he suggested the possibility, in view of the violent opposition his home policy had encountered, of a Vice-Chancellor being appointed for home affairs, while he himself should retain the direction of the foreign policy of the Empire.

The next German Parliament was opened, November 17, by an Imperial message, which Prince Bismarck read to the assembled deputies. The message was almost a repetition of the speech from the throne delivered at the opening of the previous session, and it left entirely out of account the defeats sustained by the Government on the very measures which it announced were again to be brought forward. It seemed that Prince Bismarck, like the Bourbons, had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. The plan of biennial Budgets, the Accident Insurance Bill, the Tobacco Monopoly Bill—all the familiar *chevaux de bataille* of the previous session—were again trotted out before the astonished deputies, who marvelled at the audacity of a Minister who thus again courted defeat from a House containing an even larger number of his opponents than the previous one. The most satisfactory part of the message was its conclusion, in which the Emperor declared that "in no previous year" had he "been able to look forward to the future with such confidence in the continuance of peace as

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now." "The meetings," he added, "which we had with the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary at Gastein, and at Dantzig with the Emperor of Russia, were the expression of the close personal and political relations which unite us with the sovereigns so closely bound to us by friendship, and Germany with the two mighty empires on her borders. These relations, founded as they are on mutual confidence, constitute a trustworthy guarantee for the continuance of peace, to secure which the policy of the three Imperial Courts is with one accord directed."

The debates which followed were rather of personal than of national interest. Herr Richter again violently attacked the Chancellor's financial policy (November 24), and said the Imperial message was used by him as a cover for his own projects. There was no conflict between the Reichstag and the Crown, which stands above parties; the object of the conflict was not the Emperor, but his chief counsellor. The Emperor summons his people to an election, not in order to show his own opinion, but that of the people. To this Prince Bismarck replied, on November 29, that he had advised the Emperor according to the best of his lights. The Emperor constituted a strong element in the German system of government, as was shown by the fact that under the reign of the present sovereign's brother the government of Prussia was carried on according to entirely different principles from those which had now been adopted. The Emperor William's personal share in the government was such an active one that he would not allow himself to be probibited from speaking to his people by Herr Richter's theories. As for himself, he completely represented the Emperor's policy. Germany was not to be governed after the English pattern. The conduct of affairs was in the hands of the Emperor, whose responsible adviser was the Chancellor, and he would continue to be so. In another speech, delivered at the same sitting, the Prince observed that he considered the Government a better guarantee for the union of Germany than the Reichstag, which caused him many difficulties, and greatly increased those already in existence. Party strife prevented the majority from realising any positive programme. He did not demand gratitude, which was due to the Emperor alone; but he had done his duty. On the following day, being interrogated by Dr. Virchow as to the relations between the German Government and the Vatican, the Chancellor said that no negotiations whatever were going on between the German Government and Rome, but that the King of Prussia intended to accredit a Prussian ambassador to the Holy See, in order to arrange about personal and local questions. The appointment of an ambassador was a logical consequence of actual facts. Earlier causes of discontent against the Pope had ceased, and it now appeared desirable, in the interest of the numerous Catholic subjects of Prussia, to establish a *modus vivendi* reconcileable with the traditional independence of the Prussian State. The next Prussian budget,

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therefore, would provide a salary for a Prussian ambassador at the Vatican. If the German Governments should wish it, the appointment could easily be changed into a German one, though Germany had no Culturkampf, but only Prussia. Turning to the question of the policy of the Government with regard to the Roman Catholic Church at home, the Chancellor remarked that he had been always opposed in principle to the introduction of civil marriage, but that when the measure for this purpose was brought before the House, he was ill at Varzin, and he gave his consent to it because at the time he looked upon it as a lesser evil than a change of Ministry would have been. He further stated that, if he were placed before the alternative of a *rapprochement* with the Centre and one with the Progressive party, he would always, for reasons of State, prefer an alliance with the Centre.

The first trial of strength between Prince Bismarck and his adversaries in the new Reichstag took place on December 2. The subject was the proposed grant of 85,000 marks for the Economic Council, which had been rejected five months before by the previous Reichstag. Herr von Benda, the head of the Moderate Liberals, again pointed out the objections to this proposal. The Economic Council, he said, would necessarily become a body independent of the Reichstag, and would be used to support the Chancellor's protectionist policy against the free-traders in the Cabinet and the Reichstag. He and his friends would gladly grant the Government any means that might be necessary for prosecuting any specific inquiry, but not for a permanent institution of the kind proposed. The Chancellor strove hard to defend the measure, but the House was evidently against him, and the grant was ultimately rejected by a majority of 169 to 83. The majority included the National Liberals, the Progressists, the Secessionists, the Clericals, the Poles, and the Guelphs; showing that the advances which had been made to the Clericals had, so far, not met with any response. The semi-official *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* now commenced a series of violent attacks on Herr Windthorst, the head of the party; but another semi-official paper, the *Post*, continued to make overtures to the Clericals, and even suggested that if the Pope were to leave Rome in order to inaugurate a movement for the restoration of the temporal power, he would find a welcome asylum in Germany. The bitterest debate of the session, however, and indeed of the year, was that on the influence exercised by the Government on the elections. The leading speaker on this occasion was Herr von Benningsen, who, as the most eminent of the moderate Liberals, carried more weight in a question of this kind than any other member of the House. The Home Minister, Herr von Puttkammer, went so far as to declare that it was the duty of all administrative officials to support the Government candidates, and that those who had done so would receive the thanks of the Emperor. This produced a storm of excitement in the House, and Herr von Benningsen's

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eloquent protest against the use of such language by a Prussian Minister elicited loud cheers, even from the Conservative benches. After a sitting of extraordinary length, the Liberal motion for an inquiry by the Committee for the verification of the elections into "the faults of the present system as shown by the last elections, more especially as regards their secrecy and independence," was passed unanimously. Shortly after the House separated for the Christmas holidays, more indisposed than ever to adopt the Chancellor's policy.

In foreign affairs the Chancellor showed his usual skill and force of character, and successfully asserted the position of Germany as the leading European State. It was his policy which finally triumphed in the solution of the Greek Question, though its acceptance by Greece was mainly owing to the tact and firmness of Mr. Goschen. The interview of the Russian and German Emperors at Dantzig, and the visit of King Humbert to Vienna, were proofs, if not of the diplomatic skill of Prince Bismarck, at least of his power to draw within the orbit of German influence States which were in want of an ally. Even Turkey, by sending a diplomatic mission to Berlin, seemed to show that the Sultan hoped to secure the support of the Chancellor for a "pan-Islamist" movement which might cause serious difficulties for France in Africa and for England in India. It is true that the Sultan is stated to have intended to present the order of the Nishan Imtiaz to Queen Victoria as well as to the Emperor William; but, as was remarked by a diplomatist, "Decorations are given in Turkey either because the Sultan is satisfied, as he is with Germany, or because he is dissatisfied, as he is with England." Some anxiety was caused in Italy by a statement made by Prince Bismarck in the German Parliament on November 27, warning her against republican leanings, and this feeling was strengthened by the reports which were current towards the end of the year of a project having been started by the Chancellor of a European guarantee for the Pope. The general tendency of the foreign policy of Germany during the year, however, was undoubtedly pacific, and her prestige in Europe is now so great that she can obtain much by diplomacy which any other Power could not get without a war.

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CHAPTER III.

EASTERN EUROPE.

I. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

AUSTRIA, with her strongly-marked class divisions and her many nationalities, each clamouring for home rule, has this year been troubled even more than usual by internal dissensions. On New Year's Day a deputation of peasants from Upper Austria waited upon Count Taaffe, the Premier of the Cisleithanian Ministry, to complain of the large proportion of the land-tax which the peasantry in that province was to be called upon to pay as compared with the amount demanded of the landowners. The Minister gave a conciliatory answer, which, however, did not satisfy the deputation, and on January 10 a meeting of 3,000 peasants was held at Linz to discuss the subject. It was decided that the deputies for the province should be called upon to bring the matter before the Reichsrath, and that those who should fail to do so should not be re-elected. The meeting also approved the statutes of a new society, to be called "The Upper Austrian Peasants' Union," which was to be formed for the purpose of promoting the interests of the peasants both in and out of Parliament. Similar societies were established in January and February in the other Austrian provinces; and a new interest—that of the peasantry as distinguished from the clergy and landowners—was thus added to the numerous ones which are incessantly in conflict with each other throughout the motley territories of the Austrian Empire.

On January 15 a further change of Ministry took place at Vienna in an autonomist sense. Two Germans, Constitutionalists, the Minister of Justice, Streit and the Minister of Commerce, Kremer, were succeeded by Dr. Prazak and Baron Pino respectively, the former a Czech and the latter a pliant official who had served in the Federalist Ministries of Counts Potocki and Hohenwart. This incident was followed on January 18 by the creation of twelve peers, nearly all Ultramontanes or Federalists, evidently with the object of weakening the Centralist majority in the Upper House. The antagonism between the German Centralists and the Slavs now became exceedingly bitter, and manifested itself in an unseemly scene in the Reichsrath at the first meeting (February 14) of the committee appointed to consider the ordinance issued in the previous year by the Government regulating the use of the German and Czechish languages in courts of law. The Centralist leader,

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Dr. Herbst, having proposed the rejection of the ordinance, Dr. Rieger replied on the part of the Czechs, urging that the historical rights of Bohemia were incontestable, and taunting Dr. Herbst with having made a sham motion which had no prospect of success, merely for the purpose "of raising a cry of distress which might be heard beyond the frontiers of the country." This insinuation was met with a storm of protests from the Centralist party, after which all its members who were present left the room, and the sitting had to be adjourned. The ordinance had, however, ultimately to be accepted by the House, as were also several other measures of less importance which were opposed by the German deputies. The irritation among the latter at the series of defeats they had sustained again broke out at the sitting of May 20, during a debate on a decision of the Supreme Court declaring certain elections for representatives of the class of landowners in Upper Austria to be invalid. Count Hohenwart, the leader of the Federalist party, having proposed that a committee of the House should be appointed to consider whether its powers had been encroached upon by the above decision, Dr. Herbst rose to protest on behalf of the Centralists against this proposal. Referring to the fourth article of the constitution of December 21, 1867, which says that the Supreme Court is alone to decide whether any particular case comes within its jurisdiction, he observed that Count Hohenwart's motion for the appointment of a committee to consider the competency of the court to give a decision in the case in question was unconstitutional, and declared that the Centralist party would not take any part whatever in the consideration of such a motion. Dr. Herbst and the whole of the Centralist members then left the House, and Count Hohenwart's motion was passed in their absence. Three days after, a motion introduced by the Federalist deputy Lienbacher for reducing the term of attendance in the elementary schools from eight years to six, led to a further demonstration on the part of the minority. Dr. Edward Suess, a learned professor, who had until then been regarded as a politician of very moderate views, made a most violent speech on this occasion, in which he accused the majority of simony and the Government of disgraceful and criminal conduct, and concluded with the apostrophe: "Away with these men who ruin the Empire!" pointing at the same time to the Ministers' bench. An indescribable tumult followed; the minority cheered, the majority hissed and groaned, and the people in the galleries whistled and clapped their hands. Ultimately the President, finding it impossible to restore order, had the galleries cleared, and the motion was then passed by the narrow majority of 156 to 149. Another subject which was the cause of much bitter party strife was a bill for establishing a Czechish university by the side of the ancient German one at Prague. This Bill was read a third time, the Germans all voting against it, on May 31. Some of the more moderate members of the Centralist party, headed by Herr Plener, wished to come to an understanding with the Czechs

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in the matter, as their desire to have a university of their own, in a town where at least as much Czechish is spoken as German, was not unreasonable; but Dr. Herbst and his followers would not hear of any compromise, and the party accordingly again assumed that irreconcilable attitude which has done them so much harm with the Austrian public. The Government, however, probably desiring to conciliate the Centralists, did not lay before the Upper House either the Bill for the Czechish university or the motion for reducing the period of attendance in elementary schools, and both were therefore dropped for the session, which closed on June 4. But this negative policy only inflamed the hatred between the German and Czechish races. On June 26 the German students of the university of Prague met to celebrate the establishment of a new society called "Austria," at a village called Kuchelbad, to which they proceeded with their national badges, singing German national songs. This provoked the Czechs, who broke into the room where the German students were celebrating their festival, and a serious riot ensued, which lasted several days, and in which many people were wounded. The affair produced great consternation in Government circles at Vienna, and was considered so menacing to the public peace that a general officer, Chevalier von Kraus, was appointed Governor of Bohemia in place of the civilian Baron von Weber. It is remarkable that while the struggle of nationalities in Cisleithania was thus daily growing more fierce, in Hungary it had almost subsided. In the elections for the Hungarian Parliament, which took place towards the end of June, the Roumanian agitator Babes lost his seat, and the Servian Polit, who was one of the most dangerous of the anti-Magyars among his countrymen, met with a similar fate. In Transylvania especially the Government found a powerful supporter in the Roumanian Archbishop Miron Roman, who, in a circular to his clergy, strongly advocated the acceptance of the Hungarian constitution by the Roumanian inhabitants of the province, and praised the conciliatory spirit of the Government policy. M. Tisza indeed showed a far greater power of gathering round him men of various parties than the Prime Minister on the other side of the Leitha had done. Although the failure of the negotiations for a commercial treaty with Germany had considerably diminished the popularity of his Government, and extreme Conservatives like Sennyey and Bitto united with Radicals like Madarasz to overthrow him, the elections left his party in the House practically as strong as ever.

During the month of July the Emperor, continuing the policy of conciliation, which had been the main cause of his visits to Bohemia and Galicia last year, made a journey in the provinces of Tyrol and Vorarlberg, where he was received with even more enthusiasm than had been manifested by his Czechish and Polish subjects. These provinces send to the Reichsrath nearly all the members of the German Clerical party, who, together with the Czechs and Poles, now constitute the majority in that body, and

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the Emperor's journey was therefore regarded as a demonstration against the policy of the German centralists. This, no doubt, was to some extent the fact, for the Emperor could not fail to see that the existence of his dynasty—and, what is practically the same thing, of the Austrian Empire itself—must depend on the attachment of his subjects, the great majority of whom are bitterly opposed to the centralist party. Moreover, the Emperor is personally a devout Catholic, though not an Ultramontane, and he looks upon the Roman Catholic Church, not without reason, as the strongest support of his monarchy. In no country in Europe are the peasantry so much under the control of the Roman Catholic clergy as they are in Austria. But although the Emperor undoubtedly did much to strengthen the loyalty of his people by these visits to various parts of his dominions, he was not successful in his attempts to restore harmony among themselves. The Viennese newspapers became so violent in their attacks on the Czechs that the Government confiscated some of them, and an absurd quarrel arose between the Czechs and the Hungarians, because the new Hungarian paper-money, in accordance with an agreement arrived at between the Austrian and Hungarian Cabinets, was printed in German and Hungarian only, instead of, as formerly, in all the languages spoken in the monarchy. The Czechs, on obtaining some of the new notes, blotted out the German and Hungarian words, and stamped over them words of the same meaning in Czechish; upon which an order was issued by the Hungarian Minister of Finance prohibiting the bank at Pesth from accepting any more notes which should be so treated. In Dalmatia, too, serious disturbances took place in September. Three nationalities—the Croatian, Italian, and Servian—are represented in the Dalmatian Diet, the first of which desires the incorporation of Dalmatia with Croatia, while the two others demand a separate autonomy for each of their nationalities. At the last sitting of the Diet the deputies of these three parties became so heated that they fell to blows, and continued the fighting in the street. A further cause of anxiety to the Government was afforded in this province by the refusal of the inhabitants of the districts of the Bocche di Cattaro, which were the scene of the insurrection of 1868, to be enlisted for the militia. Since the insurrection these people had been practically exempt from the compulsory service in the army, to which all other Austrian subjects are liable, but the Governor of Dalmatia, Baron Rodich, this year decided to apply the law of enlistment to the districts in question as in other parts of the monarchy. The resistance of the Bocchese, which was encouraged by the Montenegrins upon the other side of the frontier, became so serious that it was found necessary to send a considerable body of troops to the district, and an intermittent guerilla war followed, which at the end of the year seemed likely to spread into Bosnia and Herzegovina, as much dissatisfaction was manifested by the inhabitants of those districts at the decree

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rendering them liable to serve in the Austrian army. By this decree, which was issued early in November, all the able-bodied men of these provinces were bound to take part in the defence of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; an army corps was to be formed, to be employed both in war and in peace under the orders of the Emperor, and military service was made obligatory for three years in the line, and nine years in the reserve. Soldiers of the Mahomedan faith, however, were to form a separate detachment, with their own chaplains, surgeons, and commissariat. Nor was this the only subject of complaint. The Austrian authorities had not proved equal to the difficult task of governing a mainly Mahomedan population; and the Government at Vienna itself admitted the necessity of introducing a thorough reform in the administration of the occupied provinces.

The Austrian Parliament re-assembled on November 14, and the old strife of parties was renewed. A reorganisation of the Opposition, however (now called "the united Left"), had taken place during the recess, and at the first great trial of strength, which took place on December 14, the Government received a decided check in both Houses. The question before the Upper House was Herr Lienbacher's proposal, already referred to, for reducing the compulsory term of elementary education from eight years to six. This, which is a *cheval de bataille* of the Clerical party in Austria, was rejected, notwithstanding the recent creation of fourteen Conservative peers. In the Lower House Dr. Herbst, the leader of the Opposition, proposed a committee to inquire into the relations of the Government with the new Länderbank, an institution founded by a company of French financiers under the management of M. Bontoux, which, it was alleged, had been treated with undue favour in official quarters. When the division was taken, it was found that the votes recorded for and against the motion were equal, so that it was only rejected by the casting vote of the President. About the same time a characteristic incident took place in the Hungarian Parliament, during a debate on the third article of the Austro-Servian Extradition Treaty, which provides that, though political offenders are to be exempt from extradition, such exemption is not to apply to those who attempt the life of the sovereign or of any member of his family. Several members of the extreme Left opposed this article, saying that regicide might in certain circumstances be justifiable. The Premier, M. Tisza, having warmly protested against this assertion, one of the Radical deputies exclaimed that M. Tisza had for seven years told falsehoods on the Opposition bench in order that he might for six years cheat as a Minister. The article was then accepted, amid much tumult, by a large majority; and after the sitting M. Tisza assembled a "court of honour," composed of men of all parties, to decide whether he was bound as a gentleman to demand personal satisfaction for the insult. The court decided that the insult was not of a kind to

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demand personal satisfaction, and their decision having been confirmed by the Emperor, the matter dropped.

The foreign policy of Austria during the year pursued the peaceful and cautious course into which it had been led by Baron Haymerle, whose sudden death on October 10 was universally deplored in Europe, and who was succeeded on November 22 by Count Kalnoky von Köröspatak, a member of the Moravian branch of an old aristocratic Hungarian family. The Count is a Conservative, and brother-in-law of Baron Sennyey, the head of the Feudalist party in Hungary: he has a high reputation as a diplomatist, and was, at the time of his appointment, Austro-Hungarian ambassador at St. Petersburg, where he was a great favourite both with the late and the present Czar. His removal to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Vienna was, under these circumstances, naturally regarded as an indication that the Emperor wished to cultivate more cordial relations with Russia; and, indeed, there were signs of this for some months previously to Count Kalnoky's appointment. During the interview between the Emperors of Germany and Russia at Dantzig in September, cordial expressions of friendship were interchanged between Alexander II. and the Emperor Francis Joseph, and although their expected meeting on the Russo-Austrian frontier did not take place this year, its postponement was due only to accidental causes. The Austro-German alliance, too, was again brought prominently to the notice of Europe by the meeting of the Emperors William and Francis Joseph at Gastein on August 6. As was stated by Herr von Kallay to the delegations on November 6: "The intimacy between the two Empires is such that it could hardly be increased." The most important event, however, in the foreign politics of Austria during the year was the visit to Vienna of the King of Italy on October 27. It is true that many years ago Victor Emmanuel went to Vienna to visit the Emperor Francis Joseph, and that the two Sovereigns even met at Venice; but the state of Europe was at that time very different, and the cry of "Italia Irredenta" had not become sufficiently powerful to constitute a menace to the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The initiative taken on the present occasion by King Humbert for demonstratively holding out the hand of friendship to Austria, and the enthusiasm with which this step was received by the great majority of his subjects, showed that Italy had, for the present at least, abandoned her aspirations to the Trentino and Trieste, and that she wished to enter into amicable relations with her old enemy. Thus Austria, thanks partly to her proverbial good-fortune, partly to the caution and sagacity of her statesmen, had gathered round her a powerful combination of friendly States which embraced nearly the whole of the European continent. It is said of Count Andrassy that when he retired from the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, he observed that Liszt was a great pianist, but that his business was not to tune a piano but

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to play upon it. Such a remark could not have been made by the Count in 1881, for by that time he would have been obliged to admit that the piano was sufficiently tuned.

With England the relations of Austria-Hungary were not so satisfactory. Still smarting, apparently, under the admonition addressed to it by Mr. Gladstone in 1880, the Vienna Cabinet published at the end of October a "Red Book" containing despatches relative to the Dulcigno affair, in which Lord Granville was represented as endeavouring to drag the other Powers into "a war with Turkey," "merely for the sake of helping the Montenegrins and Greeks to a few villages," and as proposing a continuance of the naval demonstration "which would be less menacing to Turkey than to the peace and commercial interests of the European Powers." Herr von Kallay, too, admitted on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government in his speech to the delegations, that it was at variance with the present Government in England on several points of the Eastern Question, notably on that relative to the Danubian Commission. This matter nearly led to a rupture between Austria-Hungary and Roumania at the beginning of December. King Charles, in his speech from the throne on opening the Roumanian Parliament, having declared his intention of insisting on the navigation of that part of the Danube which flows through Roumanian territory being exclusively controlled by Roumanian officials, the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Bucharest was ordered to suspend all personal relations with the Roumanian Cabinet, and to carry on the business of the Legation with the Roumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs by letter only. Count Kalnoky, who inaugurated his reign at the Vienna Foreign Office by this energetic step, had reason to congratulate himself on the result. On December 27 the Roumanian Minister at Vienna handed to him a copy of a despatch which he had received from his chief at Bucharest, expressing "deep regret" for the offence which had been given to Austria by King Charles's speech, and a hope that this declaration "will tend to remove any impression which might affect the good relations" which Roumania is "desirous of maintaining with the Imperial Government." With this apology the incident ended; but the Danubian question remained as far from a settlement as ever.

II. RUSSIA.

The caution with which General Skobeleff, to the surprise of those who had previously known him only as a dashing cavalry officer, had conducted the expedition against the Tekke Turcomans, was amply justified by the brilliant success he achieved at the beginning of the year. On January 24, after a siege of three

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weeks, the Turcoman stronghold of Geok Tepe was taken by storm; large quantities of guns, small arms, ammunition, and provisions were captured, and the Tekkes fled in confusion, leaving many thousands of their dead on the field. This decisive victory virtually terminated the expedition. General Skobeleff scoured the country with his troops, meeting with no resistance, and on April 9 he received the submission of Sirdar Obas Murad Tikma, the principal Turcoman leader, at Askabad. The Sirdar gave up his sword to the Russian general, but the latter returned it, assuring him of the Imperial pardon; upon which the Sirdar swore allegiance to the Emperor in his own name and on behalf of his followers. Another extensive territory, inhabited by a brave and warlike population which for two years had defied the Russian power, was thus brought within the sphere of Russian influence in Central Asia. The greater part of this territory was formally incorporated with the Russian Empire in September; and the remainder, comprising the Merv district, sent a deputation to St. Petersburg to solicit the protection of the Czar. Geok Tepe itself was abandoned as a stronghold in consequence of its unhealthy situation; but seven forts were erected in its vicinity, between two of which, Forts Michael and Kizil Arvat, the new Transcaspian military railway was laid as far as Askabad, 225 kilomètres from Krasnovodsk, the Russian port on the Caspian.

In the long negotiation with China as to the Kuldja question, which at one time seemed likely to give rise to a war between the two Powers, Russia was equally successful. On the 15th of May a new treaty, which was afterwards ratified on August 19, was signed at St. Petersburg by the Russian Government and the Chinese envoy, Marquis Tseng. In this treaty the clause providing that a sum of 5,000,000 roubles should be paid by China as an indemnity for the war expenses of Russia, which caused the disgrace of the previous negotiator Chung How, was omitted, but a larger sum—9,000,000 roubles—was inserted as a payment to Russia for the cost of the occupation, and it was further provided that a district in Western Kuldja should be retained by her for the purpose of settling under her protection those of the native population who, having cast off the allegiance of China, might be naturally unwilling to be replaced under her rule.

The lustre shed upon Russia's arms and diplomacy by her achievements in the domain of foreign politics, however, was deeply overshadowed by a terrible catastrophe in her own capital. Towards the end of February the Nihilists, who had maintained a sullen silence under the firm and energetic *régime* of Count Loris Melikoff, were again busy; several arrests were made at Kieff, and a store of revolvers and daggers, with a secret printing-press and a large number of revolutionary proclamations, were discovered by the police. On March 4, the day after the anniversary of the accession of Alexander II., a remarkable incident took place, which, though it could not be directly connected with the

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Nihilist movement, went far to explain the apparent indifference of the Russian people generally with regard to the crimes committed by the revolutionary organisation. At a meeting on that day of the assembly of the nobles of St. Petersburg, M. Schadeyeff moved, in a speech of singular boldness, that the assembly should petition the Emperor to abolish the system of banishing political offenders without trial. "We live in a time," he said, "when officials supersede the courts of justice, arrest people at their good pleasure, chiefly at night, and banish them, without any legal regulation or judicial sentence, to distant provinces of Russia. Russian society at first hoped that the law would be strong enough to put an end to this abuse; but it soon appeared that any lawful resistance to the omnipotent administration was fruitless. . . . The ranks of the exiles were filled with young men under age, whose only crime was, in the majority of cases, to be related or known to some one whose loyalty some official suspected. How could one believe that Russia is on the path of peaceful progress when a thoughtless word, a misunderstood letter, or the false testimony of a subordinate official, daily increases the list of these unfortunate exiles? The arbitrary conduct of the administration even goes so far as to banish people for offences of which they have been acquitted by the courts of justice." Seldom, if ever, had any Russian before ventured at a public meeting thus unsparingly to reveal one of the most crying evils of the Russian system of government; yet not one of the high public functionaries and Ultra-Conservative nobles who were present attempted to call in question M. Schadeyeff's statements or to oppose his motion, which was passed unanimously. His petition, together with another one proposed by Baron Fredericks, for the grant to the nobles of the right not only of considering their own requirements, but also of making representations to the Government for the removal of evils connected with the local administration generally, was duly presented to the Emperor. Nine days after (March 13), as Alexander II. was passing in his carriage along the banks of the Catherine Canal about two o'clock in the afternoon, a dynamite bomb, thrown by a man named Ryssakoff, burst beneath the carriage, wounding a Cossack and some persons standing near. The Emperor stepped out of his carriage unhurt; but he had scarcely set foot on the pavement when another bomb was thrown with fatal effect. (See Chronicle.)

The inquiry which took place immediately after the assassination showed that it had been planned by the same persons as those who made the attempts of April 2 and November 19, 1879, and February 5, 1880. A mine had been laid below the Sadovaya street, through which it was expected the Emperor would pass, and it was arranged that if his carriage did not go in that direction a signal should be given by Peroffskaya, a female member of the organisation, which should indicate to the assassins where they were to meet their victim. The signal was

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given to Ryssakoff and another conspirator, a student named Grivenetzky, *alias* Elnikoff, who was killed by the bomb which he had thrown with such fatal effect at the feet of the Czar. Of the other persons implicated in the crime, one, the brother of an officer of grenadiers, shot himself with a revolver as the police broke into his lodging, and others were arrested before the murder for having dynamite and other explosive materials in their possession. Most of them belonged to the peasant class; several showed considerable intelligence and a certain amount of education. The trial of Ryssakoff and his companions began on April 7. Nearly all the accused acknowledged and gloried in the share they had taken in the murder, saying that their object was to rescue the working classes from the oppression which they suffer under the present system of government. On April 9 the accused, six in number, were all found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged; and the sentence was executed (except in the case of a woman named Jesse Helfmann, who, being *enceinte* at the time, was reprieved) on April 15. Meanwhile, two proclamations from the executive committee of the revolutionary organisation, one addressed to Europe and the other to the new Emperor, were posted on the walls of St. Petersburg. In the first of these documents the committee stated that for many years the Russian revolutionary party had peacefully striven to raise the Russian workmen and peasants in the scale of civilisation, and to promote the welfare of the Russian people generally, and did not in any way concern itself with political questions. The Russian Government had rewarded its efforts by cruel persecution: thousands of its members were in prison or in the mines of Siberia; thousands of families had been ruined or had perished miserably. At the same time the power of the officials was increased, and in no country in the world were the interests of the nation so cynically sacrificed to the luxury of the ruling caste. Being thus persecuted by the police, and deprived of any hope of being able to pursue its beneficial work among the people under the existing system, the revolutionary party had gradually entered upon the path of resistance to the agents of that system. The Government had replied by punishing resistance with death. No alternative was now left to the revolutionists between physical and moral annihilation; and they accordingly had determined either to destroy the despotism of centuries which is paralysing Russian life, or to perish in the attempt. The struggle against the foundations of despotism had then been organised, and the catastrophe which had befallen Alexander II. was a single episode of that struggle. The proclamation ended by expressing a hope that all thinking men in Europe will understand the importance of the contest, and not condemn the way in which it was carried on, as it had been brought about by the inhumanity of the Russian Government, and a Russian had now no means of emancipating himself from despotism except by blood. In its address to Alexander III. the committee

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began by stating that, while not wishing to intrude unnecessarily upon his grief, there is something higher than the most natural feelings of humanity—namely, one's duty to the fatherland, to which every good citizen must sacrifice not only his own feelings, but those of others. In fulfilment of this duty the committee had determined at once to address the Czar, for history does not stand still. The bloody tragedy which had been enacted on the Catherine Canal was inevitable after what had happened during the last ten years. Notwithstanding the severest persecution, and although the Government of the late Emperor had sacrificed every freedom, the interests of every class, the interests of industry, and even its own dignity, to crush the revolutionary movement, that movement had nevertheless increased in strength, had drawn to itself the most energetic and devoted men of Russia, and had for three years carried on a desperate guerilla war against the Government. The innocent and the guilty were hanged, the prisons and the distant provinces were crowded with exiles; ten so-called leaders of the movement were executed, dying with the courage and the tranquillity of martyrs, yet the movement continued and grew stronger, "for it does not depend on individuals, but is an outcome of Russian society, and a protest against an order of things which has become antiquated." "Russia is dissatisfied, she yearns for a new political system; and it is impossible to annihilate a nation—reprisals only increase the general discontent, and the gaps made by the hangman are speedily filled up by new men, more enlightened and more energetic than their predecessors. The agitators of 1874, Dolgutschyntzy and Tchaykoffstzy, were succeeded by far more energetic men taken from the ranks of the people, and the terrible reprisals of the Government gave rise to the terrorists of 1878–9, and finally to the formation of the executive committee." "If"—the address continued—"the Government does not change its policy, a revolution completely subverting the present order of things is inevitable. There is, in fact, no real Government in Russia; what is called the Government deserves, far more than the executive committee, the name of a band of usurpers. Whatever may be the wishes of the Czar, the Government entirely disregards the wishes and the prosperity of the people; after emancipating the peasants, it has given them into the hands of the nobles and of speculators; the only consequence of the so-called reforms has been that the people are sinking more and more into slavery and poverty. Protection is afforded by the law and the police not to the people, but to their oppressors. It is not the Socialists alone who are persecuted, banished, and murdered. These are the reasons why the Russian Government has no moral influence with the people, why Russia has so many revolutionists, and why the assassination of the late Czar has produced, in a very large portion of the people, feelings of joy and sympathy. Such a state of things can only tend to one of two results: either a revolution, which no repres-

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sion can prevent, or a Government which fulfils the wishes of the nation." "We approach your Majesty," the committee proceeded, "with the advice that you should adopt the latter alternative. We will then voluntarily abdicate our functions, and devote ourselves to the work of advancing the prosperity of the nation. We will forget that you are the representative of the Power which has so often deceived the people and has done it so much evil, in the hope that no personal feeling of bitterness will stifle your sense of duty. You have lost your father: we have lost not only our fathers, but our brothers, wives, children, friends, and property. Yet we are ready to suppress all personal feeling for the good of Russia; and we expect the same of you." The "wishes of the nation" were defined by the committee as follows: firstly, a general amnesty for all political offenders; secondly, the convocation of representatives of all classes of the Russian nation for the revision and reform of the organisation of the State and of society; thirdly, freedom of election; fourthly, freedom of speech; fifthly, freedom of the press; and sixthly, freedom of public meeting. Finally, the committee pledged itself to obey the decisions of a public assembly elected under the above conditions, and not to offer any violent opposition to the Government called to power by such an assembly.

The two proclamations of which an abstract has been given above, taken together with the speeches at the meeting of the nobles of St. Petersburg, which took place a week before the murder, go far to explain the origin and extension of the Nihilist propaganda, and the success with which it has baffled all the efforts of the Government to extinguish it. Making all due allowance for the exaggeration and one-sidedness which are inseparable from documents of this kind, they give an intelligible account, of the substantial truth of which there is no reason to doubt, of the persistence of Nihilism and the support it meets with from the people, though the latter probably takes the shape rather of indifference than of active assistance. It was certainly remarkable that after the first shock of horror which would naturally be produced by a murder so atrocious as that of Alexander II. was over, the nation relapsed into its former apathy, and no support was given to the Government in its efforts to crush the formidable conspiracy which threatened to break up not only the Russian State, but the foundations of Russian society. There was, no doubt, a good deal of vague talk about a constitution in the press and in some of the provincial assemblies, but meanwhile the Nihilists pursued their underground machinations, their secret newspapers and proclamations were circulated as freely as ever, penetrating even into the precincts of the Imperial palaces, and no one but the Government and the police seemed to take any trouble about the matter. At the Imperial Court all was irresolution and panic. The Emperor, a man with many estimable qualities, had neither sufficient strength of character nor ability to deal with the

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crisis, and he looked in vain for a Minister who should be equal to the task. And it must in fairness be admitted that the problem to be solved was one to tax the highest powers of human genius. Here, on the one hand, was a vast Empire, extending over a third of two continents, inhabited by various populations widely differing from each other in race, language, and religion, and kept together for centuries by an iron despotism which had persistently suppressed all manifestations of national life, and which had employed as its instruments a numerous and miserably paid body of officials, who, so long as they executed its mandates, were necessarily left to a considerable extent at liberty to plunder and oppress the people, whom it was their chief task to maintain in subordination to the central authority; on the other, a small but desperate band of conspirators, who aimed, by assassinating the chief persons in the State, to destroy this despotism, and whom all the power of the Government had failed to exterminate. It was obvious that the most effectual way of meeting the evil was to strike at its root; but how was this to be done? Like many other heirs-apparent, Alexander III. when Czarevitch professed Liberal opinions, and looked to a constitution as the panacea for all the ills of Russia; his father, too, towards the end of his life, became converted to the same opinion, and a draft constitution was found in his desk after he was assassinated. But to the great majority of Russians the meaning of a constitution is to this day as little understood as it was at the time of Pestel's revolution in 1825, when the cry of "Constantine and the Constitution!" was interpreted by the people of St. Petersburg as meaning "Constantine and Constantine's wife." When the question of granting a constitution to Russia came to be practically discussed between the new Czar and his advisers, they soon arrived at the conclusion that the idea was a mere chimera. To give self-government to a nation of 80,000,000, of whom barely 6 per cent. can be said to have the most elementary notions of politics, could only have the effect of weakening the central authority without applying any real remedy to those abuses of the bureaucratic system from which Nihilism has sprung and which maintain its existence. But to grapple with these abuses required a stronger man than has yet appeared in Russia; and the Czar accordingly fell back on the old methods of repression. On April 4 the Grand Duke Nicolas, son of the Grand Duke Constantine, was arrested on suspicion of having been concerned in political intrigues with members of the revolutionary organisation, and his father was dismissed shortly after from all his dignities on a similar charge. Newspapers were confiscated wholesale in the capital, and the new Prefect of St. Petersburg, Major-General Baranoff, after improvising a municipal council elected by the inhabitants, issued a series of decrees for closing the gates of the town at night, forbidding people to walk in the streets without a passport, &c., which were so absurd and impracticable that they had to be withdrawn a few days after. At the

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same time, as usual when a despotic sovereign is in difficulties, there was a change of Ministry. On April 5 M. Sabouroff, the popular Minister of Education, was succeeded by Baron Nikolai, a man of great energy, who, it was thought, would keep down the rebellious students more effectually than his predecessors had been able to do. Six weeks later (May 13), Count Loris Melikoff resigned, and his place as Minister of Interior was filled, to the astonishment and alarm of Europe, by Count Ignatieff, the chief instigator of the Russo-Turkish war and the author of the treaty of San Stefano. But the Czar was not then thinking of foreign politics; his mind was totally absorbed by one idea—the extermination of Nihilism. On May 10 he issued a manifesto to his people, in which he urged them "to serve him truly and faithfully for the destruction of the vile rebellion which disgraces the Russian nation;" and the chief reason of the resignation of Count Melikoff was that his Imperial master had refused to adopt a wise and statesmanlike scheme which he had drawn up for finally carrying out the agrarian reform inaugurated by Alexander II. by the emancipation of the serfs. Instead of this scheme, a circular was published (May 13) by the new Minister of the Interior, referring in pompous language to the assassination of the late Emperor, which, it said, was "an attack on the fundamental principle of the organisation of the Russian State—namely, that of autocracy, which the Russian nation had from time immemorial been accustomed to regard as the protector of its independence and the guarantee of its peaceful development;" and calling upon "the social forces of the country" to co-operate with the Government in "rooting out the rebellion" and in "strengthening the national sense of religion and morality."

To both these manifestoes the Russian people, as was to be expected, turned a deaf ear. They were charged with indifference to the proceedings of the enemies of the Government, but the Government did nothing to secure their attachment. The old system of rule by caprice or corruption went on as before, and the people looked sulkily on while policemen were being assassinated in the streets, and the Emperor had to fortify himself in his summer palace at Gatschina as if he were sustaining a siege. In Southern Russia horrible outrages were committed on the Jews, at the instigation, it is said, of the Nihilists, who began their war against property by persuading the peasants to attack those who were their chief creditors. These outrages began at Elizabethgrad on April 27; 500 houses and 100 shops were destroyed, whole streets were razed to the ground, and property valued at 2,000,000 roubles was destroyed or stolen. On May 8 a riot broke out at Kieff, and it having been announced beforehand, the Jews sent a deputation to the Governor, but his only answer was that he would not "trouble his soldiers for a pack of Jews." Two thousand Jews were left without shelter by the destruction of their houses; and in this, as in the other riots, many men were mur-

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dered and women violated. At Alexandrovsk, on the banks of the Dnieper, 300 out of the 400 Jewish families of the place were, on May 13, rendered homeless, and property to the value of 400,000 roubles was destroyed. At Odessa, on May 15, the damage done was estimated by the police at 1,137,831 roubles. "The only bright spot in all this gloom," says the report of the Russo-Jewish Committee, "was the condition of Poland, where Jews and Poles have always lived in amity." But here, too, the anti-Jewish agitation penetrated, though it only succeeded in enlisting for its purposes the criminal classes of the population. "The riot," to quote again the report of the Jewish Committee, "was clearly planned, the alarm of fire being simultaneously raised in at least two churches, and the mob being directed by men who spoke Polish with a Russian accent," while the police "only interfered to prevent the Jews from protecting themselves." The whole Polish press unanimously expressed its horror at these abominable acts, for which no apologists were to be found, as in Russia and Germany, and a committee was at once formed, composed of the principal Polish and Jewish citizens, who subscribed liberally for the relief of the sufferers. Riot, murder, and spoliation extended over 160 towns and villages of the Empire. Many wealthy people left the country altogether, fearing a social revolution; others removed from the capital, where subterranean mines and secret printing-offices were being discovered from day to day, and another catastrophe seemed imminent. The Emperor despatched Count Schouvaloff to various foreign Courts with the object of concerting measures against the Nihilists and other revolutionists; but this mission did not produce any tangible result, and subsequent negotiations on the subject were equally unsuccessful.

Having failed to awaken the sympathies of the Russian people by appeals to their loyalty, the Emperor and his Ministers now attempted to gain popularity by entering on a policy of reform. Commissions were appointed for reducing the expenditure, reorganising the administration of the army, simplifying the police system, regulating the peasant question, and diminishing drunkenness, determining the position of the Jews in the Empire, and reforming the road and railway traffic. These commissions, which sat under the presidency of the new Minister of Finance, Herr von Reutern, laboured hard at the difficult tasks which were entrusted to them, but with little fruit. By the end of the year all that had been done to carry out the above programme of reforms was to reduce the annual contingent of recruits for the army by 23,000 men, thereby creating a saving of 60,000,000 roubles, and to prepare a scheme for a new licensing law, with a view to checking the evil of drunkenness among the peasantry. The chief provisions of this scheme were, that the entire traffic in liquor in the rural districts should be vested in the communal councils; that there should not be more than one drinking-shop in each village; that the managers of these estab-

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lishments should be liable to fine, dismissal, and even imprisonment if they allowed any man or woman to get drunk on the premises; and that spirituous liquors should only be retailed by the glassful. If it should become notorious (as has too frequently been the case) that the population of any particular district is habitually addicted to intoxication, the provincial council was absolutely to forbid the sale of spirituous liquors in that district for such period as it might determine. Officials convicted of drunkenness were to be deprived of their appointments, and clergymen so convicted were to lose their benefices. The number of saints' days (there are 148 in the year) kept as holidays being a great incentive to drunkenness, the commission further proposed that the clergy should be called upon to encourage their parishioners to work on at least eighty of these days. The effect of these stringent regulations, if they were ever carried out (which, judging by past experience of similar measures, is highly improbable), would, of course, be considerably to diminish the receipts of the excise on account of the brandy-tax, amounting to about 240,000,000 roubles a year; and the commission proposed to supply this deficiency by raising the cost of stamps on official documents. The cheapest of these stamps, which have to be affixed on every letter addressed to a Government department, already costs sixty kopeks, so that the proposal to still further increase the charges made on this account was naturally viewed with considerable dissatisfaction. Yet it is unquestionable that the evil of drunkenness is in Russia of such gigantic magnitude that it threatens the very existence of the Empire.

Meanwhile the popular discontent increased, the officials became more arbitrary than ever, and the police was continually occupied in discovering Nihilist plots and arresting the people concerned in them. The Emperor, thinking to find more support in the towns of Central Russia, the headquarters of the national or patriotic party, proceeded, at the beginning of August, to Moscow and Nijni-Novgorod. His reception in these towns, however, was anything but enthusiastic, and on his return repressive measures were again resorted to. One of the chief objects of the interview at Dantzig, on September 9, between the Czar and his great-uncle, the Emperor William, was undoubtedly to give the latter an opportunity of advising the Czar as to the best means of dealing with the revolutionary movement. The Panslavists having failed to bring forward any remedy calculated to meet the evil, the Czar, acting on the suggestion of his father-in-law, the King of Denmark, who had just been paying him a visit, determined to seek support in a revival of the Emperors' alliance which had been formed under Alexander II. The idea was eagerly taken up by the Emperor William and Prince Bismarck, who, in the words of M. de Giers, the Russian Foreign Minister, showed "unexpected moderation" at the Dantzig meeting; and one of its results was speedily shown in an ukase issued on September 21, establishing a

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state of siege in St. Petersburg. Every citizen, except only those which belong to the first three classes, or tchins, was, under this ukase, made liable to be imprisoned by the police as a suspect, but not for a longer period than a fortnight. The officer in command of the city was empowered to order offenders to be tried for ordinary civil crimes by the military tribunals, and sentences of banishment, limited to a maximum period of five years, were only to be pronounced by a commission specially appointed for the purpose.

A further change in the Russian Ministry took place on October 18, when Count Valouyeff, the sole remaining representative in the Cabinet of the "West European" party, was succeeded as President of the Committee of Ministers by Herr von Reutern, the Minister of Finance. This appointment showed that Count Ignatieff, notwithstanding the check given to the schemes of his Panslavist friends by the Dantzig meeting, was still in high favour with the Czar. Meanwhile the Nihilists continued their secret agitation among the people, and revolutionary proclamations addressed to the working men, to the Cossacks, and to the people of the Ukraine, were widely circulated. One of these contained the clearest and most complete programme of the aims of the revolutionary agitation which had yet been issued. "We are," it said, "above all things socialists and men of the people. We are convinced that mankind can only secure liberty, equality, and fraternity—the material prosperity of all, and the complete development of the individual—on socialistic principles; and that the development of a nation can only be permanent when it acts with independence and freedom. The food of the people and the will of the people are our most sacred and indivisible principles. The masses are living in a state of economical and political slavery. Their labour serves only to feed and maintain the parasitical classes of society. They are deprived of all the rights of citizens; nothing that exists in Russia has been created by their will, and they are not even allowed to say what they want. Over them stands a herd of plunderers, placed there and supported by the Government. All power is in its hands; and it is solely by brute force—by its soldiers, police, and officials—that the empire is kept together. Yet, notwithstanding the oppression which still stifles them, the people still cling to their old ideas of the right of the peasants to the land, of communal self-government, and of freedom of speech and conscience. We, therefore, as socialists and friends of the people, consider it our first duty to liberate them from the oppression that destroys them, and to bring about a political revolution which shall place the powers of the state in their hands. By so doing we shall secure the free and independent development of the nation according to its own wishes and tendencies, and the recognition of those socialistic principles which we advocate in common with it. We believe that the people's will could only be intelligibly manifested in a constituent assembly, if such assembly

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were free and elected by universal suffrage, and if it acted under instructions from the electors. Our aim, therefore, is to deprive the existing government of power in order to transfer it to a constituent assembly, elected for the purpose of revising and altering all our present political and social institutions. Our programme is: 1. A government elected by the nation, and acting in pursuance of the national will. 2. Self-government on the widest basis, secured by all posts in the administration being made elective. 3. All the land to be given to the people. 4. All factories to become the property of the workmen. 5. Complete freedom of conscience, speech, the press, public meeting and election. 6. Replacement of the standing army by a territorial army." This programme was accepted by both of the Nihilist journals, *Tchernyi Peredel* and *Narodnaya Volya*, representing the so-called moderate and extreme parties respectively, but there was considerable difference of opinion between them as to the best means of carrying it out. The extreme party advocated the assassination of Alexander III. as the first step towards establishing a national government and social and political equality, while the "moderates" strongly deprecated any attempt on the life of the present Czar. "The idea of a Czar," said the *Tchernyi Peredel*, "is still firmly implanted in the minds of the peasants, and they connect with it their hopes of a better future. In the eyes of the Russian people the Czar is a sacred personage of divine origin—a sort of omnipotent being, surrounded by a mystical halo. This idea of a Czar has arisen among them under the influence of many conditions of life; it is the result of a whole epoch of our history; and it cannot therefore be easily dissipated. A prejudice centuries old can only be broken by great events. Such an event was that of March 13. It dealt a fatal blow not so much to the idea of a Czar, as to the social and political system which is known by the name of monarchism. But though we rejoice heartily at the assassination of Alexander II., we do not believe that a repetition of such events would do much to advance the objects of the revolutionary party. The people still look with horror upon assassins, and especially upon regicides; their nerves should be accustomed to blood and death; and the workmen and peasants should be stirred up against the proprietors and manufacturers, though only such of them should be killed as can be shown to have deserved death by their misdeeds. Alexander II. was a much greater obstacle to the establishment of the sovereignty of the people than any of his successors can be. The present Czar is in the eyes of the peasants a new man, without antecedents. At the time of his accession to the throne he had no claim whatever to popular esteem; they believed that their protector and benefactor had been murdered by the landlords, and that his successor was held in confinement by them and was their tool. Thus with Alexander II. much of the notion of the power and permanence of the Imperial dynasty has perished; and the object to be now

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sought by the revolutionary party is not the removal of the present Czar, but the grant of a Constitution which might enable it to attain its ends."

The grant of a Constitution, however, was now admitted on all sides to be equivalent to the abolition of Russian Imperialism, and probably to the dissolution of the empire itself. The plan of closing the mouths of the reformers by appointing commissioners to elaborate reforms, which no one believed would be carried out, could not long be effectual, and by the end of the year the commissioners excited no feeling but that of ridicule. Nihilist ideas made alarming progress in all classes of Russian society, and, as was observed by the well-informed St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette*, the great question which then absorbed the minds of the Emperor and his counsellors, "was no longer how to govern well, but how to retain the power of governing at all."

III. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

The Greek question, which towards the end of the year 1880, had become a "burning" one, was also the chief subject of interest in the politics of Eastern Europe during the greater part of the present year. The negotiations for the settlement of the subject by arbitration continued during part of the month of January, and the Sultan, as if to show Europe that he might, if driven to extremities, adopt a war policy, made two significant appointments while the matter was pending—that of Hobart Pasha as President of the Turkish Admiralty, giving him entire control over the fleet (January 11), and that of Osman Pasha to his former post of Minister of War (January 12). It soon became evident, indeed, that the proposal of arbitration, which had been made by France, would not be accepted by either of the parties concerned. M. Coumoundouros, the Prime Minister at Athens, declared to the ambassadors (January 3) that he was not inclined to accept the proposal, as "Europe had on two occasions laid down a line of frontier, but, by her present action in recommending Greece to seek an arbitration, was urging her to abandon a sure position for one of absolute uncertainty, the only result of which must be to lessen the extent of what had already been awarded to her, and with which he was satisfied." At the same time the preparations for war were being pushed on with increased energy, and the situation appeared so critical that the French envoy suggested a collective and simultaneous representation of the Powers to the Greek Government in favour of arbitration. To this Lord Granville consented, at the same time instructing the British Minister at Athens not to use "any arguments which might lead Greece to suppose that her refusal of the proposal would entail the

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abandonment of her interests." Ultimately it was agreed between the Powers that the attitude of the Porte in regard to arbitration should be made clear before putting greater pressure on Greece. Assim Pasha, in a note dated January 14, made a counter-proposal to the effect that a conference, composed of Turkey and the representatives of the six Powers at Constantinople, should settle the question; and the idea of arbitration was then abandoned (January 17). The next step was taken by England, who suggested that Germany should make a proposal for the settlement of the question. Prince Bismarck (January 18) advised that the Turkish plan of negotiating with the representatives of the Powers at Constantinople should be accepted, as "he knew of no effectual settlement of the Greek question which would not involve coercive measures." On January 20 M. Coumoundouros despatched a telegraphic circular to the representatives of Greece at the European courts, stating positively that "it is impossible for Greece to admit of any further delay," and appealing to the spirit of justice and good-will of the six great Powers to bring forward some proposal for the solution of the difficulty. "Doubt and uncertainty," he said, "keep everything in suspense. The irritation and effervescence of the inhabitants of the kingdom are daily assuming disquieting dimensions. The greater the disasters which may arise from such a strained situation, the heavier the responsibility of them will be. Ultimately, after considerable discussion, all the Powers agreed to accept the Turkish proposal to negotiate; but nothing was done in the matter until Mr. Goschen's arrival at Constantinople, to which place he proceeded on February 2, by way of Berlin and Vienna, seeing Prince Bismarck and Baron Haymerle on his way. While at Berlin Mr. Goschen was told by Prince Bismarck that he agreed to take the initiative in the forthcoming negotiations; that he thought the Powers should agree on a fresh line of frontier, substituting Crete for a portion of Epirus, where the presence of Albanian Mussulmans might prove a source of great dangers; and that in the event of a war between Turkey and Greece they should endeavour to localise it. The Prince at the same time jestingly remarked that if moral pressure were not sufficient, "immoral support" might become necessary. All the Powers having agreed to support and follow the initiative taken by Germany, the ambassadors presented notes to the Porte accepting its proposal to open negotiations (February 21).

Meanwhile both the Turkish and Greek Governments massed their troops on either side of the frontier, notwithstanding the repeated recommendations of the Powers that no acts of hostility should take place during the progress of the negotiations. A further complication was caused by the menacing attitude of the Albanians, who, since the cession of Dulcigno, had continued their agitation for autonomy. At the beginning of February the Albanian League, which had collected a force of about 10,000 infantry and 2,000

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cavalry, and had gradually obtained the mastery over the greater part of the country, laid the following demands before the Turkish Government:—1. The union of all Albania under a Governor-General, to be named for five years by the Sultan; 2. Public affairs and education to be conducted in the Albanian language; 3. Recognition of the local system of legislation; and 4. Maintenance of the integrity of the Albanian territory. The Sultan, clinging as usual to his sovereign rights, gave no answer to these demands, but Mr. Goschen found him strongly disinclined to give up the Albanian territory in Epirus to Greece, while he seemed not unfavourable to Prince Bismarck's plan of the cession of Crete. The Greek premier, on the other hand, admitted to the German Minister at Athens on February 15 that he must renounce the hope of obtaining Janina, the acquisition of which had previously been loudly proclaimed by Greece to be a *sine quâ non*; but he afterwards declared in the Chamber at Athens, on March 2, that he would insist on the line of the Berlin Conference being adhered to.

The first meeting of the ambassadors with the Ottoman delegates took place on March 7, and the negotiations continued until March 27, when the last line of frontier proposed by the Porte was accepted by the Powers with some modification. This line, which extended from a point between the mouth of the Salamurias and Platamona on the Ægean Sea to Arta, giving Larissa, Volo, and Punta to Greece, but leaving to Turkey Janina, Prevesa, Metzovo, and Tchamouri, was much less favourable to Greece than the line of the Berlin Conference; but the Porte could not be persuaded to make any further concession, and none of the Powers were disposed to give Greece the "immoral support" hinted at by Prince Bismarck. The Greek Government, however, declared that it could not possibly accept the new frontier, even with the provision made by the Powers for the free navigation of the Gulf of Arta and the disarmament of the fortifications on its shores. In a memorandum addressed to the Powers, M. Coumoundouros observed that Greece became alarmed and anxious when she perceived that the serious and solemn decision of the Berlin Conference with regard to the Greek frontier "was about to be revised and modified under the influence of secondary and exclusive considerations." The action of the ambassadors of the great Powers at Constantinople had ended "in the annihilation of the will of Europe and the partial satisfaction of the interests of one only of the two parties." Europe had "allowed her work to be done over again in order to show forbearance to Turkey." Passing to the consideration of the question whether Greece could accept the new arrangement, the Greek Premier pointed out that since the decision of the Berlin Conference the whole of Epirus and Thessaly had a right to consider themselves free and a portion of the Hellenic kingdom. If the Greek Government now accepted the line proposed by the Porte, "the disinherited Epirotes and Thessa-

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lians" would have the right to call free Greece to account for this abandonment. Having had their rights sanctioned by Europe, they will seize every occasion for recovering their liberty, and from the other side of the frontiers traced by Turkey and by Europe will ask of free Greece why she abandons them. Could Greece, in such a case, fold her arms and look on with indifference while their struggles were being smothered in blood by their rulers? This would for ever break the bonds which unite her to the Greeks of Turkey, and destroy the prestige which is the greatest strength of Hellenism. Moreover, Turkey herself, being allowed to retain possession of Epirus, would do her utmost to exterminate the Greek element in that province. As to Greece, added M. Coumoundouros, having accepted the decision of the Berlin Conference, she had to make preparations to enable her to take possession of the provinces assigned to her, and in doing so she had to impose heavy taxes on her people, and incur a debt of two hundred millions. The Greek people had submitted to these sacrifices without a murmur, trusting in the solemn promises of Europe; and now, as a compensation for these sacrifices, it is offered only a part of what it was promised and had a right to expect. It is glad to see some of its brothers delivered from a yoke of four centuries; but it cannot accept the expedient adopted by Europe as a solution of the question. If the Greek Government accepted it, it would be rightly accused of improvidence and frivolity; Europe itself would be astonished, and justly so. This memorandum, though it bore the date of April 2, was not delivered until a week later; and meanwhile (April 7) the Powers addressed a collective note to Greece, stating that as it had proved impossible to carry out by peaceful means the conclusions embodied in the award of the Conference of Berlin, they had directed their representatives at Constantinople to endeavour to find and settle among themselves the line of frontier which would appear to them to be the best calculated to meet the exigencies of the situation; that the line thus arrived at should "henceforward be finally substituted" for that of the Conference; and that they "intend, in the interests of the general peace, to abide by this solution, which must from this time forward be considered as the final decision of Europe." They accordingly invited the Greek Government to accept with as little delay as possible the arrangement which had been made, at the same time expressing their conviction that "the Cabinet of Athens will not be willing, by refusing to adhere to it, to alienate the sympathies of Europe, to incur the immense responsibility which the mediating Powers would throw upon it, and expose itself to the complete isolation which would be the first and inevitable consequence of its refusal." Finally, the Powers declared that if Greece, taking into account the exigencies of the situation and the unanimous wish of Europe, "whose decided will is to maintain peace," accepted the solution adopted by them, they would engage to watch over its execution

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so as to facilitate the pacific acquisition by the Greek Government of the territories comprised in the new frontier. This strong appeal to the Greek nation, clearly showing as it did that if Greece made war none of the Powers would support her, produced a deep impression on the more moderate politicians at Athens; and though public opinion still remained at fever heat, it soon became evident that when the people began calmly to realise the facts there would not, as was at first thought, be any danger of their disappointment driving them into war or revolution. M. Coumoundouros's despatch (April 12) to the Powers in reply to their collective note accurately reflected this turn in the public feeling. He said that "the decisions of the ambassadors, adopted by Europe and formally substituted for those of the Act of July 1, 1880, radically modify the line of the Conference of Berlin; they replace it by a new frontier line, most of the points of which do not offer any security, and are wanting in all natural defensive capabilities;" that, desiring peace, Greece "will hasten to enter into possession of the territories which fall to her, and to give every guarantee which is desired in favour of the Mussulmans of the annexed provinces, both as regards liberty of worship and respect for property." At the same time, "decided as she is to follow the peaceful course indicated to her by Europe," Greece thinks that it will be neither dignified nor generous on her part to see her children who are left outside the new frontiers, and whose rights Europe had solemnly sanctioned at Berlin, abandoned to their present lot; she therefore trusts that the Powers "will take this appeal to their equity into serious consideration." This answer was regarded by the Powers as an acceptance of the new line of frontier; but on April 16 M. Coumoundouros notified to them that it was only to be considered as "not containing a refusal," and that the Greek Government could not accept the line without the consent of the Greek Chamber. The Powers, being anxious to bind the Turks irrevocably to what they had offered, and at the same time to subdue as much as possible the popular excitement at Athens, then addressed (April 19) two collective notes to the Turkish and Greek Governments respectively. To the Porte they notified the new line of frontier which had been decided upon, adding that Greece would be required to give special guarantees in favour of the Mussulmans of the annexed provinces, both as regards freedom of worship and the rights of property; that "these conclusions are henceforward formally substituted by the Powers for those of the Berlin Conference, and that they intend, in the interests of general peace, to stand by the above solution, which must be considered from this time forward as a decision of Europe;" and they requested the Turkish Foreign Minister to take the necessary steps for promptly concluding a convention with their representatives setting forth the terms and the mode of execution of the new arrangement. The note to the Greek Government simply expressed the satisfaction of the Powers

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at Greece having declared her readiness to enter into possession of the territories assigned to her, and to give to the Mussulman populations the necessary guarantees for liberty of worship and respect for the rights of property, adding that, in order that their decision "should receive a prompt and pacific execution," they would invite the Porte to enter at once into negotiations on the subject, and "stipulate for the peaceful transfer of the ceded territories in the shortest possible time." Subsequently (April 27) the Powers, at the request of the Greek Government, added the assurance that they would "interest themselves with regard to the fate of the Christian populations left outside the new Greek frontier line." Matters now advanced more quickly. On May 2 the Porte announced to the ambassadors that it accepted the new arrangement made by the Powers, and had directed its delegates to take steps for drawing up a convention comprising the necessary conditions. A protest against the proposed extension of the Greek frontier was addressed to the Powers by the Wallachians in the districts to be annexed, but it remained without result, and the opposition of the Albanians was crushed by the decisive victory gained by Dervish Pasha over 10,000 troops of the Albanian League on April 20. After a tedious negotiation with the Ottoman delegates on various points of detail, the convention between the Porte and the Powers was signed on May 24. Its chief provisions were—firstly, the tracing of the new frontier,[1] according to the line agreed upon, by a Commission of Delimitation composed of delegates of the Powers and the two parties concerned; secondly, protection for the lives, properties, and customs of such of the inhabitants of the ceded districts as will remain in them, and security for their enjoyment of the same civil and political rights as are enjoyed by Greek subjects of Hellenic origin; thirdly, all

[1] The following is the description of the new frontier given in Art. 1 of the Convention:—"The new frontier line, starting from a point near the defile of Karalik-Dervend, between the mouth of the Salamurias and Platamona, about 4 kilomètres to the south of the latter point, follows in a westerly direction the crest of the mountains, passes first between Krania and Avarnitza, then between Nezeros and Analipsis, arrives at the summit of Mount Godaman, then descends towards the south, following the crest of Olympus, reaches the summit of Kokkinopetra, and, taking a westerly direction from this point without leaving the same crest, passes between Ligara and Derveni-Melona, and arrives at the summit of Mount Kritiri. Thence turning towards the south the line gains the right bank of the Xeraghis, and, following the line of watershed towards the south-west, gains the summit of the heights situated to the north of the village of Zarko, then turns to the north-west in the direction of Diminitza and keeps to the line of watershed, leaving to Turkey the village of Elevtherokhorion. Before reaching Diminitza, at a distance of about 18 kilomètres from that place, the frontier line turns towards the west, still on line of watershed, and passes by the villages of Flamouristi, Gavranon, and Georgitza to the summit of Mount Kratchovo. Then turning southwards by the crest, it passes by the summits of Mounts Zygos, Dokini, and Peristeri, and gains the river Arta, following the stream which carries off by the shortest way the rainfall from the summit of Mount Peristeri to this river, and passing near the villages of Kalarhytes and Mikalitzi. Beyond these last points the line follows the thalweg of the river Arta to its mouth." By this frontier Greece obtained an accession of 13,000 square miles of territory, with 388,000 inhabitants.

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rights of property established under the Turkish administration to be respected; fourthly, complete liberty of religion for the Mussulmans in the ceded territories; fifthly, Greece to bear her share of the Ottoman debt in proportion to the revenue of the ceded territories; sixthly, such of the inhabitants of the ceded territories as may wish to remain Ottoman subjects to be allowed to transfer their domiciles to the Ottoman Empire within a period of three years, and during the same period no Mussulman to be held liable to military service; seventhly, a complete amnesty to be granted by both Powers to persons implicated in political events relating to the Greek question. In an annexe to the convention it was stipulated that the ceded territories should be evacuated by the Ottoman authorities and taken over by the Greeks within certain stated periods, embracing in all a period of five months. These stipulations were duly carried out: Arta was occupied by the Greeks on July 6, Punta on September 11; and Volo, the last of the ceded districts, on November 14. Most of the Mussulman inhabitants emigrated into Turkey.

While the Greek difficulty was thus being peaceably solved, Europe was startled by the news that the ex-Ministers—Midhat Pasha, Raschdi Pasha, and Mahmoud Damad Pasha—Noury Pasha, ex-Marshal of the Palace, and various persons who had formerly been employed there, had been arrested on a charge of having assassinated the late Sultan, Abdul Aziz. After a long preliminary investigation, the trial began June 27. Mustapha, a gardener, and a wrestler of the same name, made a full confession, declaring that they had committed the murder at the instigation of the other prisoners. Midhat, who defended himself with remarkable ability, asserted that the whole story of the crime was a tissue of falsehoods, got up for his ruin and that of the other accused. He did not, however, deny that Abdul Aziz had been murdered, but merely alleged that what measures had been decided upon were taken by the Council of Ministers, and that if such measures were criminal the whole of the Council should have been arraigned before the court. The others dwelt on the improbability of the charge made against them; and Midhat demanded that the other witnesses for the prosecution should be brought forward: this, however, was refused, and on June 29 all the accused but two palace officials were sentenced to death. The refusal of the judge to allow the witnesses for the prosecution to be cross-examined produced a very bad impression among the public, it being generally felt that the fate of the accused was decided upon at the palace before the trial took place. Strong indignation was also expressed abroad at the mode in which the trial was conducted, and the Sultan ultimately commuted the sentence to banishment to Taif, in Arabia.

The latter part of the year in Turkey was comparatively uneventful. The Armenians continued to suffer from the rapacity of the Turkish officials and the plundering raids of the Kurds, but

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the Powers, whose energy seemed to have been exhausted by their efforts in the Greek question, made no serious attempt to enforce the carrying out of the reforms which the Porte had promised to introduce in the Armenian administration. The question of the Austro-Turkish railways also remained unsettled. The "Conférence à quatre," consisting of Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Servia, and Bulgaria, after sitting for nearly six months, concluded its deliberations on June 20, when all its members but Turkey agreed that Bulgaria should construct and work the line between Zaribrod, Sofia, and Bellova; that Turkey should construct the connections with the Servian and Bulgarian lines and the line between Salonica and Mitrovitza; that the members of the conference should arrange from time to time the traffic and tariff of the direct line from Vienna and Buda-Pesth to Constantinople, Salonica, and the ports of the Mediterranean, Ægean, Sea of Marmora, and Black Sea; and that between Constantinople and Salonica two passenger trains should run daily from both extremities of the line, at the rate of forty kilomètres per hour. Austria-Hungary, who was specially interested in an arrangement so advantageous to the development of her commerce in the East, used every engine of diplomacy to induce the Porte to accept it, but without success: the firm though cautious policy which forced Servia to yield in the railway question last year had no effect on the inertia of the statesmen at Constantinople. In another matter which had long been the subject of negotiation—the conclusion of an arrangement with the Turkish bondholders—the Porte was less obstinate. The invitation addressed in October 1880 to the bondholders to send delegates to Constantinople was responded to in the month of August of the present year, when Messrs. Bourke and Valfrey, the delegates of the English and French bondholders respectively, proceeded to Constantinople. After conferring with the Commissioners appointed by the Porte for this purpose, an agreement was arrived at towards the end of November by which the collection and administration of certain revenues, including the tributes of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, the portions of the Turkish debt payable by Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, and Greece, and the tobacco and salt monopolies and local taxes in certain vilayets, were to be placed in the hands of an administrative council representing the bondholders. The interest which the bondholders will get under this arrangement is estimated at 1 per cent. Russia at the same time endeavoured to bring about a separate arrangement for the payment of the war indemnity due to her; but at the end of the year the negotiations were still proceeding.

In Bulgaria the incessant conflicts in which Prince Alexander had since his elevation to the throne been engaged with his Ministers and the National Assembly culminated in a *coup d'état*. On May 10 the Prince issued a proclamation in which he declared that all his efforts to guide the country in the path of progress

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had only led to disappointment. Bulgaria, he said, was discredited abroad, and in a condition of disorganisation at home. The faith of the people in justice and law was shaken; and he had found it necessary, in order to secure the public tranquillity and guarantee freedom and impartiality at the elections, to charge General Ehrenroth, the Minister for War, with the formation of a provisional Cabinet pending the decision of the National Assembly on the proposals he would lay before them. His oath to the constitution obliged him to keep in view the prosperity of the country; but the present state of things was such as to render the execution of that mission impossible. He would therefore deliver his crown into the hands of the National Assembly, as the representative of the will of the nation; and if it should decide in a sense contrary to his views, he would quit the throne, with regret indeed, but with the consciousness of having fulfilled his duty to the end. There is little doubt that this decision was, to some extent at least, the fruit of Russian inspiration. The Prince had only just returned from a six weeks' absence abroad, during which he had attended the funeral of his uncle and patron, the late Czar, and visited the courts of Berlin and Vienna; and he found on his return the country in a state of anarchy, and Nihilist banquets being held with the tacit consent of the Premier, M. Karaveloff, in Varna and Tirnova, at which the assassins of Alexander II. were eulogised as patriots. General Ehrenroth, too, the new Premier, was a Russian officer, who only a few weeks before had taken the oath of allegiance to Alexander III. On May 24, a letter addressed to him by the Prince set forth the proposals which were to be laid before the National Assembly, on the understanding that if they were not accepted he would abdicate. These were—1. The Prince to be invested for seven years with extraordinary powers, enabling him to issue decrees creating new institutions, such as a Council of State chosen from among the Bulgarian people, to introduce improvements in all the branches of the administration, and generally to ensure the regular working of the government of the principality. 2. The ordinary session of the National Assembly for this year to be suspended, the budget for the current financial year remaining in force. 3. The Prince to have the right, before the expiration of the period of seven years above mentioned, to summon the National Assembly for a revision of the constitution on the basis of the new institutions created by him. Shortly after, the Prince started on a tour of military inspection, and the enthusiasm with which he was received seemed to show that the bold step he had taken, though it somewhat shocked Liberal feeling in Europe, was not unpopular among the majority of his subjects. Nor was this surprising, after the experience the country had had of the democratic constitution drawn up for it by Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff when it was first made an independent State in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin. This constitution not only established universal suffrage, but it concentrated the

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whole power of the State in a single assembly, without any check whatever upon its actions. Such an assembly, being, as in the present case, composed of men who had no experience whatever of constitutional government, and two-thirds of whom could not even read or write, naturally tended to fall into the hands of professional politicians, and there is no doubt that the five Ministries which had succeeded each other in Bulgaria during the past twenty months had often used their power for purposes wholly alien to the wishes of the people. The elections of members of the Legislature were interfered with, and in some cases arbitrarily set aside; the tribunals were threatened and coerced, and officials were dismissed if they expressed opinions which were not approved by the Ministry. Moreover, M. Karaveloff, the late premier, had openly allied himself with socialists and the revolutionary refugees from Russia, and had thereby become very unpopular among the wealthier classes in the country. On his return to Sistova (June 12) the Prince ordered courts-martial to be appointed for the trial of public functionaries who had abused their powers, and created an extraordinary commission for the purpose of securing the free expression of electoral opinion in the coming *plébiscite*. M. Karaveloff and his friends appealed to Mr. Gladstone, on June 17, against these measures, and issued a proclamation warning the electors that the country was in danger, and urging them to elect men who would preserve their liberties; but these appeals were fruitless, and although popular meetings were held in the principal towns of Eastern Roumelia condemning the action of Prince Alexander, the majority in his own country were evidently on his side. The new Assembly met at Sistova July 13, and the Prince's proposals were unanimously accepted by the deputies amid loud cheers, after which they resolved that a petition should be presented to the Prince begging him to retain General Ehrenroth as his Minister, and to deliver into the hands of justice the four Liberals, MM. Zankoff, Karaveloff, Slaveikoff, and Sukharoff, for having asked foreign countries to interfere in the affairs of Bulgaria. This closed the sitting of the Assembly, and the Prince on the same day issued a proclamation to the people, expressing his thanks for the confidence they had reposed in him, and declaring that the objects which his government would mainly keep in view were "equity, impartiality, the protection of individuals, and the respect of their rights." He further promised that the representatives of the country would be convoked once a year, or oftener if necessary, in order to discuss "any matters affecting the vital interests of the principality," such as taxation, receipts and expenditure, and questions of international politics. "It is on the co-operation of all Bulgarian patriots," he concluded, "that the speedy attainment of the object of our efforts depends. We have to show ourselves worthy of the love which the Emperor and the people of Russia unceasingly manifest towards their liberated brethren, worthy of the great sacrifices made to achieve

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that liberation, and worthy of the sympathy which civilised Europe entertains for us." This significant allusion to the protection of Russia showed that the influence gained by that Power during its provisional administration of the country in the interval between the close of the Turkish war and the accession of Prince Alexander had in no degree diminished. The army was still officered mainly by Russians; many posts in the civil administration, too, were held by officials from Russia, and the concession of the new Bulgarian railways was given to a Russian firm—a circumstance which created considerable dissatisfaction among the Bulgarian contractors who had applied for it. The people, however, seemed on the whole contented with the new state of things, and the Prince was left unhindered to the task of carrying out the reforms he had promised. On October 4 he issued a manifesto for the appointment of a Council of State of twelve members, eight to be elected by the people and four nominated by the Prince. This Council was to prepare laws, to allow expenditure, and to decide on contracts between the Government and private parties. Religious matters were to be dealt with by three special members attached to the Council, representing the Bulgarian, Jewish, and Mussulman creeds respectively. The election took place in November, and the majority of the successful candidates belonged to the Conservative party.

In the other small states of Eastern Europe there were but few incidents of importance. Some account has already been given of the policy of Greece in the negotiations with Turkey on the frontier question, and during the remainder of the year the politicians of Athens were chiefly occupied with some scandalous revelations of acts of corruption in the highest ranks of the administration. These revelations caused a reconstruction of the Coumoundouros Ministry, MM. Athanasiades, Romas, and Kekakis having been appointed Ministers of Finance, Education, and Justice respectively on June 17. A dispute broke out between the Greek Government and the Porte in November, owing to the former having closed the Turkish post office at Larissa. The Porte retaliated by closing all the Greek post offices in Turkey, upon which Greece appealed to the Powers, and negotiations on the subject were still going on at the end of the year. Roumania was proclaimed a kingdom on March 26, and was recognised as such by the Powers. On June 21 M. Demetrius Bratiano, who had succeeded his brother John some months before as the chief of what was admittedly a transition Ministry, was compelled to resign after a series of defeats on local questions, which conclusively proved his inability to keep a majority in the Chamber. The dispute of the Roumanian Government with Austria in September about the Danubian question is related in Chapter III. Finally, Servia, who has been on excellent terms with Austria since the accession to power of the Conservative Ministry of M. Pirotchanatz on October 30, successfully asserted her independence

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against an attempt on the part of Russia to interfere with her internal affairs. The Metropolitan of Belgrade, a notorious Panslavist and fosterer of revolutionary intrigues, was removed from his post, notwithstanding the protests of the Russian Government and the violent attacks upon Servia by the Russian press; and there is reason to believe that the determination exhibited by the Servian Government in this matter was chiefly due to the fact that it was secretly supported by the Cabinet of Vienna in its resistance to the Russian demands.

CHAPTER IV.

MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

I. SPAIN. II. PORTUGAL. III. BELGIUM. IV. THE NETHERLANDS. V. SWITZERLAND. VI. NORWAY. VII. SWEDEN. VIII. DENMARK.

I. SPAIN.

THE falling off of Government supporters became manifest at the very outset of the new session, when the Conde de Tereno was elected President of the Congress with only half the number of votes anticipated by the Cabinet.

The battle-ground chosen by the Opposition was the debate on the reply to the King's speech, which lasted in the Congress till January 19. In an energetic speech against Señor Cánovas's policy, Deputy Leon y Castillo said, among other things, that the Prime Minister must not reckon on the army to support a *coup d'état*; and he warmly pressed him to declare if it was true that his aim was to throw off the French alliance, and form one with the northern courts (meaning Germany). Señor Cánovas denied any such intention, and made light of the army's support so long as he enjoyed the confidence of the Crown and the Cortes. Much sensation was caused by a speech from Señor Alonzo Martinez, a man of a Conservative bias, and one of the Fusionist leaders, who boldly asserted that "the Crown has fatally inherited prejudices (*preocupaciones*) towards the Liberals who revolted against Ferdinand VII. and Isabel II. Well, if through those prejudices, and through the arrogance of Cánovas, a revolution should occur, I shall retire to my village home." In spite, however, of this and similar speeches, including a most incisive one from Señor Sagasta, one of the chief leaders of the Fusionists, the address was voted by 209 against 65; but as the number of deputies who abstained from voting was 150, it was morally a heavy blow to the Government. During the debates on the address in the Senate, the Home Minister, Señor Romero Robledo, delivered a violent

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speech in reply to Señor Pelayo Cuesta, raising a tumultuous scene, which caused the President to close the sitting. The alliance among the Fusionist chiefs at one moment seemed in danger, through an incident provoked by Señor Cánovas, who naturally hoped to profit by any misunderstanding amongst his rivals. Señor Sagasta, in a speech, had proclaimed that liberty was to be guarded above everything else, whilst General Martinez Campos had protested that the King should be the chief object of their concern. After a speech from Señor Cánovas the debate closed, and outwardly the position of the Ministry seemed as strong as ever, for the address was voted in the Senate by 144 to 48.

On February 7 a vote of censure on the Government for having prohibited a democratic banquet was negatived in the Lower House by 164 to 44, but in spite of their success the opinion prevailed that the fall of the Cabinet was at hand, and this view was speedily justified by the event.

On February 8, on the introduction of a Bill respecting "privileged debts"—the first of an intended series for "reorganising" the State finances—the Cabinet declared that the success of their scheme depended on time and the full confidence of the Crown. On the draft Bill being submitted to the King, His Majesty demurred to giving his sanction to a clause which partook of the nature of a bond between the Crown and the Ministers, and the latter at once tendered their resignation.

Señor Sagasta was immediately summoned to form a Ministry, and the same day submitted the list of the new Cabinet, which received royal approval: Señor Sagasta, President of the Council of Ministers; Marquis de Vega de Armijo, Foreign Affairs; Señor Camacho, Finance; Señor Alonzo Martinez, Justice; General Martinez Campos, War; Admiral Pavia, Navy; Señor José Luiz Albaceda, Public Works; Señor Leon y Castillo, Colonies; Señor Venancio Gonzalez, Home Department.

In a Council of Ministers presided over by the King, it was decided that all Spaniards residing abroad for political opinions should be free to return; and that an amnesty should be granted for all press offences. The forbearance of the Government did not, however, prove long lasting; for after a while prosecutions against the press became frequent at home and in the colonies, especially in Cuba. On the 18th the Government programme was issued in the shape of a circular to civil Governments. It comprised absolute freedom in elections; the maintenance of existing taxation combined with greater economy in expenditure; the development of natural commerce and industry, and the full concession of all liberties compatible with monarchy and its prerogatives. A few days later the University professors, who had been removed from office by the Cánovas Ministry on account of their political opinions, were reinstated amid the applause of students and the Liberal press, but in spite of some opposition on the part of the

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Vatican, which, however, led to no important consequences. On March 11 appeared a decree investing the King's daughter with the title of "Princess of the Asturias;" the Fusionists thus carrying out what they had denounced when in opposition. (See "Ann. Reg.," 1880, pages 218, 219.) On June 26 the Cortes were dissolved, and the new election of deputies appointed for August 21, that of senators on September 4, and the opening of the new Cortes on the 20th of the same month. Meanwhile, the Budgets of Spain, Cuba, and Porto Rico were to hold good, pending the measures which might pass the Cortes. The Municipal elections which had taken place early in May gave good hopes to the Ministerialists, whose candidates were returned for 208 *ayuntamientos*, whilst the Opposition groups prevailed only in 79.

This appeal to the electoral body was the occasion of a schism among the Progressist Democrats. One of their leaders, Señor Ruiz Zorrilla, who had refused the amnesty, and was residing in Paris, promoted a meeting of his party at Biarritz, which lasted from June 10 to 14, and was attended by Señors Martos, Salmeron, Monteiro, Rios, and others. The principal points decided on were the organisation of committees, in view of the approaching elections; ample freedom to all democratic groups on electioneering questions; and the withdrawal of the demand for the recall of Señor Zorrilla to Spain, in deference to the wishes of the moderate fraction of the party. Later on, however, the friendly attitude of this fraction towards the policy of Government was condemned in several meetings, whereupon Señor Martos and others separated themselves from the Zorrilla fraction, which stood up for "no compromise," and even for main force if needful. But whilst democratic banquets were taking place throughout the country urging violent remedies, Señor Castelar advised his friends to keep aloof from extreme parties, and to maintain a benevolent bearing towards the Government.

Meanwhile, a new party had, in the turmoil of Spanish democracy, been elaborating its programme. The "Dynastic Democrats" were a gathering together of some of the republican elements of the revolution of 1868, which dethroned Queen Isabel II. Their chief exponents were Señor Moret, Admiral Beranger, Marquis de Sardoal, &c. On October 10 they held a meeting to elect a directing *junta* and to settle their programme. In the Senate, on October 15, Admiral Beranger solemnly declared, in his own name and that of his party, that they adhered to monarchical principles and the Constitution of 1869, with Don Alfonso XII. as King; and promised their support to the Government in financial questions and Liberal "solutions." This was seconded by the Marquis de Sardoal. In the Deputies, on November 10, Señor Moret, in the name of his party, advocated, moreover, the institution of trial by jury as in England and the United States; respect for property, as in Belgium and England; and declared that the aim of the party was a union of monarchy and democracy—an ideal

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easier to formulate in words than to translate into a practical policy. The tenets of this new fraction (which, about a month after its first plenary session, was able to muster 300 members at a second convocation) differed but slightly from those of the "advanced" Constitutionalists led by Señors Belaguer and Romero Ortiz.

The elections had, as usual, resulted in an overwhelming majority for Government, the proportion being three Ministerialists for every one Oppositionist in the Chamber of Deputies, and still greater in the Senate.

The Cortes opened on September 20. In the speech from the Throne allusion was made to the satisfactory settlement with France of the Oran question, and to the hopes of concluding treaties with France, England, and some American Powers; important financial Bills were announced, with others respecting reforms in different branches of the administration; and, in conclusion, stress was laid upon the freedom and toleration enforced throughout Spain.

The Chamber of Deputies having elected Señor Posada Herrera their President, and declared themselves constituted, a committee of ways and means was elected, consisting of thirty-five members, of whom only five were Protectionists; and on October 24 Señor Camacho made his financial statement, showing an estimated balance of 346,013 *pesetas*, and read a number of important Bills, one being for the conversion of that part of the debt subject to amortisation, and another for the gradual lowering of customs' duties. A favourable impression was produced by these proposals in financial circles, amongst the public, and in the Liberal press, and the Bills eventually passed both Houses with little or no modification, and the successful conversion of the debt to a 4 per cent. type was effected in December.

The debates in the Senate and the Congress on these and other topics relating to home and foreign policy, including the Budget, gave rise to no incidents of a special interest; save that, with regard to a proposed Bill for *civil-mariage*, strongly opposed in the Senate by the Prelates, the Government declared in reply that if the negotiations pending with Rome should fail, they would, nevertheless, proceed with their measure. On December 21 there was an interpellation in the Congress of Deputies about the Archipelago of Soulou and the northern coast of Borneo, claimed by Spain in connection with the grant made recently by England to a private company. The Minister of Foreign Affairs replied that Spain had protested against that grant, but that, in view of pending negotiations, he could not go into particulars for the present.

During the invasion of Tunis by the French the Moorish rebels had massacred a large number of Spanish settlers at Oran, whilst those who escaped were robbed of their property, returning empty-handed to Spain. These outrages gave rise to a diplomatic correspondence between the Madrid and Paris Cabinets, which,

commencing in July, assumed at times a rather serious aspect. Spain claimed indemnity on behalf of the sufferers, a claim which France was unwilling to acknowledge as a right, contending that the losses suffered by French subjects on account of the Carlist and Cuban wars had never been compensated by the Spanish Government. The question was warmly discussed in the Madrid newspapers, some of which were very violent and threatening. At length the affair was arranged between the two Governments, by an agreement dated September 19. By this each nation acknowledged reciprocally the legitimate claims of their respective subjects, growing out of the Oran massacres and pillage on the one side, and out of the Carlist and Cuban wars on the other.

To celebrate the opening of the Cáceres railway, which reduced by several hours the distance between Madrid and Lisbon, the Kings of Spain and Portugal met on Spanish ground, the former receiving his royal guest at the frontier station, Valencia de Alcantara, on October 8. After breakfast they proceeded to Cáceres, where the ceremonies took place, the King of Portugal returning the same night. According to the plan first contemplated the two queens were to have accompanied their husbands, and the entertainment was to have been continued for a few days at Madrid, but an indisposition of Queen Dona Maria Pia prevented this arrangement. Some of the political consequences which grew out of this interview of the two sovereigns are referred to in the following section.

II. PORTUGAL.

The Cortes were opened January 2. The Speech from the Throne was of unusual length, its chief burthen being reforms, concluding with a pathetic allusion to the new income-tax law which was about to be enforced. New bills of reform, besides those lying over from last session, were announced, dealing with almost every branch of the administration, at the risk of endangering the nation's fair name, by suggesting that sentence of Tacitus: "Corruptissima republica, plurimæ leges." Amongst many unpopular measures, that relating to the new tax was most censured by public opinion, not so much on principle as on account of its details and its inquisitive nature. The Opposition seized upon it as their chief war-cry. Whilst the Peers were discussing the reply to the King's speech (which had passed the Deputies January 29, together with a vote of confidence by 77 against 30), and whilst the Gazette was publishing an interminable "regulation" of nearly 300 clauses, for levying the income tax, meetings were being convoked in different towns. Among the first were the two held at Oporto February 20, one by Progressists, in favour of Government; and the other by the Re-

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generadores and various Opposition groups. The latter was by far the most imposing. It condemned the tax and the general policy of Government, and voted the sending of a deputation to Lisbon with an address to the King. There were also demonstrations on the part of the public in the galleries of the House of Peers, where the reply to the speech only passed by 55 votes to 51. The Avilistas, in both Houses, voted with the Opposition. The action of the Government with regard to the colonels' pensions (see "Ann. Reg.," 1880, p. 224) was made the subject of a Bill of Indemnity, promoted not by the Ministry, but by the Opposition. The former denied that there was any need for statutory condonation of the course they had pursued, but the Opposition saw in the revival of the discussion the means of reviving agitation against the Cabinet out of doors, not only on this point, but upon the Lourenço-Marques Treaty.

The Bill on this subject had been dropped in the previous session, pending further negotiations between the two Governments of Great Britain and Portugal (see "Ann. Reg." for 1880, pp. 222 and 223). The dissatisfaction with the terms of the treaty was owing to the shortcomings of the Portuguese negotiator, Señor João de Andrade Corvo, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose merits and learning as Professor of Natural Science in the Polytechnic School of Lisbon were not, in the opinion of many, suited to the field of statesmanship and diplomacy, in which he was thoroughly overmatched by Mr. Morier, the experienced British Envoy at Lisbon. The sum and substance of the Opposition to the original treaty was its *perpetuity*, and to the *concessions*, which were all on the part of Portugal, without any adequate return. The negotiations, which were reopened in August 1880, and carried on to the end of the year, had resulted in an Additional Article and a Protocol, signed December 31, whereby twelve years were stipulated as the duration of the treaty, subject to renewal and other clauses modified. The treaty thus altered was again submitted to the Cortes, and came on for discussion in the Chamber of Deputies early in March. An agitation to oppose its passage had been fostered among the public, apparently by the Republicans, but in reality by a section of the Regeneradores. On March 7, a deputation, attended by a vast crowd, went to the Cortes, and, through the only Republican member sitting in the Chamber of Deputies, presented an address, which was sent in to that body. The House at once became the scene of much excitement, and there were violent speeches from all sides; a motion that the Bill be adjourned was rejected by 76 against 30, and in the secret session which immediately followed, it passed by a vote of 74 to 19 against, the Regenerador-Deputies absenting themselves in order not to vote—a circumstance naturally much commented on, as the treaty had originated under that party. Demonstrations of a more or less disorderly character took place in the streets of Lisbon, and public meetings were held in various

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places—the income tax, the treaty, and the Cabinet's policy were generally condemned. At the breaking up of a meeting at the Opera House, a conflict arose between the crowds and the mounted police, who charged the people and wounded several persons. This incident became the subject of warm discussion in both Chambers. The Deputies rejected a motion of "want of confidence" by 64 against 26 (March 14). In the Chamber of Peers the Ministry had a still narrower escape; for a colourless and vaguely worded resolution by Señor Fontes, condemnatory of the Government, was rejected by one vote only, 50 against 49 (two of the Ministers voting with the majority).

Rumours of the resignation of the Cabinet were circulated the same evening, but, as appeared, somewhat prematurely; for on the 22nd the Prime Minister submitted to the King a proposal embracing a modification of the Cabinet and an adjournment of the Cortes. Failing to obtain His Majesty's approval, the Ministry then resigned. The event was hailed with unmistakable signs of satisfaction throughout the country. With the public the objection to the treaty was a mere pretext; the genuine opposition was to the financial measures, especially the income tax and the readjusted tax called *real d'agoa*. This was the excise on meat, wine, rice, &c., which, by the new law, could be farmed out when and wheresoever the Government thought fit. The author of these and other unpopular measures was Señor Henrique de Barros Gomes, of whose inexperience as a Finance Minister the proofs were numerous and glaring; whilst Señor Anselmo Zosé Braamcamp, who had been for the first time invested with the high office of Prime Minister, had failed to justify the hopes of his friends. It was a notorious fact that the real leader of the Government policy was not the Premier, but Señor Marianno de Carvalho, a deputy, and editor of the "Diario Popular" (a halfpenny newspaper), popularly known as "O Poder occulto," and whose claim to notoriety seems to have been that, whilst his party was out of power, the monarchy was never free from his attacks; whilst as soon as the *Progressistas* were in office the King was never safe from his flattery.

Señor Fontes, the leader of the *Regeneradores*, and author of the motion in the House of Peers, had publicly declared in that Chamber, some time before, that he would not accept power if the Ministry fell; and although summoned by the King, he declined to form a Cabinet. A preliminary attempt having failed to induce the dying Duke d'Avila e de Bolama to undertake the task, Señor Antonio Rodrigues Sampaio, a Regenerador, who had twice been Home Minister, was called to form a Ministry. On March 25 his Cabinet was completed: Señor Sampaio, President of the Council of Ministers, and Minister of the Kingdom; Señor Barros e Sá, Justice; Señor Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Mello, Finance; Colonel of Engineers Caetano Pereira Sanches de Castro, War; Señor Julio de Vilhena, Navy; Señor Miguel Martins d'Antas (Envoy in

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London), Foreign Affairs; and Señor Ernesto Raphael Hintze Ribeiro, Public Works. A few weeks later (April 30) Señor d'Antas returned to London, and Señor Hintze Ribeiro replaced him at the Foreign Office, while retaining also the Portfolio of Public Works.

During the interval before the reassembling of the Cortes the chief concern of the new Government was to pacify the public as to the *real d'agoa*, by resolving that the antiquated and odious system of farming taxes should not be applied; and by suspending the operation of the income-tax law except with regard to classes A (incomes derived from invested capital) and B (those derived from public employment), which were already in force. An additional assessment on existing taxes, instead of on incomes, was foreshadowed. Although regarded as a dictatorial measure, and of course bitterly censured by the Progressista press, it was generally approved by the public, in spite of its many obvious inequalities.

The Cortes formally reassembled on May 30, but at once adjourned to June 4. Instead of submitting their Budget for discussion the Government asked the Budget Committee to recommend the adoption of a short Bill of Ways and Means, applicable to the immediate wants of the Exchequer. The Budget Committee hesitated to place almost dictatorial power in the hands of the Government without some specific guarantee, especially as the latter had threatened to apply against the adverse decision of the Committee to the Chamber, and from the Chamber, if necessary, to the King. Upon this the Committee reported against the demand of the Cabinet, and the Cortes were in the evening of the same day (June 4) closed by royal decree. The majority at once prepared a message to the King embodying a protest against the action of the Government in the present conflict, and a deputation appointed to present it was received before midnight by His Majesty. In his reply the King said it had been his constant wish to succeed in adopting (*acertar*) the best course, and to act for the good of the nation. The Council of State was then assembled, and the result was a decree of dissolution, and the convocation of a new Cortes at the New Year.

Meanwhile, in the Chamber of Peers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to a question, said that the execution of the Lourenço-Marques Treaty was, by agreement of the Portuguese and British Governments, adjourned till the termination of the Transvaal war, as the issue might require some further modifications.

Before the closing, a Bill passed both Chambers permitting the King to leave the kingdom, in anticipation of His Majesty's visit to Spain for the opening of the Cáceres railway.

On June 10 the Progressista ex-deputies published a manifesto to the nation, censuring, in measured language, the result of the conflict between the Chamber and the Government. In a meeting of the party held previously (June 2) it had been resolved that if they ever returned to power, their first act would be to introduce

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political reforms. This now became the daily theme of the Progressista press, and their avowed programme included proposals for curtailing the royal prerogative, and, as they put it, for bringing to an end the personal *régime.* The "Diario Popular" recommenced its virulent attacks against the King, declaring him to be acting under coercion, and in the power of the "favourite" (Señor Fontes), by virtue of some hidden *crime*, an expression which was afterwards palliated and explained as only alluding to a political crime. The Cáceres question added fuel to the flame, and these articles only came to a close November 11, at the request, as is asserted, of some leading men of the party, indignant at their tone.

Meanwhile, the taxes for the new fiscal year had been levied by royal decree, a dictatorial measure highly resented by the Opposition press.

The elections, which took place simultaneously with those of France and Spain (August 21), resulted as usual in the complete success of the Government party; even the leader of the Progressistas and the ex-Premier losing his seat, and only one Republican being returned, although the avowed adherents of the latter party had greatly increased. On this occasion the election had been managed by the "Lisbon circle," whereas in 1879 they had been controlled by the "Oporto committee."

The Portuguese press having for more than thirty years enjoyed unlimited freedom, the public were startled in July by the news of the imprisonment of a seditious pamphleteer, and by the rumour that the editors of four other newspapers were about to be treated in like fashion. The outcry with which this policy was met by the press and the public induced the Government to abandon its original intention; but writs were issued against the editors of several democratic sheets, who were liberated on bail pending the writs which were filed against them. The cause assigned in all these cases was for offensive language towards the King: but the Republican papers were not checked thereby; and although many suits were threatened, no trials took place, and after a few weeks' imprisonment the pamphleteer was released on bail. This attempt to gag the press had been as ill-advised in its conception as it was weak in its execution; and although by the month of October all active interference had ceased, the display of paltry ill-will occasionally reappeared. Editors did not forget, it may be well guessed, to remind the Prime Minister that he himself had been a journalist; and that in his "Revoluçao de Setembro," and especially in the notorious "Espectro" (a clandestine journal which was published in 1846–7), he had heaped the grossest insults upon Dona Maria II., both as queen and as a woman, and that his conduct on that occasion had drawn from Don Pedro V., when Señor Sampaio was first proposed as a member of Government, the reply that while he reigned he would never put his hand to a decree appointing his mother's traducer to be a Minister of the Crown.

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The meeting of the two kings at Cáceres (see p. 295) gave rise to considerable excitement in the Portuguese press, based on the account given by some Spanish and French papers of what took place at the interview, and especially of the words they reported as having been uttered by King Don Luiz to Señor Sagasta.[1] A close alliance in international affairs, a customs union, and a marriage between the Prince Royal of Portugal and a sister of the King of Spain, were declared to have been the points discussed. Not only the Opposition press, but even some papers friendly to the Government, contended that if the reports were true, the country's independence was in jeopardy; and they challenged the Government press to deny the fact that a plan was in contemplation to secure the armed intervention of Spain in case the Portuguese throne were imperilled by internal broils (alluding to Republicanism), in return for a customs union, a joint action in foreign affairs, and a royal marriage. The challenge was not taken up immediately; and the denial, when it came, was not categorical, but vague and unsatisfactory; and certain passages in the "Revoluçao de Setembro" (the Premier's newspaper) seemed to admit the idea of a customs union and a political alliance. Whilst the defence of the Government was weak and unsatisfactory on the part of the semi-official organs, what greatly helped to strengthen the position taken by the Opposition press was that the Madrid paper "Iberia," of which the Spanish Prime Minister, Señor Sagasta, is proprietor, was one of those that had published the report of the Cáceres interview, causing so much excitement in Portugal. In face of the unpopularity it had in so few months provoked, it surprised no one when on November 11 the resignation of the Ministry was publicly announced. The proximate cause of the collapse was not explained; but a disagreement respecting the needs of the army and the means of meeting the War Minister's demands, was supposed to have furnished a pretext for a step which must have followed quickly on the meeting of the Cortes. The premiership was first offered to Señor Martens-Ferrao, and on his refusal Señor Fontes, the real chief of the party, accepted the task of forming a Cabinet, which was ultimately constituted as follows: Señor Fontes Pereira de Mello, Presidency, Finance, and *ad interim* War; Señor Thomas Ribeiro, Home Department; Señor Julio de Vilhena, Justice; Señor José de Mello Gouvea (of the Avilista party), Navy; Señor Antonio de Serpa Pimentel, Foreign Affairs; and Señor Hintze Ribeiro,

[1] Whether truly or otherwise, they were reported as follows:—"I have for some time attentively watched your policy, and admire it. I study with interest Spanish policy. I am charmed by the enthusiasm of this good people, and their spontaneousness captivates me (*surprehende-me*). Spain and Portugal are two brothers. To achieve the union of both peoples is only possible by means of a federation between the two Governments. Such a federation, however, though grand in its idea, would serve as a model for others, smaller ones, between the provinces, which would in the end have a disastrous result. I think, therefore, that Spain and Portugal should always live as brothers, pursuing an identical international policy."

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Public Works. Señores Vilhena and Hintze Ribeiro were thus the only members of the late Cabinet that entered the new one. The latter gentleman continued to hold, *ad interim*, the portfolio of Foreign Affairs till Señor Serpa's arrival from Paris, who took possession.

The enthusiastic reception given by Oporto to the King and the Royal Family, who spent ten days there (November 23 to December 4), as well as by Braga (November 30) and by Regoa (December 3), was generally supposed to have been meant as a spontaneous protest of the people of the north against the increase of anti-monarchical propagandism.

At the close of the year a Council of State was held to consider the list submitted by Government for a batch of twenty new peers. Although approved by only 5 votes against 4 (three councillors being absent), the King gave it his sanction, raising to sixty the number of new peers created in two years. At a large meeting of the Progressistas, held in their club on December 19, wherein *political reform* was once more affirmed to be the chief clause of their "programme" on returning to power, the necessity of a radical reform of the House of Peers was especially insisted upon; and on this point they are in accord with the Constituinte party, which advocates the substitution of an elective senate for the present system of royal selection under party pressure.

III. BELGIUM.

The results of the Education Act and inquiry were the principal objects of interest during the year in Belgium. It will be remembered that an inquiry was demanded in the first instance by M. Malou, the leader of the Opposition; but while warmly supported by the Liberals his own party refused to take part in it, and it finally owed its existence to the opposition of the Clergy to the law of 1879. The inquiry lasted over eighteen months, and was conducted with rare impartiality and considerable energy by the Deputies of the Left. It brought to light that, not content with constantly and vehemently attacking the new law from the pulpit, the clergy had, by all kinds of threats, by frequent excommunication, and by denying assistance to indigent families, endeavoured to compel parents to send their children to Catholic schools.

During the Legislative session an incident occurred which resulted in the resignation of M. Guilléry, President of the Chamber. In the course of the sitting a member of the Clerical party took upon himself to state that the army disapproved of the measures of the Minister of War. Upon this it was requested by the entire Left, and formally demanded in the name of the Government by M. Frère-Orban, that the member should be called to order. This, however, the President declined to do, and having

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failed at times in showing the tact and coolness necessary to his exalted office, his position towards the majority of the Chamber became so strained that he ultimately tendered his resignation.

His successor was M. Decamps, who was elected by 66 votes against 33 for M. Thibaut, the former President of the Chamber under the Catholic Ministry.

During the session two important laws, both violently opposed by the Clerical party, were passed: one, referring to secondary education, underwent numerous changes during its passage. Of these, the principal were the establishment of numerous *athénées* (grammar schools), and the organisation of secondary teaching for girls.

The other dealt with the local governing bodies (*députations permanentes*), whose prerogatives were considerably restricted. These bodies were compelled by law to conform to all decisions annulling or suspending their proceedings. The fact, however, came to light that while some of these bodies had chosen to ignore their prescribed functions, the law gave no power to the Executive to enforce compliance with its own decrees. As many of these local bodies were composed of Catholic members, it was not surprising that some refused to vote the commercial school expenses, in order to mark their disapprobation of the law of 1879.

This new law, though suggesting in outline the means that will be taken in future to reduce these bodies to obedience, was limited this year to cases of contested jurisdiction. The important point was that it deprived them of all right of intervention in electoral disputes, which were transferred to the Municipal Council, the legal Courts of Appeal retaining their final jurisdiction. It also deprived them of their prerogatives with respect to direct taxation and the militia, both being also transferred to the Courts of Appeal. This law was rendered necessary, not only on account of the considerable increase in the duties of these bodies, but also in consequence of the disgraceful partiality shown by some of them on more than one occasion in electoral questions. Towards the close of the discussion on this new law, an incident occurred which nearly brought about a Ministerial crisis, causing great excitement throughout the country. A member of the extreme Left, M. Janson, and six of his friends, took the opportunity to endeavour to force the Government into adopting a proposal for universal suffrage, and threatened, in case of refusal, to vote against the proposed law on the *députations permanentes*, thereby entailing, in all probability, the fall of the Ministry. M. Janson and his friends grounded their opposition to the Ministerial proposal on the fact that it recognised the system of restricted suffrage based upon a rating qualification, of which they are the sworn enemies. After several lengthy debates, however, M. Janson consented to abandon his motion provisionally, and he and his colleagues, with the exception of one who preferred to resign, voted with the majority.

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On October 29 the elections of half of the Communal Councils of the kingdom were held in all parts of the country. They were held to be of exceptional importance, as it was the first time since the rigid application of the new education law that the communes had been directly consulted. Instead, therefore, of turning upon matters purely local as hitherto, these elections came to be decided in almost all parts by the value attached to the education question. In spite of the desperate efforts of the Clerical party, the country clearly indicated its approval of the policy of the Government. The Liberals everywhere maintained their position, and in many places added recruits to their ranks. The result sufficed to foreshadow the prospects of the legislative elections to take place in the coming year.

Following the example of other countries, the Minister of War resolved upon holding grand military manœuvres. During the autumn two divisions took part in them, but in consequence of the heavy rains, followed by serious inundations, the projected sham fight had to be abandoned. All the preliminaries, such as scouting by the cavalry, formation of columns, and billeting of troops, were carried out and declared satisfactory by competent authorities.

A noticeable fact in ecclesiastical affairs was the altered attitude of the higher clergy towards the Government ever since M. Dumont, the most headstrong of the Belgian bishops, had been deprived of his see of Mons by the Pope. Under their influence the priests modified their attacks upon the education law. A still more curious instance of a change of tactics, and marking a decisive epoch in the war declared by Leo XIII. against the policy of his predecessor, was the expulsion of M. Perrin, the celebrated professor of the Catholic University of Louvain, whose sole offence consisted in having carefully maintained the teachings and directions of Pope Pius IX.

IV. THE NETHERLANDS.

The numerous and unceasing expressions of sympathy with the cause of the Boers, given by the Dutch, were natural and legitimate. An enormous petition was signed and addressed to the English nation on behalf of those whom they styled their Transvaal brethren, and its importance was due as much to the number as to the position of those who subscribed their names. The Government, upon being called upon to express its opinion in the matter, through M. van Lynden, Minister for Foreign Affairs, without hesitation loudly declared its sympathies with the Boers, and tendered its friendly offices to the British Government to bring about an understanding between the belligerents.

The re-election of half of the representatives in the Second

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Chamber of the States-General took place in June, and notwithstanding the alliance formed between the Ultra-Catholics and the Ultra-Protestants, and in spite of the questionable means employed, the Opposition succeeded in gaining only three seats. The Liberals thus maintained their majority, and the Parliamentary situation practically remained unaltered.

After the elections, however, the Minister of Finance having for personal reasons resigned, the Cabinet underwent certain changes. M. van Lynden took over the vacant portfolio, and in his place M. Rochussen became Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. van Golstein Minister for the Colonies, and M. Heemskerk, formerly head of a Conservative Cabinet, Minister of the Interior.

A question of extreme importance to both Holland and Belgium was propounded in the First Chamber as to the possibility of establishing an understanding between the two countries with regard to customs duties. M. van Lynden, however, in reply to a question in the Chamber, declared its accomplishment an impossibility at the present time, being, he maintained, absolutely opposed to both the fiscal and financial interests of Holland. His decision did not receive the support of public opinion, a large majority of the people being extremely desirous that a zollverein of this nature should be established.

The Government brought in a Bill for the reorganisation of the Civic Guard, its object being to create, by means of this guard, an army of reserve. If carried out in its integrity the new scheme will, contrary to practice now in vogue in the army, admit of no vicarious service, but render it absolutely compulsory for every Dutchman between the ages of twenty-one and thirty to serve. Such as had served in the militia would, at the expiration of their service, be incorporated in the Civic Guard, which, by degrees, would be thus increased until it numbered 144,000 men.

A case somewhat resembling that of Mr. Bradlaugh in England occurred in Holland, two magistrates having refused to take the oath according to the prescribed formula. M. Modderman, the Minister of Justice, formally opposed the abolition of the religious oath, and endeavoured to establish the necessity of maintaining it for public functionaries, as well as in judicial and fiscal matters. The only concession which he said he could be induced to make would be the reduction to a minimum of the number of oaths to be taken in the future. He based his views upon the grounds of general interest, maintaining that the notion of religion and the idea of subordination to a Supreme Being who punishes or rewards acted preventively upon the minds of many disposed to evil and scepticism, and were constraining powers to truthfulness and the faithful discharge of duties by those to whom work had been entrusted. The Second Chamber found itself unable to side with the Government in this affair, and a large majority passed a resolution in favour of limiting the imposition of

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the oath, and of a revision of legislation with regard to it; and to this the Government at length consented. It may be remarked here that by a strange inconsistency the Ministerial body in the Netherlands have for years been altogether exempted from taking any oaths.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs again brought forward his proposal to raise the diplomatic representatives of the Netherlands at Rome and Constantinople to the rank of Envoys Extraordinary, and to attach to them a Secretary of Legation; but M. Rochussen was no more successful in persuading the States-General to agree to this change than had been his predecessor, M. van Lynden.

The Budget of 1882 disclosed a deficit of about 23 millions of florins, which it was proposed to meet partly by an increase coupled with an improved distribution of taxation, and partly by a loan to cover the large expenditure required for public works.

The legislative elections in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg resulted in the success of the Clerical party in a certain number of seats; but they were, nevertheless, unable to claim a majority, the new Chamber being composed of 26 Liberals and 16 Clericals.

The collapse of the National Bank threatened for a time to compromise the flourishing financial condition of the national exchequer. The Government, with the consent of the Chambers, specially convened for the purpose, agreed to pay in full the notes of the bank which were in circulation, and by this means confidence was restored and a financial crisis averted.

The most important political event of the year in the Grand Duchy was the application of the new Education Act. Its object was to define more exactly the position of private schools (*écoles libres*), which were required to be specially authorised, and their teachers called upon to prove their professional capability, whilst the schools themselves were subjected to Government inspection. In Government schools the law imposed compulsory but not gratuitous education for children between six and twelve years of age, and enjoined the adoption of a "time-table clause," after the method adopted in English grant-assisted schools.

V. SWITZERLAND.

The general elections to the Federal Council proved unfavourable to the Moderate party, who lost a certain number of seats, a large majority falling to the Radicals. The new Assembly was eventually made up of 80 Radicals, 25 Liberals of the Centre, and 40 Conservatives of the Right.

The Grand Council of Geneva discussed at great length the question whether the judicial magistrates should or should not be elected by the people. Amongst the partisans of election by the people was M. Pictet, one of the heads of the Moderate party; whilst M. Carteret, the Radical leader, on the other hand, was

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opposed to it. The matter was referred to the Genevese electors, who rejected M. Pictet's proposal by a majority of a thousand votes, and the judges therefore continued to be nominated by the Grand Council.

The assassination of the Czar occasioned an alarm in the Federal Council from the supposed intentions on the part of some of the Great Powers to restrict the Swiss right of asylum. In anticipation of any complaint, the Federal Council resolved that the movements of all refugees should be subjected to strict surveillance. In response to these measures a meeting of Socialists was convened for the purpose of considering the question of the traditional rights of refugees; and shortly afterwards the city of Geneva was placarded with posters against the execution of the Czar's assassins, the expulsion of Prince Krapotkine by the Federal Council; and later in the year, on the proposition of the Belgian Socialists, it was decided to hold a grand International and Socialist Congress in Switzerland, and Zurich was chosen as the place of meeting. Public opinion expressed itself very strongly, however, at this announcement, and a petition containing 30,000 signatures was presented to the Zurich city authorities urging them to forbid the Congress in any part of the canton. Two members, however, of the Zurich Government, actively supported by the Socialist Committee opposed to the prohibition, addressed a protest to the Zurich Grand Council, calling upon it to annul the decision of the Town Council. The Grand Council, in reply, declared itself powerless to remove the prohibition, adding at the same time that the decision of the Council of State was unassailable both from a legal and political point of view. The question was thereupon referred for final decision to the Federal Tribunal, which ratified the resolution of the Zurich Council.

The Congress being thus forbidden in Zurich, the Socialists endeavoured to arrange a meeting at Berne, but here also they were met by a petition against it addressed by the Municipal Council to the Government, and their attempt was again rejected. At length, however, the Congress, composed of 25 delegates from 12 cantons, succeeded in obtaining permission to meet at Coire, in the Grisons. The primary question raised for discussion was, how far it was possible to form an International League of all European Socialists. The general opinion arrived at was that such a league would be for the present impossible; and the question was postponed accordingly, and set down as the first for discussion at the next Socialist Congress, which is to take place in Paris in 1883.

In the course of the year the Federal Council severely censured the Fribourg Government for having tolerated the preaching of the French and German Jesuits within its territory, Article 51 of the Constitution forbidding absolutely any public action on the part of the Jesuits throughout Switzerland.

A Federal Commission was appointed to consider the question of the construction of fortifications, and to compare the system of

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strengthening outlying positions and points on the frontier with that of securing passes and other strategic routes. After a debate of several days, a majority, by one only, decided in favour of the latter plan. This decision involved an adjournment of the question. The Federal authority was of opinion that it was wiser, in the first place, to render the landwehr, or first reserve force, more efficient, and to perfect the equipment of the army in all points necessary for active service. By these means it aimed at utilising and improving natural before making a vast outlay on artificial means of defence, and other unproductive works.

VI. NORWAY.

The political struggle between the Executive and the Legislature, which in 1880 had assumed considerable importance, continued to occupy almost exclusively the press and public. The Radical party spared no efforts to rouse the country to greater "political self-conscientiousness;" and success so far attended their campaign, that not only among the literary and professional classes did they find distinguished recruits, but in the country districts they found their views widely endorsed.

When the year opened, the question of the validity of the King's absolute veto to an amendment of the "Grundlov" (fundamental law) was under the consideration of the Law Faculty of the Christiania University. With one dissentient the jurists upheld the right of the Sovereign. The Storthing during the session nevertheless framed and passed a set of rules relating to the admission of the ministers of the Crown to the Storthing. So far the need for such has not been felt, as the members of the Government have not appeared in the national assembly, nor do they propose to take any action in the matter until this constitutional question is finally settled. In the Odelsthing (the Upper Chamber of the Storthing) it was decided by 51 votes against 32 not to impeach the Ministry before a "Rigsret" (the High Court of the Realm) for having advised the King to refuse his sanction to the resolution of June 9, 1880, but to postpone further action in this sense until after the elections of 1882, when the maintenance of the present Conservative Ministry in power will be finally determined by popular vote.

The conflict between the Government and the Storthing was aggravated by the refusal of the King, on the advice of the Ministry, to sanction the grant to the members of the military committee, appointed by the Storthing in the preceding session to inquire into a proposed re-organisation of the army. The King further withheld his sanction of a scheme of Army Reform, and of a proposed extension of the franchise.

On its part the Storthing during the session retaliated by subjecting the Budget and estimates to close criticism, and by insisting upon certain reductions in charges for the army and navy.

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The most important step of the Storthing in this direction was, however, its refusal by 63 against 43 to increase the appanage of the Crown Prince on his marriage, a decision which created general surprise. It also reduced the pension of Mr. Stang, the ex-Prime Minister, who had resigned the year before on account of failing health. As a mark of the esteem in which he was held by the Conservatives, the sum of 80,000 kroner (about 4,500*l.*) was raised by public subscription. After his death and that of his wife, should she survive him, the capital thus raised was to be applied to the advancement of the study of jurisprudence. An attempt on behalf of the Radicals to disturb the Civil List was not equally successful; the Bill to reduce the appanage of the King from 336,000 kroner (about 18,600*l.*) to 256,000 kroner (about 14,200*l.*) being thrown out by a majority of 14 votes. On the other hand, in insisting upon their constitutional right to appoint directors to the various branches of the State Bank, as well as by liberal pensions, they were able to distribute rewards amongst their own party.

The other proceedings of the Storthing, which sat from February 3 to June 22, included an amendment of the Haandvœrkslov (trade laws) and an extension of the State railways, for which purpose about 360,000*l.* was provided out of the revenue of the year, without any addition to the ordinary taxes.

During the recess political meetings were held throughout the country, the Conservative or "November" party inaugurating, or rather reviving, a custom which had long fallen into desuetude. Their object was to evoke some expression of sympathy with the King's free use of his power of veto; but the result of the campaign was scarcely successful, and it afforded to the Radical or "June" party the opportunity of parading the strength and extent of Republican feeling in Norway.

On May 17, the anniversary of the Norwegian Constitution, a statue of Henrik Wergeland, the celebrated Norwegian poet, was unveiled at Christiania, furnishing a pretext for the display of party feeling. Wergeland was an advanced Liberal, who by his writings had not only influenced the present leaders of the Radical party, but had also done much to develop the present revolutionary spirit among the people. The committee charged with the organisation of the *fête* selected Mr. Björnstjerne Björnson, the well-known Norwegian poet of avowed Republican sympathies, to deliver the address. This selection met with the greatest opposition from the Conservative party, the members of which withdrew from the proceedings.

With the exception of the appointment of Mr. Schweigaard to the vacant post of Minister of Justice, no change took place in the Cabinet.

Two new lines of railway were opened during the present year, one from Throndhjem to the Swedish border, 65 (Norsk) miles in length, and the other from Drammen to Laurvik, only 7 (Norsk) miles in length.

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VII. SWEDEN.

In Sweden, the progress of Parliamentary Reform promised on the advent to power of Count Posse, has been delayed by the deliberate action of the committees to which the various proposals have been referred.

The Riksdag was opened on January 17, and one of the first Bills laid before it by the Government was one for building a new ironclad at a cost of 2,290,000 kroner (127,000*l.*). The "Landtmanna" party, consisting principally of peasant proprietors, and the majority in the Rigsdag, strenuously opposed the vote; but, on the recommendation of a committee, consented to the expenditure of 480,000 kroner (26,500*l.*) on a smaller vessel. With some show of reluctance the Government accepted this compromise, but to the general surprise it was rejected in the Second Chamber by the party to which the Ministry had hitherto been accustomed to look for support. On the other hand, a Bill for the extension of the Norrland railway system was carried by the Government in spite of the opposition of the "Landtmanna" party. The question of the deficit of the two State theatres was the subject of much discussion in the Riksdag. For some years their finances had been in a critical state, and the Government at length proposed to assist in paying off their accumulated debts. Whilst the Upper Chamber proposed that one half of the debt be paid by the country and the other by the King, the Second Chamber declined to vote any public funds for the purpose; and this view was supported in the collective meeting of the two Chambers.

The Rigsdag further augmented the appanage of the Crown Prince by 108,000 kroner (6,000*l.*) in view of his approaching marriage, an act of liberality or courtiership in complete contrast with that of the Storthing. By this vote the Crown Prince received an income from Sweden alone of 10,000*l.* per annum.

During the summer many public meetings were held, those in the country especially being in favour of the "Landtmanna" party, of which the professed policy is to reduce as far as possible the expenses of civil administration, and to limit the military demands upon the exchequer to the absolute necessities of national defence. The results of this agitation were seen in the elections to the Second Chamber in the country districts, where the "Landtmanna" majority was further increased, though in the capital, owing to the influence of the mercantile community, the Opposition carried its candidate.

At a meeting of the Swedish nobility during the year, it was decided that the Act of 1872, by which the right of State guardianship over women and their property on attaining twenty-five years of age was abolished, should be extended to the hitherto ex-

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empted class of the nobles. According to ancient customs adhered to by the Swedish nobility, the sanction of the representative nobles was requisite before this law of 1872 could be made applicable to the female members of their families. The distinctive barrier thus maintained between the two castes was now removed by 103 votes against 50.

VIII. DENMARK.

The Radical party, which since the elections in 1872 has been a "growing" majority in the Rigsdag, showed during the present year such a determined opposition to all important Government measures, and especially to the "Finants-lovforslag" (the Annual Financial Budget), that not only has the country witnessed the unusual occurrence of *two* dissolutions in one year, but a protracted session, extending over ten months, has gone by without any practical result.

The preceding session, which lasted nearly as long, had at least witnessed the adoption of the Army and the Navy Re-organisation Bills, whilst the Budget of the financial year had, after concessions on both sides, been agreed to by the Rigsdag. In the present year, however, there only remains to be chronicled the barren but important constitutional conflict between the Radical majority and the Ministerial Conservative minority, supported at times by a small Moderate party. As might also have been anticipated, the conflict has now assumed a more acute and serious character than it has hitherto displayed.

When the present Rigsdag assembled on November 9, 1880, a large number of Bills was as usual laid before it, but no progress had been made when the Rigsdag adjourned for the Christmas holidays. It reassembled on January 6, but it was only in the early part of March that the Budget Committee of the Folksthing (the Lower House) made its report upon the Budget, as presented by the Government. On three points the Opposition took exception to the Ministerial proposals, and these proved insurmountable objections to any agreement being arrived at during the session. The three points were the increase in salaries of the officials of the Crown, the grant to the University, and the vote for a new iron-clad.

When the Budget, as amended by the Folksthing, reached the Landsthing, it was in a form which the Government refused to accept; and the Upper House, acceding to the wishes of the Ministry, restored it to its original form, and returned it to the Folksthing, which adhered to its views. Finding all chance of arriving at a settlement hopeless, the Cabinet recommended the dissolution of the Rigsdag, a step of somewhat doubtful expediency, as the Radicals could wish for no better cry during the coming campaign than that the Ministry were attempting to

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compel the Folksthing to forego its constitutional rights with regard to a Money Bill.

Possibly the unwillingness displayed by the Folksthing to give serious consideration to any of the Government measures may have strengthened the Ministry in their resolution to dissolve the Lower House. The only measure they had been able to pass was one for regulating punishment in the army; and this had been introduced by an independent member of the Moderate party, and carried against the Radicals by the aid of the Government.

Under these circumstances, the King, acting upon the advice of his Ministers, dissolved Parliament on May 7, on the ground stated in his rescript, "that as the Folksthing has shown itself unable and unwilling to conclude even a small part of the legislative work laid before it, and it being impossible to arrive at any agreement about the Budget, he had decided to dissolve the Rigsdag."

The new elections took place on May 24, and on the 27th of the same month the Rigsdag again met. The elections had not altered the state of the parties, and after a month of fruitless labour in committee, and useless discussion between the two Houses, no nearer approach to a settlement of the Budget was obtained than in the former Rigsdag. In view, however, of the deadlock then created, it was agreed to renew the "temporary" Budget, which already had been extended to June 30, for the remaining part of the financial year. Practically the Ministry thus obtained that control over the public revenue and expenditure which the Folksthing would have refused them, excepting on the points on which discussion had arisen. The King then dissolved Parliament for a second time on July 6.

The new elections, which were ordered for July 26, were the cause of considerable excitement throughout the country; the result, however, was that the Radicals returned still stronger to the Rigsdag, the Right having lost six seats in the contest. The new Rigsdag assembled on August 9, and by the 18th the Folksthing had considered and passed the Budget through its three stages, giving it exactly the same form as in the former sessions. On reaching the Landsthing it was again remodelled in accordance with the Ministerial views. No agreement being possible between the two Chambers, the Rigsdag at length was prorogued on August 30.

In the meantime a change had taken place in the Ministry. General Kaufmann, whose retirement had been expected for some time, resigned his post as Minister of War, and Mr. Raon, Minister of Marine, undertook the two departments.

On November 29 the new session of the Rigsdag was opened, when the Government laid before the Folksthing a number of Bills, some outstanding from former sessions, the others totally new and of considerable importance. Mr. Berg, the leader of the Radical party, however, declared that he would support none of

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the Government measures, and that the Budget should only be passed on being altered to suit the views of his party; and here the matter was resting at the close of the year.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA.

I. INDIA, AFGHANISTAN, AND FRONTIER AFFAIRS.

THE imperial census, which was practically taken at one and the same time throughout India, represents perhaps the most extensive statistical task ever attempted by any Government. Arrangements had to be made for the enumeration, not only of the provinces of British India proper, but also of the whole of the feudatories, except Kashmir and Nepaul, within the limits of the empire. The results show a population of over 254,000,000, out of which more than 204,000,000 reside in the territory under the dominion of the Crown.

During the last three years the relations of India with its immediate neighbours on the north and west have engaged the most earnest attention of the public as well as of statesmen. The successful move of Russian statecraft in 1878, at the time when the relations between that country and England were at their utmost tension, involved India in political embarrassments, from which it is scarcely prudent to say, as yet, that three years of warfare and diplomacy have succeeded in extricating her. The change of policy consequent upon the advent to power of a Liberal Ministry appeared to impart a new vitality to the never-ending dissension between the two leading sects of frontier experts in both England and India; whilst the native feeling on the question of the extension of the imperial responsibilities has not been withheld. To nearly all, the financial rather than the sentimental aspect, or the chance of obtaining the repayment of the cost of the war from the home exchequer, was the chief consideration. In a very few quarters the importance of the principle involved in the contribution made by Parliament was not lost sight of in the regret aroused by its comparative smallness.

In the beginning of the year news was received of the advance of a column of Russian troops under General Krapotkine, in co-operation with General Skobeleff, against the strong position of Geok-tepe, held in force by the Tekke Turkomans. The flying column, acting under the direct orders of General Kaufmann, committed the error, not infrequent of late, in warfare with foes of a less advanced civilisation, of underrating its antagonists, and

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some considerable opposition had to be overcome. The conclusion of the affair, however, was in competent hands, and Skobeleff, instead of at once pushing forward to avenge the defeat of his colleague, waited till the railway in his rear had been completed enough for the security of his position. He then invested Geok-Tepe with a large force, taking all the precautions of a regular siege, and thus rendering failure almost out of the question. In the meantime General Kaufmann visited Samarkand and Bokhara, where for some years past four of the Tekke chiefs from Merv, whose co-operation the Governor-General thought might prove useful, had taken refuge. It appears, too, that the son of the previous Khan of Merv was fighting in the Tekke ranks at Geok-Tepe, his possessions being administered for him in the meantime by the son of the predecessor of his father in the khanate. Skobeleff, after his success at Geok-Tepe, advanced to Askabad, and sent outposts as far as the Persian frontier at Anno, where he himself stayed a short time. In his account of the action before the fort of the Tekke town, he did full justice to the prowess and good arrangements of the enemy, who made no less than three desperate sorties before their surrender. The extreme point of Skobeleff's advance was Kelat, about 100 miles from Merv; and happening as it did, when the confusion occasioned by the assassination of the Tsar had tended to throw the authority into the hands of the military party, it was thought in some quarters likely that advantage would be taken by the frontier generals of relaxed control to push on operations to a point where disavowal or prohibition would come too late. The course of the Keshef-Rud, which joins the Hari-Rud, or river of Herat, was indeed reported by the correspondent of the *Daily News* to be under the survey of a combined party of Russians and Persians, but no further advance of troops ensued. The stream is of importance, as it bounds on the north a bit of desert land formerly occupied by Turkomans, abandoned some time ago for other settlements, although commanding the strong position of Surrakhs, a place of great value with respect to Herat, lower down the same valley. The inference to be drawn from this proceeding, according to some authorities, is that by this move, and with the willing aid of Persia, the necessity of Merv as a base for further advances has been avoided. From Persia it was announced that the Shah's forces had succeeded in expelling the leaders of the Kurdish insurrection from the country, after inflicting a defeat on a strong body of the insurgents at Urmiah; the leaders, or most of them, escaping across the Turkish frontier, where they were seized by the Turks.

The events in Turkestan, however, are of less immediate interest with reference to India than those in Afghanistan. At the close of last year the Amir was left attempting to consolidate his influence over the heterogeneous elements entrusted to his charge; whilst Ayub, his most formidable rival, was establishing

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his authority as far as possible in the neighbourhood of Herat. As there were no accredited agents of the Indian or British Government with either party the news received was of the most untrustworthy and contradictory kind. The Amir seems to have conciliated the Kohistani tribe by remissions of revenue to some extent; but, on the other hand, he was reported to have extorted a "benevolence," or forced advance of town duties, from the traders of Kabul. The turbulent tribe of the Hazaras refused for a time to acknowledge the new ruler, and withheld the Bamian revenue. The Tarakhi Ghilzais, too, in the direction of Girishk revolted, and it took some trouble and negotiation to bring them back again into allegiance. Nor were matters nearer the capital much more settled. The ladies of the family of the ex-Amir Yakub, and his adherents, began, as early as October 1880, to intrigue with the tribes on the Kabul-Jelalabad route, and brought into the city a crowd of Mohmands, staunch supporters of Yakub, with retinues fully armed, numbering some 6,000 men. When Muhammad Jan returned, there was reason to apprehend an outbreak; but his influence was enough to prevent violence amongst his allies, whilst it seemed that he was not more disposed to throw in his lot against the Amir than to give him active support. For some time he was the popular hero of the city; and though he paid his respects to the Amir, the probabilities of a revolt were looked upon as so great that the Khyber tribes took the initiative by recommencing raids on the caravans passing their settlements. The rumour that reached the ears of Muhammad Jan, of the intention of the Amir to arrest him at an interview, had the effect of keeping him aloof from the court; whilst the other and less powerful Sirdars, finding that no fixed provision was made for their allowances, also refrained from attending. In the meantime the Amir took active steps towards the reconstruction of his army. Recruiting was carried on round the capital. The arms that had been carried off by the men whose regiments had been previously disbanded were traced and recovered. The establishment for the manufacture of small-arms was reopened, and the existing forces concentrated round Kabul. It was reported by stray traders who reached India that the Amir was devoting his attention to establishing his authority in Afghan Turkestan, and was sending thither large sums of money. The arrival of his family, which had been left there on his first return to his native country, and which was sent for when he was safe in Kabul, put an end to most of these rumours. As soon as the Amir had re-enlisted a sufficient force of the disbanded soldiers, he despatched an expeditionary army from Turkestan to the neighbourhood of Maimanah, under Ishak Khán, who was mainly successful in winning over the Balkh faction to the side of the Amir. To appreciate the full bearing of this move it is necessary to turn to what had been going on in the meanwhile at Herat.

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The young Sirdar Ayub, on his return from the defeat he had suffered at Mazra, at the hands of General Roberts, was seemingly affected with a sudden mistrust of his friends and connections, whom he accused of corresponding with the British in Kandahar. After luring his father-in-law, Khán Agha, of whose tribe, the Jamshedi Aimaks, he was doubtful, to a visit to Herat, Ayub had him executed, and some of his chief followers imprisoned. The son of the murdered chief, by name Yalantush Khán, fled towards Maimanah in open revolt, but was prevented by the Amir's governor there from making his way into Turkestan by that route. Muhammad Ishak Khán then moved up his Turkestan contingent. Meanwhile another of Ayub's supporters, Háshim Khan, a Barakzai of good family and some influence, had been sent by Ayub to collect revenue from the tribes in the Farrah district, and to persuade the Zamindávar and southern tribes generally not to make any terms with the agents of the Amir, as Ayub would arrive in the spring to help them in their resistance.

Háshim, however, was much displeased with the execution of Khán Agha by Ayub, because, he said, it was above all things advisable not to create a feud between the Alizais and his own and Ayub's family—the Barakzais. About the same time, on hearing of the decision of the Government with regard to their withdrawal from that city, he entered into correspondence with the British political officers in Kandahar, pointing out that, though he had thrown up his charge and deserted from Jelalabad during the negotiations with Abdurrahman, he had never borne arms against the British. Ayub, also, whose position in Herat was becoming less and less secure, wrote to Colonel St. John, the agent for Quettah and Beluchistan, denying any complicity in, or even knowledge of the murder of Lieutenant Maclaine after the rout at Mazra. The announcement of the abandonment of Kandahar, as soon as a stable government could be ensured, led both these Sirdars to hope that the choice of the British Government might fall on themselves. A rivalry was thus established, which created a serious breach of the friendship that had formerly kept Háshim in alliance with his younger kinsman.

The emissaries sent to Kandahar, after a stay of some weeks, returned to Herat without hope of arranging the affair, and Ayub at once betook himself to maintain his position by force of arms. At the time of the arrest of Khán Agha the chiefs of the Taimani tribe, who, with the Jamshedi, Firozkohi, and Hazaras, make up the combination known as the Chár Aimak, fled to Kandahar, and were followed by the Taiwarra chief of Gaur, a strong position some sixty-five miles north of Girishk. Abdul Wahab, the leader of the expedition sent by Ayub against the latter, got possession of the fort, and proclaimed himself governor. The difficulty experienced by Ayub in procuring supplies near Herat was the probable cause of the attempt made by his agent to levy taxes from the Taiwarra people. These, however, rose against him, and succeeded

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in turning him out of the district with all his Herati followers. Meanwhile Yalantush Khán, who had fled to Maimanah, induced the governor there to give him shelter. The young chief at once engaged in intrigues with the Turkomans of the Arghandab Valley, and joined them in several raids in the neighbourhood of Herat. The details of what was taking place in the city itself at this time are very difficult to ascertain. There were, no doubt, serious dissensions amongst the leaders, fomented by Muhammad Háshim, who knew himself to be in favour with the northern tribes, and thus looked upon the fading popularity of Ayub as so much gain to his own aspirations. Ayub, moreover, had reason to suspect the fidelity of some of the regiments that had been with him in the last expedition, and even his generals did not escape his anger. The troops were disbanded, and some of the chiefs put into confinement. The difficulty of getting supplies and money was growing pressing, but the state of affairs in Kabul removed Ayub's fear of attack from without; and it was some time before the Amir was in a position to take the offensive against Herat.

The relations between the British Government and Afghanistan may be briefly summed up. On the 2nd January the *Times* correspondent at Kandahar telegraphed, "The New Year finds this part of Afghanistan in profound quiet, with trade reviving, money plentiful, and every prospect of a good harvest next spring." Beyond the report of an unsettled feeling towards the Helmand, which induced the officer in command of the Kandahar force to send a small expedition in that direction, there was nothing to call the garrison from the town limits. The agent for the Amir at Girishk had received visits from a good many of the Alizai and Durani chiefs in the southern districts; and towards the Scind frontier the rare and not very serious raids of the local tribes are all there is to record.

The grounds of the decision of the Government for the withdrawal from Kandahar were duly communicated to the Government of India, in a despatch which finally ordered the evacuation to take place as soon as a suitable governor had been appointed to replace the military *régime*, and that the new ruler, whoever he might be, was to be given to understand that he was not to expect any help which involved the employment of Her Majesty's troops beyond the frontiers of India. It was also enjoined upon the authorities entrusted with the negotiations regarding the transfer, that the appointment of the Afghan governor was to be made within as short a time as possible, and that delays were to be avoided. The army was to be withdrawn, too, at the earliest date, to the British outposts. On the substance of this decision being communicated to the Amir, he replied that he would send a governor of his choice to Kandahar with a military force as soon as the latter could be organised and despatched. It was reported that the person chosen by him was a sirdar named Hassan, and that the leader of the accompanying force was Ghulám Hyder

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Tokhi. The general opinion of the experienced was that the feud between the Ghilzais, to whom Ghulám belonged, and the Durranis, the most influential tribe round Kandahar, rendered the selection of one of the former for an important post like that of commander of the forces ill judged, and likely to give offence, especially if the agents of the Durranis with Ayub should take active steps to excite an intertribal animosity in the parts of the country towards the Helmand and Girishk. It was evident, however, that the selection was made by the Amir in furtherance of a settled plan he had formed for the attachment to his side of the powerful Ghilzai tribes as a counterpoise to the influence of the Shere Ali faction in the south.

The evacuation of the city was first ordered to begin on April 10, but the date was afterwards changed to the 13th, on account of the heavy rain that fell about the former time, and rendered marching inconvenient. The advance guard of the Kabul force entered Kandahar on April 1. Bad weather again caused a postponement of the march of the British eastwards, and in the meantime Sirdar Muhammad Hassan Khán, the Governor, arrived. The actual march towards the Pishin Valley began on the 21st, on which date the posts were formally transferred to the Afghan troops. The orders regarding the disposition of General Hume's force were, that it should occupy the outposts of Chaman and the Khojak, together with the rest of the Pishin Valley, till further instructions—dependent, necessarily, on the course of events in Kandahar. It was arranged from the first that the return of the Bengal troops should be by the Thal-Chotiali route, for the double purpose of opening the communications in that quarter, and to overawe the marauding tribes there, which were likely to take advantage of the march and dispersion of the troops to recommence their raids upon the convoys and detached bands of followers.

The expedition under General Macgregor, which had been sent against the Marris, to punish that tribe for the serious affrays that had taken place with them on the line of road from the frontier, succeeded in securing some hostages, and the promise of the restoration of the property stolen by the tribe. It was alleged in some quarters, however, that the hostages given up were only men whom the tribe knew could be easily seized at any time, and were put up, therefore, to induce the General to retire without getting any substantial redress or security. This report received some colour from the fact that soon after the withdrawal of the large force of General Macgregor, Sir R. Sandeman found it advisable to enter the Marri tract with a small and easily handled force, and to obtain from the real offenders the restoration at headquarters of much of the booty of which the convoy trains had been robbed. The road has since been almost free from the annoyance caused by this troublesome tribe of freebooters. The position occupied at Thal seemed to keep them in awe of a

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second invasion of their country, whilst the Khojak outpost was equally effective in dominating the west. Meanwhile the country had been thoroughly examined and surveyed. Roads were opened in several fresh directions, and a cross route discovered to the line of rail between Sibi and the Indus. The outposts on the Chaman-Kandahar line were occupied, as the British left them, by small parties of thirty to forty Afghan soldiers, and the march homewards was completed without inconvenience or delay of any sort.

Meanwhile, the rumours about the position of Ayub in Herat, and his probable movements, were most contradictory. All that was established was his want of money and the unsatisfactory conduct of a portion of his regiments. On the return of the envoys he had sent to Kandahar his emissaries appeared in the Helmand country, and within a month of the evacuation of the city by the British, there were skirmishes between a small body of troops sent from Herat, aided by Durrani levies, and the Amir's garrison at Girishk. The latter had been placed under Sirdar Gul Muhammad, with instructions that he should do his utmost to enlist the Alikzais and Durranis on the side of the Amir. Some of them did, no doubt, "come in," and assured the envoy of their adherence to the cause of the Kabul party; but the success of Ayub last year, and the position he assumed of Ghazi and expeller of the infidel, gave him a strong title to the assistance of the southerners, amongst whom his victory at Maiwand was still a fresh occurrence, whilst the subsequent defeat was nothing to them but the accident of a successful bit of strategy, with the advantage on the part of the British of numbers: in fact, on the tidings of the ill success of the attempt to secure the recognition of his claim to at least some portion of the Afghan dominion, Ayub seems to have come forward as the champion of the faith, and necessarily, therefore, the enemy of the British. He still remained, however, in Herat, though his lack of cash and war material was making his position gradually more difficult to retain. In the first slight skirmish in the Girishk direction, the troops from Herat were beaten back by Gul Muhammad. Meanwhile Háshim Khán had arrived in Farrah from Herat, with the intention of arousing the tribes of that part and of Zamindawar against the Amir's officers. The leader of the unsuccessful skirmish, instead of withdrawing to the head-quarters of Háshim, who was practically in charge of the whole of the operations, continued to hover round the Girishk territory, and to keep up a state of unquiet. The Governor of Kandahar, in anticipation of Ayub's supposed advance from Herat, despatched troops from the city to Girishk, and some from Kelat-i-Ghilzai brought on to Kandahar to replace them. Muhammad Hassan and his colleague, Azim, the leader in the first skirmish, then made a forward move, and took up their position in the old fort of Girishk, a place of no great strength to hold, but a good shelter for those engaged in the

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process of annoying, which was the case with the Herat party. The Governor of Girishk, accordingly, after some desultory skirmishing, enticed the enemy from the fort into the open, where the Amir's troops inflicted on them a second and more severe defeat, forcing them to retire from the fort altogether.

The third engagement between these forces took place on the Helmand, at a village by name Harez-i-Safet, on the 11th June. The Amir's troops consisted of two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, with two guns. The levies, under Muhammad Hasan, were again dispersed, and their leader forced to retire to Shiaband, whilst Háshim, who had not taken part in the action, withdrew back to Farrah. The Sartip was by this time 50 miles north of Girishk, with a body of the Herat cavalry. As it was evident that the incursions of Azim and Háshim were only the trial steps in a more extended plan of attack, the Amir's authorities in Kandahar ordered up troops towards the Girishk frontier, lest Ayub should, with the Afghan respect for lucky days, attempt a general advance on Kandahar on the anniversary of his Maiwand victory in the preceding year.

At Kabul, the results of the expedition of the Amir's uncle I Shak Khán, in the Badakshan direction, were watched with great interest by the Indian authorities, that district giving a safe and easy base of operations in the Gilgit and Chitral quarter. It was ascertained, however, that the sirdar had had little difficulty in winning over the tribes of that province, which was soon outwardly reconciled to the new *régime*.

The reports of raids into Bokhara territory, made by Turki parties from Badakshan, gave rise to some uneasiness, owing to the opportunity for interference that such occurrences were likely to give the Russian officers in Turkestan, who exercised a protectorate from Samarkand over the Amir of Bokhara's affairs; but the appointment by the Amir of a new governor, and the allegiance of the Maimanah tribes, promised at least a short period of settled rule in the north of Afghanistan. The Tarakhi Ghilzais, on the remission of part of the poll tax, had already come to terms; other tribes had followed, but there was still some ferment on the eastern boundary, where the family of Yakub had a strong hold of the people. Abdurrahman sent one of his most trusted generals, Mir Ahmed, to Calcutta, on a mission to the Viceroy, the results of which were not published; but the envoy remained in India for a considerable time, and obtained from the Indian Government the subsidy arranged for at the time of the Kabul negotiations—some eighteen lacs of rupees, or about 150,000*l.* sterling, as well as a present of small-arms and ammunition.

The news of the departure of Ayub from Herat early in July was confirmed by later messengers, and it was further stated that he was encamped a march or two on the Kandahar-Herat road, awaiting the receipt of an answer to a message he had sent to the Persian authorities at Meshed. The purport of this message

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is not mentioned in any accounts, but on the return of Afzul Khán, the envoy, with the reply from Meshed, Ayub seems to have marched towards the Helmand without loss of time. From this it may be inferred that the overtures, possibly relating to the future connection of the Herat dependency with Persia, were not entertained by the authorities of the latter country. Háshim and Muhammad Hassan continued, meanwhile, to collect supplies and money from the Farrah district, with the aid of the Sartip, who had been reconciled again to Ayub, with whom, in common with the other Herat sirdar, he had been at variance. From Kandahar it was reported that the temporary governor had got into a dispute with Sirdar Gul Muhammad, of Girishk, and that the commander of the forces, Ghulam Hydar Tokhi, had gone out to that place to effect a settlement of the difference. On hearing of the advance of Ayub and the proceedings of the Herat leaders in Zamindawar and Farrah, the General sent at once to Kandahar for reinforcements, their place at the city being supplied from the advance troops from Kabul, which had already reached Kelat-i-Ghilzai. The attitude of the Durránis and adjacent tribes was so uncertain that he decided to remain at Girishk until events declared themselves further. The Amir, on his part, had sent forward the Kandahar contingent with all haste, and had despatched Abdul Kudus to the Taiwaras, the tribe most hostile to Ayub in the Aimak confederacy, in the hope of inciting a combined advance with them on Herat. His overtures were well received, and as the Taiwaras required an Aimak leader, Abdul Kudus was entrusted with the arrangement in conjunction with Aubia Khán, a Taiwara chief. Ishak Khán, meanwhile, was operating from Turkestan by way of Maimanah, whilst a counter move was in progress on the part of Ayub, in the form of emissaries to the Kabul tribes, who had not yet declared themselves to be friendly to the Amir. On July 17 Ayub was 30 miles from the Helmand, whilst his agents—the Sartip, Hassim, and Haran—were on the Keshrud, collecting supplies. This rapid march showed that Ayub wished to meet the Girishk force before the fresh troops had arrived, so that the news of a victory might reach Herat before the arrival of Ishák and the Aimaks. When one march from Girishk, however, he made an ineffectual effort to come to terms with the Amir's general-in-chief. Ayub then crossed the river below Girishk, and on the 24th made for Kandahar, Ghulam Hyder moving out against him with a force of 4,000 infantry, 2,500 cavalry, and 18 guns. Ayub had, it is said, 2,300 infantry, 2,500 cavalry, and from 13 to 15 guns. The two forces met at a place called Karez-i-Atta, close to the field of Maiwand, on the anniversary of the British disaster in 1880. The Amir's army was not efficiently handled, whereas Ayub had one of the best generals amongst the Afghans on his side. Early in the day a charge of Heráti horse threw into confusion a column advancing on the city, though, perhaps, the fortune of the day was

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really turned by the desertion to Ayub of a regiment of Kabuli foot. A flight ensued, Ghulam Hyder leaving on the field his baggage and about five lakhs of rupees in treasure, and Ayub occupied Kandahar on the same day. A reconnaissance in the direction of Kelat-i-Ghilzai showed the Amir's force in too great strength for any further advance in that direction, and Ayub remained at Kandahar to collect money and supplies, and to ascertain the probable attitude of the Durráni irregular horse. Háshim Khán was appointed Governor of Kandahar and Hassan to the charge of Zamindawar. Amir's garrison at Kelat-i-Ghilzai had meanwhile been strengthened by considerable reinforcements from Ghazni, and the Amir himself had announced his intention of leading the attack on Ayub's position. . The Zamindáwar and other Durránis seem to have been divided in their allegiance, for whilst the levies anticipated by Ayub were not so numerous as was expected, some of the chiefs of the neighbourhood came to join the Kabul army at Kelat. Ayub, meanwhile, was put to great straits for money and means of transport, and the delay thus caused to his advance had some effect in turning the people against him. In addition to these obstacles, there were daily desertions from his force to the Amir, and the Herati troops declined to march in the direction of Kabul. The Amir left Kabul on August 14, and pushed on to Ghazni quickly. By September 1 he was at Kelat, and lost no time in sending a body of horse towards Kandahar. The day after he led his main force to within twenty miles of that city. Ayub, who had been sending convoys of treasure and supplies to Herat, now offered to negotiate, giving out in the city that he was the enemy, not of the Afghans, but of the British. Want of the means of transport prevented his choice of ground, so at last he drew up his whole available force on the south-west of the city wall outside, and awaited the Kabul attack.

Finding the forces of Ayub posted on the south-west of the city, the Amir took his army round to the Quetta road, thus securing the means of retreat in two directions if he were defeated. On the morning of September 20 he moved out of his position to occupy a range of low hills close by the old city, where Ayub was encamped in force. A general engagement ensued, and there was a severe bout of fighting for nearly two hours, when the Kabuli regiment, which had before deserted from Ghulam Hyder at Karez-i-Atta, again turned traitors, and fired from their position in the rear on Ayub's advanced troops. This, together with the quite unexpected retirement of a large part of the Herati cavalry, decided the fortunes of the day; and Ayub, abandoning his guns and baggage, fled a second time by the road to Herat, which was still open to him. The Amir prevented his troops from doing much damage in the city, though he seems to have been less anxious about the protection of the villages in the Arghandab Valley and other parts of the neighbourhood. The strength of

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the force engaged on the 20th was estimated, on the Amir's side, at 7,000 infantry, 8,000 cavalry (including irregulars), and 18 guns; whilst Ayub had about 5,000 regular infantry, 1,500 Herati cavalry (with 10,000 Durrani irregulars), and 14 guns. No attempt was made by the Amir to pursue the fugitives, and the Durranis went back to their homes. After occupying Kandahar, he sent to Kabul for siege guns, and moved four regiments to Girishk, but made no advance on Herat. On the Herat road two engagements had taken place, though not in the direction stated; and in both the Amir's leader, Kudus Khán, had gained the advantage, whilst the second, fought one march out of Herat, was decisive, resulting in the flight of Ayub to Ghain, in Persian territory. Abdul Kudus and his Aimak colleagues entered the city on October 4. As the state of parties there was not such as to make the position a safe one, the Amir's two relations, Ishak and his nephew Yusuf, continued their marches in the directions of Maimanah and Kandahar respectively. In the interior of the country the Kohistáni tribe had risen on the departure of Abdurrahman for Kandahar, but were soon brought to terms. The Wardaks, also, whose popular leader, Muhammad Jan, had been put into prison by the Amir before the Kandahar expedition set forth, appeared likely to cause serious trouble, and had not submitted by the end of the year.

The state of affairs in Kandahar was held satisfactory enough to induce the British authorities to withdraw the strong brigade under General Hume from Quettah, leaving in its place a smaller force, composed principally of troops belonging to the Bombay army. The retiring force took the opportunity of passing through the Bozdár country by the Chotiáli route, so as to complete the survey of that road to India.

Further to the north the evacuation had proceeded more rapidly. The Kurram Valley was held from Thal, but even there the garrison was reduced before long to the ordinary footing. The Khaibar Pass from Lundi-Kotal was retained until the arrangements under negotiation with the tribes of the pass had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

In return for a sum for maintenance and an extra grant to the tribes, *jezailchis* (or musketeers) were to accompany every caravan through the pass, and were to be responsible for its safety. The annual cost of this arrangement was about 16,000*l*., and the agreement extended to all the frontier tribes whose land bordered on the pass. The force raised for this purpose was about 400 strong, and was placed under the command of a native officer of the British army. The arrangement so far had been found to work well, but an additional and alternative route through the territory of a rival tribe was decided upon.

The evacuation of the Khaibar began on March 19, and a week before the Bazar Afridis descended on the pass and carried off some cattle from a village between Ali-Masjid and Lundi-Kotal.

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The marauders were pursued and the cattle recovered by the newly formed corps, aided by the Zakka Khel. Previous to this the telegraph wires had been cut near the frontier station of Kohat. The Khaibar was reported free from British occupation on March 21, but a brigade of sufficient strength to meet emergencies was left at Jamrud. A few cases of arms-stealing and cattle-lifting were reported, but nothing of serious importance.

The chief event of the year on this part of the frontier was the expedition organised to punish the Mahsud Waziris for the serious raid made by some of them on the frontier town of Tonk in January 1879. The delay, which at first seems excessive, turned out to be really of no consequence, as the intention of the Government to carry a large force completely through the country of the offending tribe was so thoroughly carried out that the effect was greater than that caused by the usual practice on such occasions of hasty and partial incursions against a few villages. When the state of affairs beyond the frontier set at liberty a considerable portion of the Punjab force, General Kennedy was put in command of an organised expedition, which was to march straight on the chief town of the Mahsudi section of the tribe; and after taking the leaders of the Tonk affair, who were well known, was instructed to return by another route, so as to give every opportunity for a complete survey of the country. In order to carry out this plan it was necessary to have a sufficient force for the actual military operations as well as a reserve for the protection of the surveying parties. The time selected for the starting of the expedition was, as usual, about harvest, or shortly before, when the chance of injury to the crops made the people less inclined to aid the escape or resistance of the persons wanted. The force was really in two divisions: that under General Kennedy started from Tonk, whilst General Gordon, advancing from Bannu, was to meet the former at or near Kanigoram, the chief town aimed at. It was also to bring up the required supplies, so as to render General Kennedy independent of the resources of the place itself. The tribe against which the operations were chiefly directed were the Balolzais, a subdivision of the Waziris, well known for their predatory habits, and outnumbering all the rest of the tribe. They hold the hills about Bannu, though the Waziris, as a whole, occupy the stretch of country from the Kurram to the south of Tonk. As soon as General Kennedy had made himself acquainted with the work to be done he asked for an addition to his force, which now consisted of more than 4,000 men of all arms, with a contingent of sappers, pioneers, and artillery. In order to get together enough supplies for so large a force, the start was postponed from March till April. The Waziris took the opportunity afforded by this delay to send to the neighbouring tribes for assistance, and even applied to the Amir for his countenance to their proceedings. Their applications, however, met with no response. A tribal assembly or *jirgah* was then held, at which it was agreed to sur-

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render the ringleaders of the raid that was the cause of this trouble. As soon as it was seen that General Kennedy was actually starting for the hills, five out of the six chiefs were given over to the British authorities; but the sixth, the real leader of the raid, was not surrendered, and could not be found, nor did his section of the tribe come to the *jirgah* of the rest. The expedition thereupon started for the south of the Mahsud country, occupied by the Mana-khel, as this tribe was called. They met with little regular resistance, though the survey parties were fired on several times, and there was on one or two occasions an obstinate attack on detached portions of the column. The crops and caves of the adherents of Máshik, the recusant chief, were injured or destroyed, and the expedition reached Kanigoram without difficulty, and both took their respective roads back. General Kennedy reached Tonk on May 18, and the rest were at Bannu by the week after. The five ringleaders who had been surrendered were sent to the jail at Dera, but the remaining one, Máshik, fled to Cabul; his son, however, was delivered up as a hostage. Apart from the practical results of the enterprise, which comprised the discovery of the alternative route to Kanigoram, and the valuable surveys that were made, the expedition was of considerable use in other respects. The strict blockade established against the section of the tribe that was supposed, and correctly, to have it in their power to produce Máshik if he reappeared in Mahsudi territory, had the desired effect of procuring his surrender some months later; and at the end of the year there was no outstanding difference between the Government and this powerful tribe.

From the north-east, Mr. Ney Elias, Joint Commissioner of Ladakh, after a visit to Kashgar early in the year, reported that there was small chance of an immediate extension of intercourse between the district under the government of the Chinese and British India. The reoccupation had led to an increased demand for opium, but the extra supply was imported from Turkestan and Persia, not from India. Later in the year an enterprising trader of Calcutta made a trip to the frontier with a caravan of merchandise, and returned with a rather more favourable opinion of the prospects in that quarter. The regulations for forced labour, which had driven a good many people from Yarkand to the Punjab early in the year, were probably relaxed as soon as the reoccupation of Ili, and the consequent removal of the possibility of immediate war with Russia, allowed the Chinese Government to administer the district on a peace footing.

In Kashmir the Maharaja is reported to have given great impulse to the development of the resources of his dominions in several minor directions; but there is no doubt that the condition of the country leaves much room for improvement, especially in the treatment of the mass of the people.

Passing eastwards towards the valley of the Brahmaputra, we find the Nágas still disposed to give trouble by their small raids

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on rival tribes; and the partial failure of the autumn crops gave rise to some anxiety lest the Lushais, who came down to the tea plantations in large numbers when their supplies of food were exhausted, might resort to some violent means of supporting themselves at the expense of their neighbours. The maintenance of part of the additional force sent up last year, however, and the arrangements made by the authorities for providing immigrants with work requiring unskilled labour, had satisfactory results. On the Dibong River the state of affairs was more serious. The Bor-Abors, a warlike and hostile tribe, who had once endeavoured to induce the Mishmis, their neighbours, to unite with them in a raid on the British frontier villages, announced their intention of setting out to intercept the traders who come every year from the hill districts to the plains of Assam with the produce of their own country, taking back supplies of considerable value. The Commander-in-Chief, who at the time was preparing for a tour of inspection in the Assam Valley, ordered an expedition of troops and pioneers to proceed to Nizamghat, the only ford by which the Abors could cross the Dibong, and to erect a strong stockade there, making a passable road to it as the force advanced.

II. INDIA—INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

In the history of a collection of mixed and in many cases antagonistic elements like that which the British rule has brought, to use the phrase of the Hindu chronicler, "under one umbrella," the first point that commands attention is the public peace. This, during the period we are now reviewing, was not unbroken, though the few disturbances that have to be chronicled were neither extensive nor, as it happened, very serious. The remnants of the Rampa disturbances on the north-western frontier of Madras had died out in the district in which they originated, but some of the refugees escaped across the boundary into the small state of Jeypur, where they instigated the inhabitants of a few villages to join in rescuing some persons in the custody of the State officials. The local authorities, who had plenty of experience of the rapidity with which examples of such kind are likely to spread under suitable guidance, sent to the nearest military post for aid, and troops were despatched to the district at once, and held in readiness to act if required. Luckily the riots were put down without the intervention of other than the local officers.

The only disturbance that bore the appearance of a political origin was a conspiracy entered into by some men of several different castes and races in the Maratha state of Kolhapur, under the guidance of a Brahman. The intention deposed to on the trial of the ringleaders was to attack the British residents, including the political officers, when they were in church, and having thereby

created a state of confusion, to depose the present chief, and put on the throne a former pretender to the State, who in reality died some years ago. The local government throughout treated the affair as one of slight importance, and on the sentence of the offenders by the political court to severe punishments, reduced the terms of imprisonment to much shorter ones, in accordance with the opinion previously expressed to the supreme Government. In support of the view taken by the Bombay authorities in this matter, it must be said that the evidence at the trial plainly showed that whatever may have been the object of the Brahman, the majority of his followers had the simple idea of plunder in their eye. On the other hand, the almost incredible superstition and faith in charms and spells shown by the actors in the preliminary stages of the proposed outbreak were intelligible signs of the use to which such tools might be put. Some disturbance in the Sonthal country of Lower Bengal arose from apprehensions of the purpose of the census, for which preparations were made some time before the actual enumeration. The numbering of the houses and the preliminary record of the name of the head of each family gave rise to the strangest rumours, not only in Sonthalistan, but in far more civilised tracts. In some places it was spread abroad that the enumeration of females was being made with the object of deporting those of marriageable age for the purpose of preventing the increase of the tribe, or, as was the more usual form of story, for the provision of a sufficient number of wives for the soldiers returned from Afghanistan. The men of nearly every class believed that the proceedings foreboded either new taxation or the forcible recruiting for service in Kabul. In Sonthalistan the uneasiness of the people was taken advantage of by a popular devotee, who was, as is usual in such cases, considered to be an incarnation of some deity of the aboriginal or semi-Hindu Pantheon. When this man was captured it appeared from the papers found in his possession that his intention had been to stir up a serious rising against the British authority in the district, but this notion had not, it seemed, been communicated to his followers. In one place the riot assumed grave proportions. The mob, having burned the house of the district officer, withdrew to the woods to collect reinforcements. The arrival of troops on the borders of their territory and the arrest of their leader quelled the outbreak for the time; but the feeling against the census was so deep, and the dread of it so evidently genuine, that the local government abstained from taking a simultaneous enumeration of the Sonthal Pergunnahs. Another riot connected with the census in the Garro Hills was settled by the local officers with the help of a few extra police.

In Meywar and the northern feudatories of the Bombay Presidency, the Bhils, the most numerous and important aboriginal tribe of Western India, broke out against the local officers, and attacked some of them. The origin of the outbreak was reported at first to be the census preparations, but it afterwards transpired

that some fresh rules about the sale and manufacture of liquor obnoxious to the forest tribes, and carried out without tact, were the real cause of the discontent. The Bhils killed the subordinate revenue officer of the state in question, and incited their fellow-tribesmen to unite with them in plundering the travellers on the high roads through their country. The local irregular force was sent to the disturbed region, and its presence stopped the open appearances of lawlessness; but it was thought advisable to hold troops in readiness at Ahmedabad, the nearest garrison, and to have an inquiry made into the circumstances of the previous disputes of the Bhils with their rulers, since this tribe, besides its number, is well known for its power of organisation, and the news of an opportunity for plunder soon spreads over districts far away from that in which the first symptoms are manifested. Later in the year dissatisfaction again broke out in the same tribe, owing to some local oppression, real or imaginary, and for some months the route by which Malwa opium reaches Bombay was practically closed to traffic, owing to the state of the country.

The feeling of antagonism between Hindu and Muhammadan, so pronounced in the Punjab and parts of the upper provinces, where the two religious elements are more nearly balanced numerically than in the rest of India, is most intense in the parts where Sikh influence was once predominant, or where the *pax Britannica* has had the effect of enabling the trading classes to rise with a rapidity which the other classes do not rival. To the former belong the upper castes of Hindus; to the latter the bulk of the Muhammadan masses. The manifestation of the ill-will that subsists between the two took, during the year, the form of objections on the part of the Hindus to the slaughter or sale of cows or beef, as the case might be. Throughout these provinces, and especially in the Punjab, it has been the invariable policy of the Government to allow the slaughter of kine under such restrictions as to place and manner as seem most likely to prevent outrage to the feelings of the Hindus. Unfortunately, within the last decade the instances of quarrels about the working of these rules have been not by any means rare at Bhawalpur, a Muhammadan feudatory state, where the Hindus, though well off, are in the minority numerically. From the account given by the local authorities, the fault lay with the Hindus. They were severely handled by the Muhammadan mob during the temporary absence of the Nawab, who, however, was prudent enough to see on his return that they were protected from further violence, provided they were not the aggressors. The most serious of this series of Hindu-Muhammadan disturbances took place at Multan, where the feeling on the subject of beef-eating has long been strong. The city contains a celebrated Hindu temple, about the tower of which a controversy between the two religions had been going on for some months. Just as this dispute was coming to a crisis another *casus belli* arose, in the shape of the rumoured sale of beef by a butcher outside the authorised market,

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and therefore in a manner contrary to the regulations, and likely to offend the Hindus who were passing.

The order went forth from the leaders of the Hindu community to have all their shops shut whilst their rights were being asserted. A meeting was held and an application made about the Muhammadans' conduct to the Deputy Commissioner, who appears to have previously heard that the Hindus had no special cause of complaint, as he took no steps in the direction they desired. Accordingly, whilst a petition was sent in one direction to the Viceroy at Simla, the law was taken locally out of the hands of the authorities, and a general attack made on the mosques and shrines of the city. Two were burned down, and others much damaged. The Muhammadan community, though inferior in numbers, were of a fighting disposition, and not likely to put up with this violence; so the next day, before troops could reach the spot, part of the Hindu bazaar was burned and rifled, the Temple (which was one of the chief causes of the outbreak) wrecked and nearly destroyed, and a general riot begun. When troops from the cantonment arrived soon after, the outburst subsided as quickly as it had arisen. No loss of life is supposed to have occurred, but many persons were badly hurt, and the damage to property, by which the Hindus were the greatest losers, was very considerable. The action of the local authorities in the case of the Temple dispute was upheld by the supreme Government, and the onus of the disturbance placed on the Hindus.

During the year the Factory Act was applied, in the first place to Bombay mills only. It aimed at regulating the employment of children under the age of seven, who in Bombay are engaged in great numbers. The adult operatives are in most cases immigrants from the neighbouring districts, and come to the mills during the busy season with their whole family, returning to agriculture each year. There are, however, many permanent operatives, whose children are trained to factory work from a very tender age, and for these the provisions of the Act were specially designed.

In the relations of the paramount power with its feudatory states, the two most important events were the re-transfer of Mysore and the installation of the Gaikwar of Baroda. During the fifty years that the former had been under the immediate administration of the British Government, the debts incurred by the previous rulers were paid off, the state accurately surveyed, and the revenue assessed on a system advantageous to both landlord and ryot. The army was reduced to a strength suitable to the dignity of the State, without entailing too heavy demands on its revenues. In the despatch communicating the views of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, the Viceroy wrote: "The change in the relations between the feudatories and the British Empire that had taken place on the assumption of the imperial authority necessitated a revision of former treaties whenever the opportunity occurred, without appearing to encroach unduly on the rights of the chiefs."

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The despatch went on to say that "the British Government now undertakes the duty of protecting all native states from external enemies, and of preserving internal order by the measures necessary for securing the people from misgovernment and for supporting the lawful authority of the ruler. The assumption of all charge of the external relations of these states, the right to regulate their armament, to supervise the construction of their fortresses, and their possession of war material, and to establish British cantonments, are rights inseparable from the duties of general protection and defence. So, also, the powers of the British Government to prescribe reforms and to insist that its advice be adopted are the necessary correlatives of the admitted responsibilities of the British Government for the internal peace of the whole empire, and the general welfare of the people." In view of the changes proposed, the services of European officers were replaced by those of selected natives as the posts were vacated, and the young chief appointed as his minister the official who had for many years been the responsible head of an important department of the State. The Viceroy was represented at the installation ceremony by the Governor of Madras, and the whole affair was conducted with the usual pomp. The state of Mysore had suffered severely during the past few years from famine and bad seasons, and the monsoon rains were so deficient that it appeared at one time that in one portion of the district the commencement of relief works was imperative; but, luckily, the prospects improved later on, and the crops were in great measure saved. The extension of the line of railway from Bangalore to Mysore and the working of the Kolar gold-fields afforded a fair outlet for the labour of the country, and the Minister, who was a member of the Famine Commission, at once set on foot an agricultural department, on the model recommended by that Commission for the consideration of the Government of India.

The majority of the young Gaikwar of Baroda, which took place in his nineteenth year, was the occasion of gorgeous ceremonies in his capital. This state had been for the last six years under the administration of Raja Sir T. Madhawa Rao, whose well-known work in the states of Travancore and Indore was in no way superior to the ability with which he restored the Baroda administration to a satisfactory footing. The installation took place in December, under the auspices of the Governor of Bombay, on behalf of the Viceroy. The services of the Divan were retained for a year after the accession of the young chief to power, owing to the inexperience of the latter, and his powerlessness in the midst of the network of intrigue that is one of the main features of the Baroda administration when left to the management of the hereditary nobles, with their retinue of Maratha Brahmans.

The winter tour of Lord Ripon through the ancient principalities of Rajputana was one of the most politically successful episodes of the year. The Viceroy took the opportunity of his return journey

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to Calcutta from Simla to pay a visit to almost all the states of importance that could be reached without loss of time. His speeches both to the chiefs and to the municipal commissions of the large British towns at which he stopped, were much appreciated by the public, as affording a frank and intelligible exposition of the policy of his administration. In the large collection of states in connection with the Bombay Government there happened but little of general importance. The fertile district of Kathiawar was opened out by the extension of a branch line of railway from the neighbourhood of the Port of Bhawnagar to the cotton and wheat producing tract in the west. The unfortunate mental condition of the young Raja of the leading Maratha state of Kolhapur, though at times affording hopes of some improvement, was, at the end of the year, no better than at the beginning. The incapacity to take charge of his state was the more unlucky owing to the time that the paramount power had been obliged to administer the state since the death of the late Raja. This state is, next to Baroda, the one most looked to by the National party amongst the Maratha politicians as the hope of their educating influence; and as long as they find the paramount power in trust they are necessarily unable to establish the organisation they aim at.

Next to the Afghan war, no point in connection with India has been brought more prominently before the public than the financial position of that country. On the resignation of Sir John Strachey, Major Evelyn Baring, late administrator of the public debt funds in Egypt, and joint controller of the finances of that country, was appointed to the post of finance minister, or, more correctly, of financial member of Council. He arrived in the country at the end of 1880, in time to receive the revised estimates and to lay down the lines of the Budget for the following year. As no legislation was called for in connection with the fiscal arrangements proposed, the Budget statement took the form, in accordance with the standing orders, of a written exposition. Though it was looked forward to with considerable interest, owing to the excitement aroused by the miscalculations of the war charges in the estimates of the preceding year, the public did not greet it with any great warmth. On the whole, however, the worth of the estimates was gradually acknowledged as the year went on, when the novelty of some of the suggestions had disappeared.

Taking first the accounts of the expiring year, 1879–80, the results showed the revenue to have been 68,485,000*l.*, or 902,000*l.* better than anticipated. The expenditure, including that on war and frontier railways for strategic purposes, amounted to 69,668,000*l.*, or 2,202,000*l.* over the estimates, the excess being due to the war. If the latter item, with the provincial contributions, be excluded, the imperial revenue would have been 4,607,000*l.* in excess of the expenditure. The net cost of the war up to the end of the financial year 1880–81 was expected to reach 6,605,000*l.*, exclusive of the incidental charge for compensation

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for animals for transport, estimated at 270,000*l.* Including this item, as well as the 5,496,000*l.* spent on frontier railways, the war in Afghanistan cost, up to the end of the occupation in 1881, according to the financial statement, no less than 24,311,000*l.*, of which 5,000,000*l.* would be defrayed by the English Treasury.

The estimates for the year to March 31, 1881, showed, when originally framed, a revenue of 66,746,000*l.*, with an expenditure of 66,320,000*l.* The regular estimate, framed in the third quarter of the year, gave the following altered figures:—Revenue, 70,768,000*l.*; expenditure, 77,037,000*l.*; so that, in place of a surplus of 417,000*l.* there was a deficit of 6,269,000*l.* This result was due to the under-estimate of war charges in the early part of the year, and to the change in the system of bringing to account certain classes of those charges which were the chief elements in the erroneous calculations, the blame of which was thrown on the civil finance officials. The increase of revenue was due to the extraordinary contribution from the English funds towards the war, amounting to 2,000,000*l.*, as well as to improvement in the receipts from customs and opium. The expenditure was greater than the estimate by 10,708,000*l.*, owing first to the increased war charge, then to the transfer to this side of the account of the sum of 4,000,000*l.* of unaudited expenditure, and lastly to the extra charges on account of public works and superannuation allowances. Thus, if from the total account be excluded the war contribution and the book transfer, the net result was worse than the estimate by 4,686,000*l.*

Some important changes in the details of account were made in the estimates for the year 1881-2. Amongst these may be mentioned the entry of the famine insurance fund as expenditure, and the bringing to account at once of the balance of the English contribution towards the war. The revenue was taken at 70,981,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 70,126,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 855,000*l.* on the revenue side. It is important to note that the receipts from opium were taken at a figure considerably below that of late years, by order of the Secretary of State.

The proportion which this item of receipt bears to the total revenue, and the precarious nature of its amount, render it of the utmost importance not to let it play too prominent a part in the fiscal arrangements of the year; and apparently Lord Hartington, on the consideration of the news of the increased growth of indigenous opium in China, and the competition with the Indian article of that grown in Persia, was prudent in his instructions to the Government of India in this matter.

With regard to the two most important items in the Budget which combine a political with a financial aspect, the construction of public works, calculated to yield a profit, out of borrowed capital, and the reduction of the army and home expenditure, Major Baring laid down the general lines of Lord Ripon's policy to the following effect. The increase of the existing debt was in-

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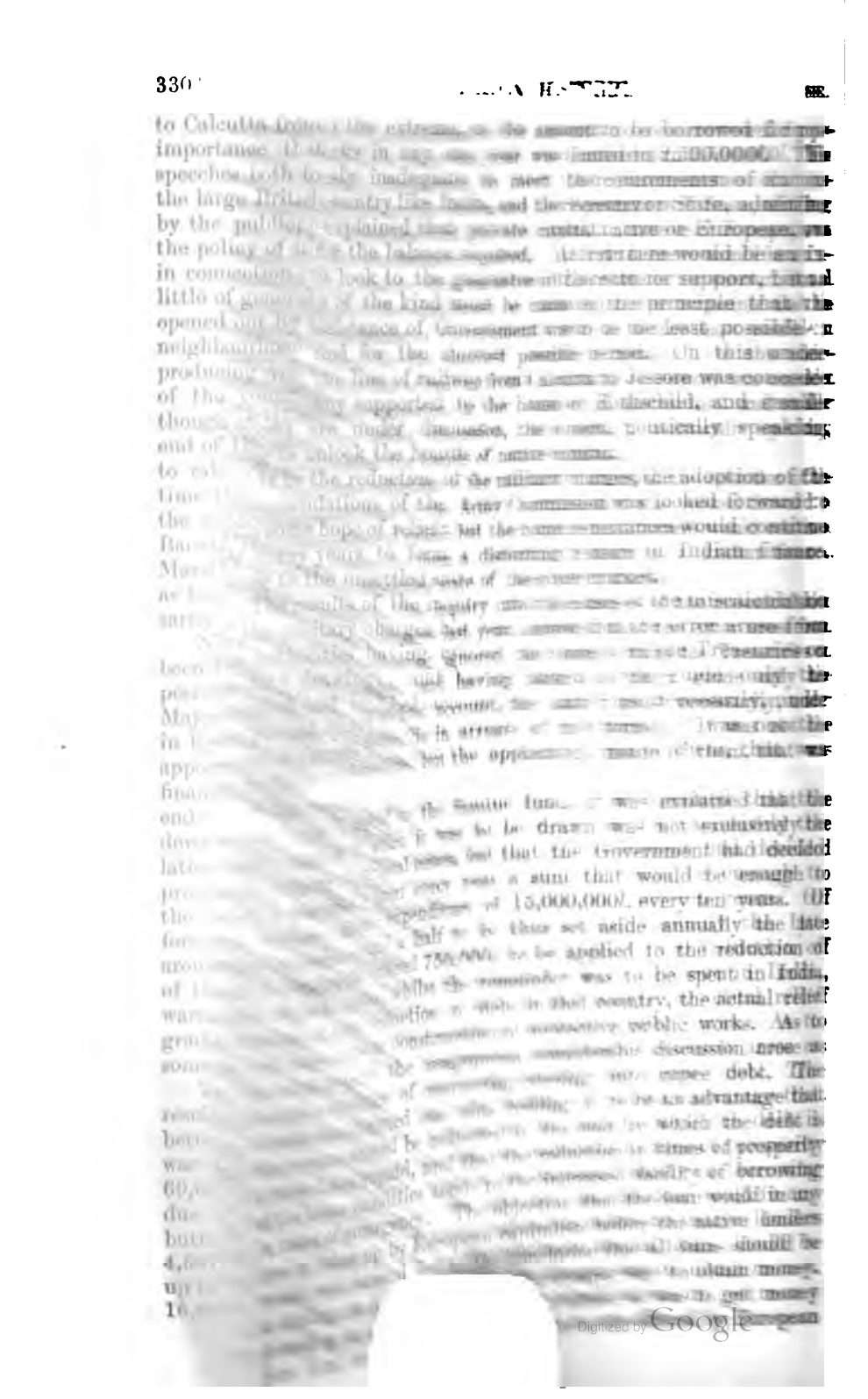

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advisable in the extreme, so the amount to be borrowed for productive works in any one year was limited to 2,500,000*l.* This was obviously inadequate to meet the requirements of an undeveloped country like India, and the Secretary of State, admitting this fact, explained that private capital, native or European, was looked to for the balance required. At first there would be an inclination to look to the guarantee of the State for support, but all agreements of the kind must be made on the principle that the financial assistance of Government was to be the least possible in amount, and for the shortest possible period. On this understanding, the line of railway from Calcutta to Jessore was conceded to a company supported by the house of Rothschild, and smaller projects are under discussion, the object, politically speaking, being to unlock the hoards of native capital.

As to the reduction of the military charges, the adoption of the recommendations of the Army Commission was looked forward to with some hope of relief; but the home remittances would continue for many years to form a disturbing feature in Indian finance, owing to the unsettled state of the silver market.

The results of the inquiry into the causes of the miscalculation of the military charges last year, showed that the error arose from the authorities having ignored the issues from the Treasuries on military drawings; and having taken as their guide only the classified and audited account, the latter must necessarily, under the present system, be in arrears of the former. It was not the accounts themselves, but the application made of them, that was in fault.

With regard to the famine fund, it was explained that the source from which it was to be drawn was not exclusively the licence tax, or local cesses, but that the Government had decided upon setting apart every year a sum that would be enough to cover a famine expenditure of 15,000,000*l.* every ten years. Of the million and a half to be thus set aside annually the late Ministry had ordered 750,000*l.* to be applied to the reduction of debt in England, whilst the remainder was to be spent in India, either in the reduction of debt in that country, the actual relief of famine, or the construction of protective public works. As to the first part of the assignment, considerable discussion arose as to the advantage of converting sterling into rupee debt. The Government argued one side, holding it to be an advantage that the revenue should be collected in the coin in which the debt is borrowed and repaid, and that the reduction in times of prosperity of the home liabilities tends to the increased facility of borrowing in times of emergency. The objection that the loan would in any case be taken up by European capitalists before the native lenders would come forward, led to the conclusion that all loans should be in sterling, as it was manifestly the cheaper way to obtain money. According to others, the object to be aimed at was to get money from local investors at the same rates as are offered by European

tenderers, and to this view the Government inclined. The main difficulty in the way of equalising the distribution of Bills between the home Government and the public is the extent of the drawings, which would involve a large increase in exports before the demand for bills to meet them would suffice. It was in connection with this question of exchange that the proceedings of the bimetallic conference in Paris excited so much interest in India amongst experts. The general view, however, amongst the commercial classes seemed to be that of the home Government.

In order to carry into effect the first part of the famine fund policy, a commission is to be appointed for the reduction of debt, the standard amount of 750,000*l.* annually is to be handed over to them; and if, from any special cause, the sum available does not reach that amount, the Government are to be bound to publish the reason for the deficiency. Power is given to the commission, moreover, to apply the funds under their charge to investments, if they find that course is more adapted to further the object of the policy than the immediate reduction of debt. The sum to constitute the famine fund will, therefore, be 1,500,000*l.* yearly, irrespective of the proceeds of the licence or any other special tax. Of the total amount, one-half will be assigned to the carrying out of protective works, and the remainder vested in the commission. If, however, the necessity for relief should arise, the whole sum would be held at the disposal of the administration for that purpose. The only point in this scheme that evoked unfavourable comments in the public press was the option given to the commission to invest the assigned funds. This provision, it was said, left too much to the fallible judgment or the personal bias of the members.

Lastly, the contribution by the Home Treasury of 2,000,000*l.* was applied at once to the reduction of home debt, and an annuity of 500,000*l.* paid into the home Treasury of the Indian Government for six years in reduction of interest charges. Thus the whole of the contribution was applied to the reduction of sterling debt; but, as it was inconvenient, from a financial point of view, to swell the revenues for six years by the sum thus paid in, it was decided to bring to account the whole sum at once, and to allow the drawings of the Secretary of State to continue at their ordinary figure.

We now come to the most important innovation introduced into the financial administration during the year. The first steps towards the decentralisation of the fiscal system were taken by Lord Mayo, in December 1870. The provincial system, as it was called, received a further extension in 1878, but the principle remained unchanged, and the alteration was chiefly in the increase in the heads of services made over to the local governments. From April 1, 1882, the practice of providing from imperial funds a fixed sum to make good the excess, where any, of provincialised expenditure over the receipts will be stopped, and a

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certain proportion of the imperial revenue of each province devoted to this purpose. As few heads as possible will be reserved as imperial, others will be divided between the two funds, whilst as many as can be effectively administered locally are to be made wholly provincial. The balance of transactions will be rectified by means of a percentage on the land revenue; thus the local governments will be given the greatest interest in the most important item of revenue in their province. Another point brought forward at the same time was the definition of the extent to which special aid is to be looked for by the local administration from the imperial funds in cases of emergency. This was decided in the sense that the local governments are to be assisted only when their own current resources and a certain portion of their savings are exhausted. The last extension of the principle of local government, and one that was in many ways the most important of all, was the definition of the means by which small local bodies, such as municipalities, can be utilised to the utmost in relieving the central and provincial governments from the detailed supervision and administration of locally raised funds. It was proposed to transfer to such bodies the administration of all funds that the local government found could be best and most efficiently entrusted to them, and to adjust some of the local rates levied for purposes which are not of such a nature.

The operation of this proposal in its full meaning and integrity will, it is said by the Government, afford opportunities for the development of self-government, for the strengthening of municipal institutions, and for the association of natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs. The prospects of the revenues which it is thus proposed to divide between the central and the local governments are good, and the details of the administration will be so completely in the hands of the latter bodies that they will be able to effectually promote economy as well as to develop the revenue; whilst their share of the increased resources thus obtained will, subject to the general rules issued by the central government, be at their free disposal. Following upon this order, there was a second circular issued by the Government of India, pointing out the heads of revenue which it was thought might in each province be assigned to local administration, with the general principle applicable with regard to such distribution. The final orders have been necessarily postponed until the various local administrations have made their proposals for the practical introduction of the new scheme, but by the end of 1881 all of them had accepted the new policy to its full extent, and were ready to carry it out from the beginning of the next financial year. The measure is one to be popular as far as its scope can be understood by the native members of the different committees, whilst in the larger towns self-government has been for many years in force. The difficulty hitherto found has been to get an active interest taken in matters not immediately under

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the eyes of the managing committees, such as small outlying works, schools, and the like; and whether the increased responsibility will excite greater and more efficient activity or not remains to be seen. The advantage of the scheme in places where there is a large resident nucleus of educated and intelligent inhabitants is undoubted, and it is there that the measure has been most gratefully received.

As regards the material condition of the country during the year, the exports of raw produce, especially of cotton and wheat, showed a great advance, whilst that of manufactured cotton goods of the coarser kind to the East Coast of Africa seem to indicate that a profitable outlet has been found for the produce of the native looms. The increase in the imports of cotton goods from England was very large, and gave rise to adverse comments on the fiscal arrangements by which such articles had been made the object of special relief.

The associations for the prohibition of the purchase or use of any but native-made clothing kept up their appeals to their less advanced compatriots, and included all foreign goods in their anathema. These agitations have no foothold in any centre of commerce, even where the protection of indigenous industries may be expected to be most energetically advocated.

The Calcutta Tea Association, in pushing its trade to Australia and, in the present year, to Canada and America, has attracted much attention in other manufacturing and commercial towns, so that it is expected other staple goods of Indian production will be pushed in foreign markets. The recent investigations made by the Government into the incidence and working of the system of town duties, or octroi, in municipalities resulted in a revision of the tariff in all such bodies. The matter cannot, however, be said to have been as yet brought to a satisfactory conclusion, as the estimate of the rate of local consumption per head of municipal population has not been based on sufficiently long experience, or extended operations, to justify any general orders on the part of the State. There is no doubt, however, that the inquiry has brought to light a great deal of what is practically transit duty; and in all cases in which this has been most apparent the imposition has been revised.

As connected with the question of free internal traffic may be mentioned the increase in the rates of grain carriage on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. This took place in January in the middle of the contract season, when a large number of engagements based on the old rates had been made by native merchants, who, in the habit of anticipating the harvest, were therefore put to the risk of heavy loss. In consequence of the change, on the representation of the Chamber of Commerce in Bombay, the railway authorities postponed the operation of the new rates till the end of the export season. Later in the year, however, there was another agitation to get a reduction of the general rate on grain carriage

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by this line (the change affecting only local traffic), on the grounds that the rates were originally fixed at a time when the export of grain from Bombay was insignificant in quantity. Attempts were made, on the other hand, in the eastern parts of India, to procure the imposition of rates on this description of goods that would equalise the cost of landing at Bombay to that of Calcutta, and the rates on the new line from Delhi to the former port were in fact raised, though not, of course, on the grounds of protecting the Calcutta trade.

The prospects of gold-mining in the Wynaad and other districts in the south of India continued to be the subject of much controversy, no positive results having been obtained. In one district alone no less than sixteen companies were in different stages of development, and the imports of mining machinery and plant to Madras had increased during the year more than fivefold the recorded amounts of the year before. Indirectly, this enterprise had been the means of introducing skilled miners from Cornwall and other parts of the United Kingdom. The country round the concessions was thus more thoroughly explored by experts, and some valuable traces found of the presence of other products besides gold. In these mines an attempt has been made to utilise the services of Eurasians, the employment of which community has been for some time a source of anxiety in South India.

A more certain and enduring way of developing the country than mining is the extension of railways, which was pushed on during the year as the financial position would allow. The first step in the way of private enterprise in this direction was in the concession to the European Company of the line from Calcutta to Jessore, based on the principle of a limited guarantee from Government during the period of construction, with the grant of land and of certain facilities of traffic by the use of portions of other lines in the suburbs of the city. There are indications that native capitalists are on the alert to watch the results of the new principle, as proposals have already been advanced by some for the construction of a light tramway in the north of India, and it is evident that other lines nearer Calcutta will be tendered for after a time. On January 1 the line from Ahmedabad to Ajmir, in connection with the existing lines to Delhi and Agra, was opened for traffic by the Governor of Bombay. The Punjab line was constructed to Peshawar, though it was opened only as far as Naushera, on the further side of the Indus—the Attock bridge being still wanting to complete the line. Another line across Rajputana and Central India is approaching completion. It connects the Ajmir line with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, passing through the cantonments of Nasirabad and Nimach, to Mhow, by Ujain, Ratlam, and Indore. Though not a line of rail, the steam tramway to the Hill Station of Darjeeling deserves mention as being not only the first of its kind that has been started in India, but as showing the way in which cheap and easy communication with the tea-plantations

on the sides of the Himalayas can be maintained. Further south, the concession of a line of railway to be constructed between the Deccan and northern districts of Madras and the Portuguese port of Marmagaon, just below Goa, was adversely criticised by the Bombay press. The proposed line was said to be more expensive and longer, to lead to a foreign port, under foreign management, and to be in every way less advantageous than the alternative line through British territory to the port of Karwar. Of the necessity of such an outlet for the produce of the rich districts of the South Deccan there was no question, and the discussion resolved itself into one of the foreign control. Under the arrangements included in the treaty with the Portuguese, due provision was made for the free transit of goods from the terminal port, and the maintenance of the rates and duties agreed upon with the British Government on the rest of the line. The cost of the Bellary-Hubli line was to be defrayed by the two governments according to the length of the portions within their respective territories. Amongst the works to be undertaken as protective against famine, the line to the Southern Deccan from the Great India Peninsula Railway near Sholapur, a similar branch line from Rewari in the Punjab, and the completion of that from Bellary to Hospett, were taken in hand during the year, together with the continuation of the Nera canal works in the Deccan. Surveys of other lines were also in progress in India and Burmah. In accordance with the instructions of the Secretary of State, the works on the continuation of the line from Jacobabad towards Quettah were stopped in January, and the plant transferred to another line.

A concession was made to the Assam Trading Company for a line about eighty miles long from Dibhrughat towards Sadya, through the coal and forest tract of Makun. A lease of the coal-fields, about thirty miles square, for twenty years, was also granted to the same company. The necessity of improving the means of communication with Assam was brought urgently before the Government on the return of the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor from their respective tours in the autumn, but the work of introducing railways into that land of heavy rain and flood is one of great expense, so it is apparently the intention of the Government to endeavour first of all to improve the service of the river steamers.

As regards the agricultural prospects of the year, in none but an exceptional season will the harvest be universally good throughout so large a country as India; and with a not inconsiderable portion of the population depending merely on a single year's crop, it is inevitable that every season will see a great deal of agricultural distress. In one province or another, during the past year, the season has been favourable over a great part of the country; but in Mysore and parts of Madras and Bombay the deficiency of rain in the early part of the sowing season caused all but a complete failure of the autumnal crops. Luckily, the later rains came

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in time to save the second sowings and to allow of a winter harvest. The suggestions of the late famine commission for the establishment of a special agency to watch over agriculture and to take charge of the administration of famine when it occurred were carried out by the Government of India, who revived the former Agricultural Department, with the addition of a Director of Agriculture, assisted by provincial officers in different parts of the country. The duties of the newly organised department were laid down in the Famine Commission's report, and reaffirmed by the Indian Government. When there is no famine, the progress and improvement of cultivation is to be closely watched, all statistical information that may be required about it gathered from the revenue records, experiments are to be conducted as to the yield of each staple crop under different circumstances, and suggestions made to the intelligent cultivator in accordance with the information and experience thus acquired.

The health of the people has been worse than usual in Upper India, especially in the Punjab, where an epidemic of a choleraic nature caused very great loss of life in some of the larger towns. Cholera, too, was prevalent to a greater extent than usual in the western provinces. In November a heavy storm swept over the Bay of Bengal, and destroyed a large portion of the half-completed piers that are to protect the Madras Harbour. The damage done was such that in some quarters it was asserted that to proceed with a work that was liable to be washed away, almost to its foundations, was a waste of money. On the other hand, the actual extent of the damage, and how far it can be repaired, has still to be reported, as the investigation was in progress only at the end of the year.

III. CHINA.

The year 1880 closed upon the Chinese Empire with peace and returning prosperity. Neither rebellion, flood, nor famine had devastated it. The revenues had sufficed to meet the public expenditure, and in their way, and after their manner, the black-haired sons of Ham enjoyed rest and were contented. But it was not so with their rulers, who, during protracted conferences together, had to devote serious attention to the solution of a problem of no mean order, which, to the wiser and best instructed of them, caused many misgivings. On the decision to be arrived at depended almost the fate of the empire; and the task the peace party had before them was heavy enough to tax their best energies. A very detailed account was given in these pages last year of the repudiation of the Treaty of Livadia, of the indignation that treaty had caused throughout the empire, and the imminent danger into which it had brought the envoy who had been so un-

wise as to negotiate it. With a disregard—curious and unaccountable in a man of his rank—of the traditions of the empire, its clear and undisputed rights, and the dangers to himself involved in his insensate concessions, he had agreed to abandon a fair province which constituted an integral part of China, and to place in the hands of her astute and restless neighbour those mountain passes which are the gates of the western frontier. Chung How, moreover, also consented to the presence on that frontier, and at those very gates, of a large number of Russian officials; whose first endeavours, he must have known, would be to render the locks on them useless, or, at any rate, so disposed that the keys should only be available to those outside. On the failure of his first Budget, Charles Townshend said that the very boys in the street would pursue him and hoot, "There is the very worst Chancellor of the Exchequer that ever was." Of similar grounds of apprehension Chung How on his return to the capital was at once relieved by being thrown into prison. He was handed over to the Board of Punishments to be dealt with, and sentenced to be decapitated. It needed all the protests of the foreign envoys and the dread that Russia would, without further parley, resent such treatment of an envoy who had enjoyed her hospitality, to save him from the capital punishment. The official repudiation of Chung How's treaty, and the opening up of fresh negotiations with a view to substituting for it some instrument of possible acceptance by Russia, and yet in harmony with the national sentiment of China, was happily entrusted to the Marquis Tsêng, the son of an official who had earned a great name during the troublous times of the Taeping rebellion and the long period of slow recuperation which followed its suppression. Accredited at the time as envoy to this country, where his intelligence, urbanity, and liberality of sentiment and view had won for him much favourable opinion, the Marquis Tsêng entered upon his difficult and delicate task with advantages not commonly found in the mandarinate. The result of the negotiations proved the wisdom of the selection, for after the lapse of what, under the circumstances, may well be considered a very short period, he succeeded in inducing Russia to agree to the retrocession of the whole of Kuldja, except a small and unimportant portion to be used as a refuge for those Dungans who might be dispossessed of their lands in Ili, and were desirous of going over to the Russian settlements. This recovery of the province was the sole object of the negotiations on the side of the Chinese, and, as a matter of course, they were prepared, on getting what they wanted, to grant certain concessions as to the appointment of consuls and the development of trade. In addition to the existing consulates at Ili, Tarbagatai, Kashgar, and Urga, two others at Suchow and Turfan were at once agreed to, and provision made for further appointments at Kobdo, Uliasutai, Hami, Urumt'si, and Kuch'eng, when trade sprang up at those places.

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An immediate reduced tariff on the export of various second-class teas carried overland was also arranged.[1]

The other terms of the treaty negotiated by the Marquis Tsêng varied little from that of Chung How; but the one important point gained in recovering Kuldja made all the difference, and satisfied the national sentiment. This was a great diplomatic success, for admitting that the financial embarrassments and the unhealthy social condition of Russia constituted weighty reasons for not pushing the Chinese to the last extremity, it would not be easy, might not be fair, and certainly would not be generous, to deny that some magnanimity was evinced in the retrocession of Kuldja. To no Government in the world could it be agreeable to surrender such authority as the Russians had wielded there, especially when an appeal to arms would most probably have ratified their claim to continued possession. It is true that Kuldja was occupied on the understanding that China was to receive it back when she was in a position to hold it; but as a clear title-deed has not been found among nations—an indispensable requisite for the continued enjoyment of a neighbour's territory—it may be rightly assumed that Russia resisted a temptation at last, although it may with equal justice be assumed that they were tempted when they found Chung How to be so pliable. In Asia the *prestige* of a ruler is the magic which ensures the tranquillity of restless and subject populations. There it is a maxim of kingcraft that the strong never retreat and never need repent; and as Russia has pushed her conquests into the heart of Central Asia and amongst warlike tribes, it can be well understood that the withdrawal from Kuldja was tardily acceded to.

During the negotiations by which this result was achieved, Tso Tsung-Tang, the Governor-General of Kansuh and Commissioner of the "New Dominion," was summoned to Peking to advise the Cabinet in their difficulties. From compliance with previous orders to the same effect he had excused himself on the plea that there was no one to whom he could satisfactorily delegate his powers. To remedy this, and to make the pretext for not obeying the command any longer available, a second edict was issued, conferring upon Tang Chang-Chün, formerly Governor of Chekiang, the post of Governor-General of Kansuh, to whom, in terms too peremptory to permit of further hesitation, Tso was commanded to hand over charge, and himself immediately to repair to the capital. This withdrawal of Tso Tsung-Tang from his post was not a change involving any serious risk to the army under his orders, for his successes were due rather to his talents as a military administrator than as a soldier purely as such; and the organisation he had completed would not suffer by his absence. His art,

[1] This latter concession in favour of the Russian land trade attracted the attention of the London Chamber of Commerce, and a memorial was presented to Lord Granville praying that the same terms be required for British exports under the Favoured Nation clause.

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cultivated to high perfection, has been in accordance with the Chinese ideal of ordering rather than leading an advance. Skilful in choosing his generals and appointing his secretaries, he has thrown upon the one the duties and dangers of actual conflict, and upon the other the task of irradiating him with its glamour. Tso is also under considerable obligations to various European writers on Central Asia, who have identified him with movements which he may indeed have promoted, but which he never led, and with some of those easy massacres which Chinese warfare has not yet learned to disdain. He deserves, however, the full credit of repressing the Mahometan rebellion in Inner Kansuh; and this must be accorded to him, notwithstanding his known shortcomings as a soldier, and his notorious vaunts as a fire-eater of the school of Parolles.

Tso Tsung-Tang, on proceeding to Peking, left Liu Chin-Tang in command of all the troops outside China Proper, amounting to between 20,000 and 30,000 men, with head-quarters in Kashgar. The better known generals, Kinshun and Liu Chang-yo, with 30,000 more troops, either garrisoned in Sungaria or engaged in maintaining the long line of communication between Kashgar and Kansuh, were also nominally under Liu Chin-Tang's orders; but their commands were more or less independent. Indifferently armed, and scattered in small parties over this immense region, these 60,000 men performed the task of guarding the frontier and keeping up such appearance of force as may have seemed to their masters requisite to support their protest against the Russian demands, and the preposterous concessions made by Chung How. The troops under arms might, however, have been considerably reinforced by the disbanded braves, who were and are the chief tillers of the soil in the district. Forbidden to return to their homes after their term of service had expired, allotments of land, free of expense, were made to these men, partly to content them under the denial of their natural desire, and partly to ensure provisions for the regular troops. Supplies were sometimes obtained from the Russian side of the frontier; but they could not be relied on, especially under the threatened rupture, and it was necessary to provide for emergencies.[1]

Fortunately the negotiations of the Marquis Tsêng were successful, and war was averted; for whatever may be the strength of China in relation to the nomadic tribes on her frontiers in Central Asia, it is idle to suppose she could cope there more successfully against Russia than on her seaboard, where the superiority of the force which threatened her was more striking and convincing. In spite of the talk about fleets and arsenals, Krupp guns, torpedoes, and foreign-drilled troops, the examinations for military appoint-

[1] The administrative qualities of Tso were clearly shown in the way in which he repopulated the devastated province and restored its cultivation. In two years he had worked a complete change in the district, and distributed mulberry shoots and silkworm eggs as far west as Aksu.

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ments are conducted at the present time in precisely the same manner as has been in vogue for hundreds of years, and the aspirants for honours in that branch of the service may still be seen in every province of the empire exercising their skill in archery upon targets a few yards distant from them, and practising their antics, somersaults, and contortions as if the troops they were destined to command had never been brought face to face with European armies, as if they themselves had never found the advantage of European movements and discipline, and had never learned at our hands some of the stern lessons taught by defeat. China, as a matter of fact, was not in a position to make any aggressive movement, as was threatened by Tso; nor, indeed, would she have been able to hold her own had a Russian force been moved so as to cut off the communications of the Chinese troops. The members of the peace party were fully alive to this; but their opponents, men of anti-foreign proclivities, thoroughly conservative in their implicit belief that China was, and is, able to conquer the world, troubled themselves but little regarding the power of Russia, and evinced an ignorance on the subject positively astounding. As a result of this and the temporary power of the war party, vast numbers of ill-armed and undrilled men were collected in hot haste in order to give a semblance of reality to the defiant attitude which had been assumed; but at the outset difficulties beset them in the absence of those means of communication and transport which are a necessity in modern warfare, and with which the probable enemy were well provided. For years the progressive statesmen had been aware of the advantages to be derived from telegraph lines and railways. But, however much they may have desired to introduce these reforms, they were obliged to try and do without them in deference to the strong opposition they experienced. When the time for action arrived, it was found impossible to do what was required. Mere orders, even in China, were found insufficient to overcome such obstacles as want of roads and an absence of communication unless an inconvenient delay was granted; and the inability to utilise the men available at last forced a conviction on the fire-eating members of the Cabinet that discretion was the better part of valour. The lesson was a severe one, and had immediate results, in so far as an arrangement was come to with the Great Northern Telegraph Company for the working of lines to be constructed from Peking to Tientsin[1] and Shanghai. The advisers of the Emperor sanctioned the construction of these lines on the earnest representations of the heads of the provincial governments, to whom the defensive preparations were entrusted; and who, to save their own reputation, were compelled to seek other than the antique means at hand. It is hardly likely the telegraph will meet with the same fate as the Woosung railway, for Li Hung-Chang took the

[1] This portion has been completed.

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matter in hand himself. To this statesman may, therefore, be credited the first real innovation in China Proper.

Another question in connection with a foreign Power was brought once again prominently forward during the year—namely, that with reference to the sovereignty over the Loochoo Islands. In this case the result has not been so favourable, for no final arrangement was arrived at. When General Grant, ex-President of the United States of America, visited China, he had an interview with the Peking authorities; and at it the Loochoo dispute was one amongst numerous matters spoken of. The Chinese placed their version of it before him, and asked him to use his influence to bring about a settlement, promising on their part to abide by his decision. A great deal of ill-feeling had been caused between China and Japan by the latter assuming authority over the islands the sovereignty of which was claimed by China, by virtue of a long and uninterrupted acknowledgment by the islanders themselves; but as China professed to raise the question in the interests of the Loochooans alone, it was decided to settle it by arbitration. Historical records and even mythology were ransacked on both sides to establish or rebut claims, and each party laid the strongest case it could before General Grant. It appeared to him that in reality the Chinese regarded the action of Japan as indicating a desire to use the Loochoo Islands as stepping-stones to Formosa; and perceiving the danger of allowing such a suspicion to remain, he advised the Japanese, in favour of whose claim he decided, to consent to give to China two of the most southern islands of the group, in order to soothe the ruffled dignity of that country, and to remove what was asserted to be an unfounded suspicion. This proposal was agreed to by Japan, and the terms were communicated to Peking; but the authorities there, on learning that the decision of General Grant was against their claim, at once made known their willingness to abide by it in accordance with their promise; and further, with a show of dignity which did them credit, declined to accept the southern islands, to which, by the decision of their self-imposed arbitrator, they were not entitled. The Japanese sent a special commissioner, Mr. Shishido, to Peking to obtain the ratification of the convention, which had already been agreed to, by which China surrendered the Loochoo group to Japan. When everything was in readiness the document was submitted to the palace; and great was the astonishment of the Japanese envoy when he was informed that, instead of signing it, the Empress had referred it for report to Li Hung-Chang. As might have been expected, Mr. Shishido considered this as an affront, and as such denounced the delay, at the same time stating that if the ratifications were not exchanged within a certain time, he would return to Japan. The time expired without the required ratification; and the envoy, carrying out his resolution, hauled down his flag and left Peking. On his arrival at Tokio he was complimented on the attitude he

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had maintained, and no further steps were taken to settle the dispute, Japan retaining possession of the islands, leaving it to China to make the first move. The Viceroy reported favourably on the convention; but the slowness of movement with the Chinese officials stopped the way to coming within the limit of time allowed, and, as a consequence, the year 1881 closed without any actual settlement of a dangerous subject of contention between the two countries, although the basis for a satisfactory termination was fully arranged.

On April 18, 1881, the Eastern Empress Ts'z An died suddenly and unexpectedly at Peking from heart-disease, at the early age of forty-five. The deceased Empress was the consort of the Emperor Hsien Feng, though not his first wife, who died before Hsien Feng ascended the throne. On his decease in August 1861, during the minority of his successor, Tung Chih, she was appointed Empress Regent, together with the mother of the boy Emperor, who himself died on January 12, 1875, and was succeeded by his cousin, Tsai T'ien, son of the seventh Prince (Prince of Ch'un, younger brother of Prince Kung), who was proclaimed Emperor under the title of Kwang Su, but owing to his being at the time only three years old the two Empresses Dowager retained their regency, and have continued to control the affairs of the empire. The Western Empress becoming a confirmed invalid, the deceased Empress was virtually at the head of affairs, but to what extent her authority was exercised is not known. She was a woman possessed of great ability, and well versed in politics, and it was feared that her death would produce serious complications, from the fact that at the time of her decease the principal representatives of the two parties were at the capital striving for the ascendency. In consequence, possibly, of the peril threatening the empire, no *coup d'état* was attempted, and no appreciable effect has been caused. The funeral did not take place until October 31, when, in accordance with Chinese custom, the remains were interred with solemn ceremonial in the Imperial Mausoleum, which is situated some ninety miles north-east of Peking. Great were the preparations for the solemn event. Two weeks previously to the appointed day the work of repairing the roads was begun, and, as a preliminary, all obstructions in the shape of booths and stalls were swept away. While the repairs were in course of execution, and until the return of the procession from the tombs, no traffic was permitted on the roads, which were absolutely closed to the public. Next came a series of practices in carrying the catafalque or hearse in which the coffin was to be borne to the grave. This ponderous machine was required to be carried by the bearers with the smallest possible amount of vibration, and to ensure this end they underwent a training for some days, a test of the jolting being made by placing on it a cup filled with water, which was not to be spilled. On the appointed day, at early dawn, the coffin, borne by sixty-four officers, was taken out of the palace by the Hou Mên, a back gate; it was there

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transferred to the catafalque, which was ornamented with yellow satin, that colour taking the place of the red used at ordinary funerals. It required 128 bearers to carry the catafalque, and the procession passed through the north-east gate of the city to a plateau beyond the suburbs, where the Emperor was waiting in a marquee of yellow cloth, surrounded by the tents of the soldiers forming the Imperial body-guard. Here the Emperor went through the ceremony of bidding the last farewell, after which he returned to the palace. The procession then went on its way, headed by musical instruments, which, however, were only sounded at stated intervals. Next came three Imperial carts, about a hundred white ponies, a promiscuous crowd of cavaliers bearing funeral paraphernalia, the late Empress's regalia, Princes in chairs, and then the catafalque itself, which was described as most gorgeous, covered completely with rich yellow satin, with a large serpentine figure of the Dragon embroidered on it in gold thread, glittering as it came under the sun's rays. Its shape, too, was highly artistic; the crooked and curved roof was topped with a gilded ball fixed in a gilded frame, carved to resemble tongues of fire; and the edges were fringed with yellow silken tassels in exquisite style. It was borne by 128 bearers, dressed in scarlet robes of light silk texture, with patches of variegated embroidery here and there, high black boots, and little black hats, tuft with yellow plumes. They marched with well-trained precision, guided by a leader who beat time with two wooden sticks, much as a drummer beats time in a military march, and steered through the windings in the road by men in front and at the sides, who waved little yellow flags. The Prince of Kung and suite followed about a mile behind the coffin, and there was a complete absence of order or regularity in consequence of the absence of the Emperor, who did not go in the procession on account of his tender age. The principal ceremonies to be performed on the journey and at the tomb were thus described in the *Peking Gazette*:—"Kuang Chou was appointed bearer of her late Majesty's Imperial Regalia. The duty of dropping the incense into the burner, and of pouring libations at the gates and at bridges over which the coffin was obliged to pass, was assigned to Prince Yu. The procession occupied three days on its journey to the tombs; and offerings of wine were poured daily, both at halting and starting, by the Prince of Tun, who also poured a libation at the funeral banquet on the arrival of the coffin at the Lung En Tien mortuary chapel, at the Imperial Mausolea. The coffin was then removed from the mortuary chapel and raised on the bier, on which it was finally carried to the tomb. At the tomb it was religiously deposited in the Dragon-Hearse, and, at the auspicious moment, lowered into the vault. When the ceremony of laying the coffin for ever at rest was completed, a sacrificial offering was made on the terrace of the Mausolea, and another at the Lung En Tien. At each of the above acts of ceremony the Prince of Kung poured offerings of wine." The Dragon-Hearse

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alluded to was a sliding truck carved to resemble a dragon. The coffin was placed on its back, and the whole was slid down into the vault. The tomb is very solidly constructed, and the entrance to it is closed by a heavy massive stone door, which, when pulled tight, moves over a balance upsetting a heavy bolt in the interior, and so effectually barring the door as to make admission impossible except by demolishing the tomb.

Strenuous efforts were made during the year 1881, both in China and in England, to bring about the suppression of the opium trade. Li Hung Chang addressed a letter to the Anti-Opium Society in which he affirmed the desire of the Chinese authorities to put down the vice, which was having such a baneful effect on the people. On October 21 a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Egyptian Hall of the Mansion House, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, and supported amongst others by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Cardinal Manning, to advocate the movement for the suppression of the trade. Resolutions were carried decrying the traffic, and asserting that it was the duty of this country not only to put an end to it, but to withdraw all encouragement from the growth of the poppy in India except for strictly medicinal purposes, and to support the Chinese Government in its efforts to suppress the traffic. Meetings were also held in various parts of the country in the same interests, while the supporters of the trade were no less rigorous in their action. Accounts were published of the cultivation of the poppy in Sz Chuen, and much information was spread abroad to show that the Chinese officials not only did not desire to suppress opium-smoking, but were in reality encouraging the production of it. A letter from Mr. Robert Hart, of the Imperial Chinese Customs, was also published, proving that the habit of opium-smoking was far less common than is usually supposed; and the arguments from both sides were more fully made public than at any period since the agitation sprang up.

With regard to the intercourse between the Colonies of Great Britain and China, a decision was arrived at by the Cabinet at Peking materially affecting what is called the Hong Kong Blockade. All foreigners were removed from service on board the Revenue cruisers, and their places were filled up by Chinese officers. This alteration was brought about by the prosecution of a British subject in the Revenue service on a charge of murder, for having killed a smuggler, one of the crew of a junk who resisted the Imperial cruiser pursuing it. The case was tried, notwithstanding the fact that the Chinese sent an official letter to say the accused was innocent of any criminal act, and in the end terminated in an acquittal. In order to prevent the recurrence of a similar proceeding, all foreigners were withdrawn from the cruisers, and the result was that the supercilious and ignorant native officers soon committed an act which called for the interference of the German authorities. Two gentlemen, subjects of that nation, when out in

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a boat on the Canton river, were attacked by Customs junks, taken prisoners, and conveyed to Canton, where they were detained. An attempt was made to show that the boat had opium on board, but it failed completely, and substantial amends were demanded by the German Consul for the gratuitous ill-treatment to which the gentlemen were subjected.

Commercially, China continues to increase in interest to Great Britain; and the statistics of the imports and exports since the last summary in these pages, so far as regards Great Britain, is particularly gratifying. According to a return issued by the Imperial Maritime Customs, the value of the whole trade of China since 1868 to 1880 had increased by Haikwan taels 52,000,000, or, in round numbers, 15,500,000*l.* Of the total amount, Great Britain and her colony Hong Kong absorb rather more than one-half, and the business done is steadily increasing. In the carrying trade Great Britain takes three-fourths of that from and to foreign countries, and rather more than one-half of that between the treaty ports. These figures point out very clearly the immense stake we have in China, and the ability of our manufacturers to hold their own. During the past year a great deal of discussion arose with reference to the quality of the articles sent to China by our manufacturers, and a grave warning was issued by our representatives regarding the heavy "claying and sizing" said to be a feature of their fabrics. In consequence of this, frequent discussions took place, and the result has been to place in the China markets superior as well as commoner kinds of cotton goods. This step became necessary owing to the vigorous competition of the Americans, who, gradually losing their hold on the market, made a supreme effort to regain the position they had lost. But owing to the warning being accepted by our producers the free trade articles of Great Britain have been enabled to not only compete with but to beat the protected goods of the United States of America. The recuperative capacity of China is evidenced by the increase of her commerce. A few years of peace at home have sufficed to restore the purchasing power of the people, whose thrift and industry have enabled them to recover almost entirely from the disastrous effects of the Taeping rebellion.

Some progress was also made in inaugurating manufactures in China, and the cloth produced at the Lan Chowfoo woollen factory is reported on as a substantial article, suited for the clothing of the soldiers of Tso Tsung-Tang, who was the originator of the enterprise. The machinery employed is German, and the workmen are of the same nationality. The most important scheme, however, of all is the working of the Kaiping coal mines, from which an output of 600 tons per day is estimated. This estimate, however, is regarded as questionable, as it is reported that the spot chosen is not the right one. Another venture in the same place has done remarkably well, and if the ore, when brought to England, is reported as capable of being mixed, the iron mines opened u

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are expected to prove a success. So far, no very great results have been obtained, but the drawbacks of obstruction from the officialdom of the country amply account for this; and it must be some years before China can cast off the old and, for the present, unsuitable customs of a bygone and almost limitless age.

IV. JAPAN.

During the past year the peaceful condition of Japan has continued, and the energies of the Ministers have been devoted to the consideration of those internal and international matters which demanded careful attention. The absorbing question of the day is the continued depression of the paper money and the gradual disappearance from the country of almost all the gold and silver in circulation. The fluctuations of the paper were constant, and the downward course at last reached such a point that the most alarming results were confidently predicted. No signs of any improvement were visible, and the difficulties of the situation demanded some reassuring utterances by the representatives of the Government to prevent a panic. As it was, trade was seriously affected, and with a currency at so ruinous a discount this is not to be wondered at, for although the country is resuming its old peaceful condition, yet the enormous outlay incurred in suppressing the Satsuma rebellion constituted a debt which, in the present state of the revenue, must take years to repay. The issue of paper to meet the liabilities caused a misapprehension of how it was to be dealt with in the financial statements, and placed as an item of revenue, when in reality a debt, caused serious alarm. Measures, however, were taken to redeem certain amounts at stated intervals, and there is a prospect that the liabilities under this head will be rapidly decreased, as the expenditure is lessened, and the surplus is applied for the redemption of the loan.

Every effort was made to economise, and many of the expensive and non-paying establishments of the Government were abandoned or sold to private individuals. The object for which they were originally introduced having been effected, namely, the introduction of new manufactures, there remained no just reason for their retention, especially as the money realised by their sale would, at any rate, go some way towards purchasing the allotted amounts of paper money.

In close connection with this subject comes the other expedient, of revising the tariffs annexed to the foreign trade, so as to, by raising the rates, increase the revenue. The Japanese have not relaxed their efforts to obtain from the Treaty Powers a recognition of what they claim as their rights. The negotiations have, as was stated in these pages, lingered since the year 1872, and although some progress was made in 1881, no definite arrangement has yet

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been arrived at.[1] A revised treaty, with Customs tariffs, was drawn up by the Japanese and submitted to our Government, who despatched it to the various Chambers of Commerce and other trading associations in this country in order to obtain the opinions of their members. Of these, from London a committee of the merchants trading with Japan transmitted to the Foreign Office a lengthy report strongly opposing the proposed revised treaty. Attached as the present tariff is to the existing treaties, no alterations can be made except as specially provided for, and must depend as to the range of those alterations on the condition of the country at the time of revision. It was almost universally agreed that a revision might be effected, but, at the same time, there was a consensus of opinion that the Japanese proposals in their entirety could not be entertained, as they involved an increase of duties at from five to twenty-five per cent. This was considered as likely to seriously affect a mutually beneficial trade, which hitherto has been one of steady growth, and which, under favourable conditions, is capable of greater extension. Under the new tariffs there could not be the dangers which would follow if the treaties made no provision for revision, but allowed the imposition of duties variable at will. A fixed duty would still remain; the only question, therefore, which arose was as to the amounts, although an *ad valorem* duty was considered as not objectionable. A very natural desire possessed the Japanese Finance Ministers to increase the revenue of the country, and, having this object in view, it was feared that they had lost sight of the important fact that largely augmented tariffs on foreign goods would have to be paid by the consumer, and would therefore, in all probability, lead to a decrease of trade and a general falling back from the position which had been reached; and it was urged that, in the interests of Japan herself, a tariff having less the appearance of protection was advisable. The country is not yet thrown open to the foreigner, and the native manufactories have not yet reached a very high state of excellence; but an inducement for the proposed large increase of the tariffs might have presented itself to the minds of the Ministers in the hope that such a course would materially aid the native producers. The negotiations were continued while the British Minister to Japan, Sir Harry Parkes, was in London, and an advance was made towards an arrangement greater than any yet effected.

The agitation for the abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction has been maintained, notwithstanding the firm attitude taken by the Treaty Powers in a contrary direction. As years go on, Japan will improve in laws and the administration of them; but at the present time the same objections to the concession which appeared in these pages, which were quoted from the *Nichi-Nichi Shinbun*, still hold good. The time has not yet arrived when the Western Powers will place their subjects under the jurisdiction of the Japanese, and any demand for such power must be accompanied by more proofs of

[1] See *Annual Register*, 1880, pp. 307 *et seq.*

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fitness than were presented during the past year. A new code of criminal law and procedure was promulgated, and fixed to come into operation at the commencement of 1882. It is based on the *Code Napoléon*, on which are engrafted certain traditions and customs prevailing amongst the people. The code is divided into four books, consisting of general provisions, offences against the public, offences against private persons, and punishments. By it, decapitation is abolished, and hanging substituted, and the punishments assimilated to the humane principles of the West. The peculiarities, however, which are engrafted on it naturally make it unsuitable for foreigners, while the means at the disposal of the Government to carry out the code and its provisions to the letter are still insufficient to ensure or earn that confidence without which Western Powers will not relinquish their right of trying their own subjects. If any argument were needed beyond that supplied by the native press, one is to be found in the Imperial decree of October 12, 1881, forming a Constitution, and directing that a National Assembly be convoked in 1890. The delay in granting representative government is occasioned by the desire "to prepare the minds of the people for the establishment of a National Assembly," for which they are not considered ready. This would apply equally well to the judicial departments, which are not yet ready to administer the law in such a way as to ensure the absence of complaint.

This promise of a Parliament has led to a great deal of discussion, in the course of which reference was made to the oath taken by the Mikado shortly after the Restoration in 1868, by which he promised that all measures should be decided by public argument. It was in reply to this expression of feeling that the decree was published, and the action was rendered necessary by the evident signs that the people were beginning to take an interest in the affairs of the State, and desired to have a voice in the Legislature. A draft Constitution was indeed extensively circulated throughout the country, in which provision was made for the foundation, for administrative and legislative purposes, of a Cabinet, a Senate, and a National Assembly. The draft is based on the British Constitution, and was to permit members of the Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, to sit in the Assembly. The Senate was to be composed of nobles and distinguished persons selected by the Emperor, who were to hold their position during their life. Besides these, however, the Senate was to be composed partly of representative members selected by each province. The Lower House was to be purely representative, like our Parliament, and the control of the finances was to be placed entirely under its control. It fairly represented the wants of the Japanese people; and, from the number of meetings held, it was clear that the nation wanted a representative form of government. The officials endeavoured to stop the movement, but, notwithstanding fines and imprisonment, there were daily evidences of its popularity. One outcome of the

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agitation was a proposal that the nobles shonld constitute a House o Lords, but this met with little favour, as it savours too much of that feudalism from which the country was freed when the Shogunäte was destroyed and the Mikado restored to his position, and which can never be revived.

The press laws have been carried out in full rigour, and the number of suspensions throughout the country has been more than ordinary, in consequence of some severe strictures on the Ministry regarding the sale of the Government institutions to private individuals. Much good has undoubtedly been done by the restrictions placed on those whose utterances, if made public, would, in all probability, cause disaffection; but in some cases the law has been used needlessly, and nullifies the good effect of just and reasonable convictions.

Commercially, the same remarks may be made regarding Japan as apply to China, for the trade supplies much of interest to Great Britain. The total value of imports and exports amounts to over 15,000,000*l.* per annum. In the former, Great Britain occupies a leading place, supplying nearly sixty per cent. In exports, however, America is taking the lead, purchasing to the extent of fifty per cent., but a good deal of this is by British merchants, who are largely interested in the silk and tea trade carried on between Japan and the United States. A dispute arose between the foreign and Japanese silk merchants, and led to an attempt on the part of the native dealers to establish a species of monopoly, which, however, was somewhat modified under the determined opposition of foreigners.

CHAPTER VI.

AFRICA.

I. ALGERIA. II. TUNIS. III. EGYPT. IV. SOUTH AFRICA.

I. ALGERIA.

THE Algerian question in its various bearings is so intimately allied to the Tunisian question, that the insurrection of the tribes in one district is scarcely more than the spread of the same feeling over an increased area. The sources of agitation were identical, and kindred methods of propagandism were employed: pamphlets sent from Constantinople inciting to revolt; natives making use of the name and authority of the Caliph; the activity of the religious confraternities of Tripoli; the introduction of the "Mostakel" into Algeria by thousands of copies. A manifesto calling the Arabs to a holy war, the friendly relations of the Touaregs

and Algerian chiefs with the Tripoli authorities, and the mutterings of the approaching Tunisian insurrection—all pointed to the general unrest and ill-will which had overspread the Arabs of North Africa.

The full importance of these incentives must be measured by the exceptional circumstances which brought them about. Foremost among these was the substitution of a civil for a military *régime* in Algeria. This is not the place to discuss the relative advantages and drawbacks of the two systems; but, as a matter of fact, the changes introduced by M. Albert Grévy have been a source of discontent to more than one chief, whilst in the eyes of the Arabs, to whom military force always powerfully appeals, the prestige of France has been diminished.

Administrative blunders provoked complaints and recriminations, until the policy of the late Governor-General was as severely criticised in France as in Algeria. The anxieties and annoyances attendant on official colonisation, where the dispossession of the native population is the basis of colonial policy, are doubled when the administration has at any moment to intervene in family quarrels when attempting to settle native questions. Faults, moreover, from the military point of view were committed from the outset, and here M. Albert Grévy seems to have been free from responsibility. The insurrection had been foreseen for a year—the movements of Bou Amaina closely watched, his audacious propaganda, under a religious disguise, carefully noted; and as early as the month of March the Governor-General had reported the suspicious activity of the notorious Marabout, urging the establishment of a military fort at Tyout; but the Minister of War failed to recognise its utility, and when, later on, application was made for some troops to be despatched to the south, the moment was not considered a favourable one. It was not until Colonel Flatters was assassinated at the end of March, Seinbrenner murdered on April 21 at Géryville, and the native courier on his way to Saida, that the Government was stirred into action by the force of public opinion. It was soon again reported that quiet was re-established in the Tell, when a fortnight later, on May 19, news came of the battle of Chellala, where the convoy of Colonel Inocenti was carried off by detachments of Trafi, Hamyan, and Djembad.

General Ditrié was entrusted with the suppression of the insurrection; but Bou Amaina managed, notwithstanding, to make a sortie from his residence at Moghrar, and on June 6, surrounded by his adherents, massacred Inspector Bringard and his men, to the south of Frenda; then, emptying the mills, seizing the corn, and fighting against every tribe that refused to side with him, made good his retreat with his followers and plunder. Then followed assassinations at Ste. Monique, at Hiltil, and at Oran; and on June 11 and 12 raids on the workyards at Alfa, and the massacre of the workmen.

From one end of Algeria to the other a loud cry of horror was

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raised, and a chorus of reproaches showered on M. Albert Grévy. The question, Who was responsible? was universally raised, coupled with a demand for investigation and clamour for prompt and energetic measures; and it was not until the appointment of General Saussier to the command of the troops in Africa that the excitement became somewhat allayed.

Meanwhile, Bou Amaina had slipped through the troops, and made good his escape towards the south, plundering as he went. On July 9 he returned, making further razzias, until the Brunetière division forced him to a precipitate retreat with the loss of a portion of his followers. The season, rendering pursuit impossible, favoured his escape. It was now too late for active operations, and during the dry season it was determined to hold the Tell by the aid of the posts on its frontier, and to confine the insurrection within the limits of the Oran Sahara, the Arabs in revolt at this period probably not exceeding 5,000 men. During the month of Rhamadan all was quiet; but this did not restore confidence to the colony, as it was known that Bou Amaina, who had taken refuge on the Morocco frontier, had been intriguing with two disaffected chiefs, Si Kaddour and Si Shinan, without whose co-operation the revolt would have given no cause for alarm. As it happened, up to 1864, it was owing to the influence of the chief of the Oulid, Sadi Sheikh, whose religious supremacy extended over the whole of the Oran Sahara, that peace had been maintained. Difficulties sprang up at this period which turned allies into enemies, and compelled the French to win over Si Shinan to counteract the hostile influence of the new chief of the Sadi Sheikh, Si Kaddour. Si Shinan, a man of adventurous character, was more easily swayed by self-interest than by religious sentiments or family ties. He laid proposals before the French Government which would have tended towards a sort of sultanate of the southern tribes; and it would, perhaps, have been more politic had some such agreement been arrived at, thereby rendering the alliance against France of two irreconcilable enemies a matter of impossibility. The scheme, however, was suffered to fall through, and in the latter half of October he gave signs of disaffection. Three chiefs, of whom he was one, held an interview, at which deputations from the Morocco tribes assisted; and the suspicions which this movement on his part excited were very quickly confirmed by a razzia undertaken by him against the Hamyan, who had remained faithful, and then no shadow of doubt as to his hostile attitude was possible.

The military authorities were, moreover, guilty of an act of vandalism, as well as of folly, in ordering the destruction at El Abiod of the tomb of Sidi-Cheik, an honoured chieftain, whose ashes were transported to Géryville; and in spite of the weighty arguments put forward by Colonel Négrier in justification of the deed, public opinion in France condemned the imprudence of setting at naught the religious sentiments of a people already in a

state of ferment. The act was blamed; but the autumn campaign was, nevertheless, hurried forward.

In October four columns set out for the south, having Mécherria as the basis of their operations. Some of the troops inflicted severe punishment on the rebels of the mountain districts, while others razed Ksour and advanced upon Figing. At Ain-Sefra a redoubt was constructed and a truce agreed upon; but the situation remained unchanged, and according to the latest news the insurgents, through the influence of Si Kaddour, had added to their ranks a certain Marabout, the Cherif of Madaghra, who would, it was thought, be useful in fermenting fanaticism amongst those tribes in the south which had hitherto remained neutral. The outcome of these intrigues, which might prove the beginning of fresh outbreaks in these out-of-the-way regions, was not known at the close of the year; but, as a method of precaution, the Colomen brigade was stationed in the plain of Feidja (a day's march to the south of Tafilalet); the Louis brigade on the Khreider, to protect the table-land; while Colonel Négrier watched the Morocco frontier.

As a matter of fact, no solution has been arrived at. It has been found impossible to overtake the three chiefs retreating continually further and further south into the desert. The pastoral tribes fled; and the Ksowrs, who might easily have been conciliated, were treated with unnecessary severity. The French troops cannot remain indefinitely in the south, and the question that presents itself is, whether the new outposts will be sufficiently strong to check future raids upon the table-land. Up to the present, the most prominent results of French policy have been to bring about an understanding between three chiefs whose interests were inimical to one another, and to incite the hostility of a fourth, whilst no steps whatever have been taken to prevent the Southern Morocco tribes from joining the insurgents.

The arrival of the new Governor-General on December 12 inspired confidence in the friends of Algeria, to whom M. Tirman's ability and excellent tact already exhibited in difficult situations were already known. His office was shorn of the military authority vested in General Saussier, as well as of so much of the ordinary civil authority within the capital as a recent decree had assigned to special functionaries.

No allusion has been made to the rumours relative to the indirect participation of Germany both in Tunisian and Algerian affairs; for, notwithstanding the report universally current in Africa that arms had been supplied to the insurgents, facts are not forthcoming of sufficient clearness and preciseness to verify it. The names of Italy and Switzerland have also both been coupled with those of the chiefs of the Tunisian tribes; and the *soi-disant* mission is not forgotten of two Prussian savants, who, after spending six months at Tunis in 1880–81, went into the south of Algeria, and are supposed to have secretly excited the Algerian tribes to revolt against France.

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II. TUNIS.

The Tunis campaign took the world by surprise; but the elements of the storm had been for years gathering along the coasts of the Mediterranean. The Tunisian difficulty dates in reality from the French conquest of Algeria, and those who would seek to refer the present complications to the Berlin Congress fail to recognise the importance of the events which preceded it. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that since 1650 Turkey has exercised no rights over the Regency; and in 1835, when the Porte set up its claims of suzerainty, France resolutely opposed them. And again, in 1866 and 1871, upon a revival of these pretensions the opposition was likewise renewed, France declaring herself unwilling to have a near neighbour who might in the future involve her in disagreeable complications.

It was in view of its own interests in the Regency that the French Government, in 1847, established the postal service, and in 1859 and 1861 undertook to supply telegraphic communication with Europe, the restoration of the Carthage aqueduct, and the construction of upwards of a hundred miles of railways; and with the same object fostered the purchase of land by French investors, and sanctioned the subscription to a Tunisian loan.

For the last fifty years the policy of France has been to assume a practical protectorate. The only outcome of the Berlin Congress was the confident belief that England would leave the field clear to her neighbour to effect such arrangements as would best conduce to the security of her Algerian possessions. Had France really desired to conquer Tunis at any moment, it would have presented few difficulties, for an extended and ill-defined frontier line, constantly displaced by the lawless Tunisian tribes, could on more than one occasion have furnished sufficient pretext for military action. The aim of France was, however, of another order: it was to disarm Tunis by helping forward its material and moral development, so as to preserve at her side a country glad to remain uninterruptedly her ally, and, to quote M. Jules Ferry, to serve her in the capacity of her "housedoor key."

The situation of affairs would have doubtless remained unchanged had it not been for the rivalry which sprang up between the French and Italians; the latter, numbering about 15,000, having chiefly commercial interests at stake, whilst the French, above all, were influenced by political considerations. The activity of M. Roustan, the French consul, his projects for *l'annexion économique*, and the somewhat aggressive protection he gave to every French interest, increased the already aroused susceptibilities of the Italians; and their consul, acting in concert with one of the extreme parties at home rather than following the more cautious policy of his Government, took advantage of its

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general enfeeblement to substitute as far as possible Italian for French influence. Hence the collisions and strife, both covert and open, which have occurred since 1871, when the Italian journals, during the ministry of Signor Visconti-Venosta, openly advocated the conquest of Tunis, in consequence of the privileges accorded to the Italians by the Bey. Signor Maccio, therefore, only followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, and his personal conduct was misunderstood by no one in either France or Italy. More recently, Italian intrigues were pursued with greater keenness: secretly at the Bardo, amongst the Bey's advisers; openly in the despatch of the Bey's nephew to Italy, in January 1881, on a mission to open up negotiations for a submarine cable, or, as affirmed by some, to discuss the question of a protectorate. It is true that these intrigues were regarded by some as matters connected with the home policy of certain Italian leaders, who thought the Tunisian question a convenient means of bringing about the downfall of the Cairoli ministry. Be this as it may, the results were evident—in the development of the Italian carrying trade on the coasts of Tunis, in the acquisition of the Goletta railway, and the revival of an expired telegraph concession to an Italian company to the obvious detriment of the French undertaking; and in a whole series of annoyances, envenomed, undoubtedly, by personal resentment, culminating at last in the publication of the "Mostakel."

In this contest for supremacy was doubtless to be found one of the principal motives of French intervention. Not, however, the only reason; for the Tunisian Government, trusting to Italian support, amply furnished additional incentives. It is only necessary to glance at the published despatches to see the altered attitude of the Bey and the diminished regard shown for French interests. The *Marseillaise* Society was aggrieved at the ill-will of the Bey displayed in the Enfida dispute; the Bona-Guelma Company found itself face to face with systematic opposition, even after having obtained the concession of the Sahel railway, and was about to carry out the work. Difficulties were raised in the matter of the port of Tunis, and the founding of the Banque de Crédit Agricole; whilst the frequent violations of the Algerian frontier were permitted to pass without any attempt at repression. This entirely new condition of things, and the determination on the part of the Bey to resist all French demands, at length forced M. Grévy's Government to depart from the line of policy it had hitherto pursued.

The incidental reason of entering upon a campaign was the aggressions of the Khroumirs. Public opinion and the press in France unanimously demanded decisive action. The necessity of such a course was not, however, endorsed by Italian or English opinion; but the threats of the *Diritto*, and the advice of the *Times* about the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, served only to provoke smiles. England had no special interest in seeing Tunis

conquered by Italy rather than by France, and diplomatic documents of late years clearly proved her neutral attitude in the question. Neither Austria nor Russia preferred the substitution of Italian for French influence; and Germany, for reasons of her own, might have been well satisfied to see France occupied in Africa. The collision on March 31 at El-Aioum gave the signal for the struggle, showing more clearly than ever the powerlessness or the unwillingness of the Bey to check the aggressors. It, moreover, came to be known that a secret understanding existed between the Bey and the Khroumirs, as well as with the Touareggs who had murdered Colonel Flatters, and with the Algerian tribes, whose smouldering disaffection might at any time burst into a flame of insurrection.

From the outset France represented to the Bey that his attitude should be that of an ally and an auxiliary, and accordingly urged co-operation; but his hostile tone and equivocal replies, his refusal to come to an amicable understanding, his threats in declining all responsibility, and his tacit acquiescence in the violation of his rights—all testified to the extreme difficulty of preserving that moderation which the French Government had hitherto displayed, and which its enemies at the time regarded as an indication of weakness. The Bey contented himself with sending a protest to the consuls, proposed a totally inadequate indemnity, and entrusted the suppression of the insurrection to his brother, Ali Bey, a man known to be opposed to French influence, and seriously suspected of having secretly incited the Khroumirs to rebellion. Finally, he definitely refused to allow the construction of the first section of the Tunis-Susa railway.

On April 20 the French consul notified to the Bey the imminent entry of the French troops into the Regency. Against this the latter protested on the 23rd, and renewed it on the 29th upon the first movement of the expeditionary corps, and on each occasion when a town opened its gates to the foreigner. The Sultan despatched almost as many protests as the Bey himself, and almost as many circulars, asserting his suzerainty, a claim which had lain dormant for two centuries, and which France had never recognised. The Bey gave orders to the Tunisian troops to retire before the French, but it required the utmost firmness and moderation to make head against the unwillingness and treachery of Ali Bey.

Operations were commenced in the last week of April by Generals Logerot, Forgemol, and Delebecque setting out on the campaign. On the 27th Kef was taken; and on May 1 Biserta was occupied, and 13,000 men landed under Generals Bréart and Mauraud. The columns united at Fernana, and then dispersed, scouting the mountains and valleys around. The rebels fled precipitately, and French troops were left to march through a country apparently uninhabited, but full of dangers and ambuscades. The

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rapidity with which these military manœuvres were executed produced a certain impression, and the tribes called for a truce, which was granted under less rigorous conditions than in the Algerian wars. The taking of Béja on May 7 was considered in France to be the final military incident, and when General Bréart appeared at the Bardo the campaign was looked upon as ended.

This proved, however, a complete miscalculation. On May 12 General Bréart presented the Treaty of Guarantee to the Bey of Tunis, who, contrary to the advice of the Sultan, signed it within four hours after the General's visit; then, repenting of the transaction, wrote to the Sultan protesting that he had done so under constraint. The Treaty of Kasar Said had a twofold object: it was a guarantee against incursions on the Algerian frontier, and against the intrigues of which the Bardo was the instrument or the centre. In this way France looked for the creation of useful alliance on her most exposed frontier, and hoped, under her counsels and control, to carry out an arrangement which would be as materially profitable to Tunis as to her own possessions. The French Chambers and the public approved, although in the press party spirit suggested divergent views. The Porte naturally protested, Italy was disturbed, whilst the reserve of the Government failed to mitigate the ill-feeling exhibited in some English newspapers, or to dispel the disquiet expressed in the House of Commons.

Meanwhile, General Logerot was pushing forward the campaign. Mateur was occupied by Mauraud's brigade, and General Bréart installed himself shortly afterwards at Djedeida, and some 5,000 or 6,000 Arabs submitted almost without resistance. The Bey, since the signing of the treaty, had maintained an irreproachable attitude; the difficulties which impeded the French works disappeared; Mustapha started for France at the head of the Tunisian mission (June 12); the rebels, day by day, were hemmed within a narrower circle; and the pacification of the country was in a fair way of being effected, and the French army of occupation was hurriedly recalled.

But from Tripoli to Morocco Mussulman agitators were on foot, and rumours of all sorts found currency. It was asserted that the Bey had sold his country to France, and a crusade was preached in the market-places against the French, who wished to raze Kerouan, the holy city, and to destroy the Mahomedan religion. Several tribes united to resist these supposed impending outrages, and the invasion of Southern Tunis was declared to be a necessity.

The mischief arising from the recall of the French troops at once became apparent, and blame was showered upon the French Ministry for its want of foresight in not providing for the garrisoning of at least the most important points on the coast. In answer to the clamour of public opinion, General Farre, the Minister of War, maintained the impossibility of occupying the country for any lengthened period, on account of its insalubrity;

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whilst the President of the Council explained that the return of part of the troops was necessitated by the mobilisation of certain home forces. The southern tribes, stimulated by the incitements of the Marabouts, and inspired by the security drawn from the presence of Turkish troops in Tripoli, rose in revolt. M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire made representations to the Porte; the Bey landed troops at Gabés; Sfax was involved in the disturbance; and, to prevent a general rising of the whole of the interior, that town was bombarded on July 8, and the next day, after a short contest in the plain, was occupied.

The country was in a high state of ferment; not content with cutting the telegraph wires and placing stones on the railways, the insurgents indulged in the most audacious razzias. They pillaged country estates, robbed caravans, and assassinated travellers. It was not insurrection but brigandage, and terrorism reigned unchecked throughout the Regency, the authority of the Bey was evidently on the wane, and there was no alternative but for the French troops to return and undertake the campaign in the south.

Until the summer heats had passed active operations were out of the question, except on the coast; but, meanwhile, Hammamet, Djerba, and Gabés were occupied. On August 26 the troops under Colonel Corréart, whilst marching on Hammamet, were vigorously attacked by the Arabs, and after two days' fighting compelled to fall back upon Hammam-life; and although the retreat was admirably conducted, it could not fail to inspirit the enemy. The situation was not without danger. The French columns, arrested by the heat and by a failure of the supply of water, were unable to operate against the Arabs in revolt, who occupied the line of communication with Tunis. The need for a larger force became obvious to all; and at length General Saussier, at the head of 35,000 French troops, subsequently raised to 44,500, was despatched, with full powers to put down the insurrection.

On September 10 General Saussier opened his campaign with a proclamation to the Arabs, couched in terms both firm and just, placing before them the alternative of submission or subjection. On October 27 he made his entry into Kerouan, which had surrendered a few days previously to General Etienne. The third column, under General Forgemol, reached the same rendezvous a day or two later, neither having met with serious opposition on their march. Kerouan had been abandoned by the insurgents, after pillage, who then to the number of about 7,000 had retreated southwards.

Meanwhile the northern districts had been pacified, and the railway between Tunis and Kef re-established. Though the military aim was attained, there yet remained the exploration of the southern regions. It was, therefore, rather as a moral manifestation than as a military attack that General Forgemol advanced upon Gafsa on November 8, where, having granted to the inhabitants a truce, General Logerot turned towards Gabés, only to find that the insurgents

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had broken up their camp on November 24 and were flying in confusion. Hotly pursued, suffering every kind of hardships, the majority sued for pardon, abandoning their two principal chiefs, Ali ben Amar and Ali ben Kalifa, a few only withdrawing behind the frontiers of the Tripoli frontier. The Bey's army, which had done nothing but oppress the country, was disbanded, and a fresh native force, under General Lambert, as Commander-in-Chief of the Tunisian army (November 20), was organised for the defence and protection of the country.

In December General Forgemol re-entered Algeria, and General Logerot returned northwards towards Sfax and Susa, having punished the Beni Zed tribe, which had revolted a second time on hearing of his departure (December 12). In looking back upon the Tunis campaign it was admitted by impartial judges that the military operations, when released from diplomatic action, had been ably conducted; and that, owing to the display of force which had struck terror into the tribes, the campaign had been almost bloodless. Many troops, however, unhappily fell victims to typhoid fever and dysentery, and some disclosures made by Dr. Lereboullet contradicting the official despatches roused suspicion in the public mind, and a demand for investigation resulted in the institution of an enquiry. It was then revealed that no preparations whatever had been made for the troops on their arrival at Tunis, that the most necessary provision of tents and medicines were wanting, and that the general sanitary arrangements were absolutely neglected. To these facts the prevalent sickness amongst the troops was obviously attributable, and General Farre was called to account. He was attacked also on the financial expedients adopted to cover the cost of the expedition. The Republican press did not hesitate to stigmatise them as a *système de virements*, but after a sharp debate, in which the policy of the Cabinet was defended by M. Jules Ferry, the subject was allowed to lapse, with apparently the tacit consent of the Chamber.

III. EGYPT.

The year 1880 was rendered memorable in Egypt by the passing of the Law of Liquidation, drawn up on the recommendation of the Commissioners of England, France, Italy, Austria, and Germany. This law, in the language of the Report of the Controllers-General, presented on February 21, 1881, "drew an absolute line of demarcation between the past and the future, settled the conditions on which all public debts prior to December 31 were to be regulated, fixed the amount and interest of the consolidated debt, appropriated to it certain revenues, and laid down the rules by which the other sources of income were to be distributed between the

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service of different branches of the administration and the paying off of the consolidated debt."

The year 1881 opened seemingly with every promise of tranquil progress. The financial difficulties of the country were arranged on a satisfactory basis. The appointment by the decree of September 4, 1879, of the English and French Controllers-General, with the rank of Egyptian ministers and the right to assist without voting at ministerial councils, and the fullest powers of inquiring into the finances of every branch of the public service, was a guarantee that the Law of Liquidations would be respected, and the necessary reforms in the administration of the country carried out. A trustworthy and intelligible statement of revenue and expenditure was published for the first time, and showed an income of 353,676 E.*l.* in excess of the estimates of the financial year 1880.

The city of Cairo was occupied with a succession of festivities on the occasion of the marriage of several members of the vice-regal family, when on February 1 it was startled with the news that a military riot had occurred, which had resulted in the dismissal of the Minister of War, Osman Rifky Pasha. This had been brought about in the following manner. The Egyptian army had during the reign of Ismail Pasha suffered, in common with all other branches of the public service, from the financial difficulties caused by his reckless spending and borrowing. Their pay was cut down, while it was allowed to fall into arrear for many months.

Shortly before Ismail's fall, it was not an unusual thing to see soldiers reduced to beg in the streets; and it was in consequence of an ill-considered order for disbanding a portion of the army without giving them their pay that the meeting of February 18, 1879, took place, and led to the fall of the Nubar-Wilson ministry. Under the new system established at Tewfik Pasha's accession, the soldiers, as everybody else, were regularly paid, but still at a rate much below that of other public servants. Motives of economy, however, led to a reduction in the regiments, by which a great number of officers were put on half-pay, only a small portion of whom could be provided for in the civil administrations. The higher grades, too, had long been filled with Turks and Circassians, to the exclusion of native officers. This was borne, with many other injustices, without any open sign of discontent as long as the iron hand of Ismail's despotism was over the country. But the revolution which put Tewfik on the throne had shifted responsibility from the Khedive to his ministers, and so fatally diminished the authority of the head of the State. The soldiers, as well as the rest of the population, now felt that a demand for redress of grievances was no longer considered as an act of treason, to be punished with the bastinado or worse.

Shortly before February 1 the ill-feeling which existed between the Circassian and Arab officers had shown itself in a violent quarrel between the Arab colonel of the 1st Regiment of

Guards, stationed at the Palace of Abdin, Aly Bey Fehmy, and a Circassian officer by whom he thought himself supplanted in the favour of the Khedive. The Minister of War, Osman Pasha Rifky, himself also a Circassian, took the part of his countryman. Three Arab colonels, Aly Bey Fehmy himself, Arab Bey Ahmed, of the 4th Regiment, stationed at Abassick, outside the city, and Abdullah Bey, of the black Regiment stationed at Tourah, a short distance from Cairo, sent a strongly worded letter to Riaz Pasha, complaining of the favouritism shown by the Minister of War to Circassian and Turkish officers. This was referred by the Council of Ministers to the Minister of War, who on the morning of February 1 held a council of war in the barracks of Kasr-el-Nil, and put Aly Bey Fehmy and the two other colonels under arrest there. The news of this reaching Aly Bey Fehmy's regiment at Abdin, two battalions, acting under previously concerted instructions from their colonel, took up arms and marched on Kasr-el-Nil. They forced the guard at the point of the bayonet, broke open the prison, released the colonel, and bore him off in triumph to their quarters opposite the palace of Abdin. The military council was forced to make a precipitate retreat, and escaped out of the window of the room where they were assembled, not without some rough usage by the mutinous soldiery. It was now noonday; and the Khedive himself and his Ministers, who had been summoned hastily, were spectators of the scene from the balcony of the palace. An aide-de-camp sent from the Khedive to the mutineers while at Kasr-el-Nil had failed to restore discipline, and on their return with their colonel they demanded not only his reinstatement, but the dismissal of the Minister of War. The Khedive and Ministers took counsel of the Consuls-General of England and France; but it was found not only that the other troops in Cairo were not to be relied upon to put down the mutiny, but that the black regiment at Tourah was actually on its way to join the mutineers. There was nothing for it but to yield. The Minister of War was replaced by Mahmud Pasha Samy, the Minister of Religious Institutions (wakfs). This nomination was favourably received by the soldiers, and they retired to their barracks with shouts of "Long live the Khedive!" At two o'clock in the afternoon perfect quiet was restored, and the rest of Cairo had scarcely heard of the events of the day before all was over.

Besides its more serious political consequences, this outbreak brought about immediately the recall of Baron de Ring, the French Agent and Consul-General. There had been for some time great disagreement between him and the French Controller-General, Mons. de Blignières; arising partly from the jealousy which the former, as diplomatic agent, felt of the independent position of the Controller towards his own Government, partly from difference of character and policy. Mons. de Blignières, from the time of his first nomination as Minister of Public Works in the short-lived Nubar-Wilson Cabinet, had always worked cordially with his English

colleagues Major Baring and Mr. Colvin. His services on the Commission of Inquiry had been very great. He had given a cordial support to the Riaz Ministry, but the impartiality which he displayed in regard to financial and other schemes submitted to the Government caused loud complaints on the part of many of his compatriots, who openly accused him of sacrificing French interests to England. Baron de Ring, on the other hand, was very hostile to Riaz Pasha, and hardly concealed his desire to overthrow his Ministry. When the military outbreak of February 1 occurred the three colonels paid visits to Baron de Ring and Mr. Malet, the English Diplomatic Agent, to assure them that there was no hostility intended to foreigners. Mr. Malet naturally at once informed the Khedive of this interview; Baron de Ring, on the other hand, carried on secret negotiations with the colonels, in the course of which he went so far as to propose to them as Prime Minister, Osman Pasha, the Viceroy's cousin, and the heir to the Khediviate according to the former Ottoman rule of succession. This came to the knowledge of Riaz Pasha, who induced the Khedive to write an autograph letter to the President of the French Republic in such terms as left no alternative to the French Government but to summon Mons. de Ring to Paris to explain his conduct. The result was the definitive replacement of Mons. de Ring by another French agent, Mons. Sienkiewicz. The conduct of the French Ministry was approved by the Chambers in a discussion which took place in the month of July following.

This change of the French representative in its turn brought about the adjournment for another year of the sittings of the International Commission for the reform of the mixed Courts in Egypt. Baron de Ring had played a leading part in this assembly, and his successor not having been at once appointed, the Egyptian Government was not sorry to plead the impossibility of going on without a representative of France as an excuse for putting off the whole question. Their scheme for the revision of the organic constitution of the mixed Courts had four chief points, all tending to restrict the predominance of the foreign element, and to pave the way for changing the Courts into a purely Egyptian institution.

1. The establishment of a Court of third instance for revision of the decisions of the mixed and native Courts of Appeal when at variance with those of the Courts of first instance. This Court of Revision, composed of fourteen judges, seven natives, and seven foreigners, was to be divided into two chambers, one for revision of the decisions of the mixed Courts, and the other for revision of the decisions of the native Courts, with a majority in each chamber of one judge only, in favour of the native or foreign element, according as the case was exclusively native or mixed. The declared object of this Court was to improve the native Courts by fusing their jurisprudence with that of the mixed tribunals, and giving an appeal to a Court largely composed of foreign judges. But its obvious effect was to reduce that predominance of the foreign

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element in the mixed Court which was the original basis of their constitution.

2. From motives of economy it was proposed to reduce the number of judges in all the Courts. But this again reduced the proportion between the foreign and native judges in favour of the latter.

3. The exclusive penal jurisdiction of the foreign Consular Courts over their own subjects was to be limited to offences committed by a foreigner against one of his own nationality.

4. A "Conseil des Conflits" was to be created, composed in equal proportion of Egyptian functionaries and judges of the mixed Courts, to decide all conflicts of jurisdiction between the mixed Courts and the administrative authority.

The International Commission had rejected the first and second of these amendments, and had shown its intention of rejecting the third. The Egyptian Government had therefore no motive for desiring to press their scheme. The discussions in the Commission, on the other hand, showed the inconveniences of its constitution. Sixteen different Powers, each represented by two delegates, made up a most unwieldy body; and it was seen, especially by England and France, to be a practical absurdity that an equality in voting should be allowed to each nationality, irrespective of the proportion of its interests in Egypt. No one, therefore, except those whose personal interests were affected by certain proposed changes in the internal hierarchy of the Courts, was very sorry when it was decided to prorogue the Commission until November 15, 1881, and to continue the Courts and Codes, as at present constituted, until January 31, 1882.

Shortly after the mutiny of February 1, the Khedive summoned (on the 13th) the officers of the garrison of Cairo, and delivered an address in which, while expressing his regret at what had happened, and his hopes that they would for the future observe the first duty of a soldier—obedience to the Chief of the State, he gave them formal assurances of his good intentions towards the army, and of his hearty pardon for what had occurred. This declaration was made at the strongly expressed advice of Mr. Malet, who foresaw the danger of keeping up agitation, or leaving on the minds of the colonels any suspicion that they were liable at any moment to the vengeance of the Sovereign and the Ministers whose authority they had successfully defied. But unfortunately neither His Highness nor Riaz Pasha succeeded by these assurances in calming the fears of the officers so seriously compromised. From the moment of their success their first thought was to protect themselves from vengeance; with that object they began to put themselves in secret communication with all those who were for any reason dissatisfied with the political position in Egypt, and the military revolt soon became the nucleus of an agitation which extended itself through a wide political area. This agitation was no secret to the Ministry, but they took no steps either to crush

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it at its commencement by vigorous measures, or to provide any force to oppose it. At the same time what was in itself a very prudent step was taken towards inquiring into and remedying any grievances which the army might really have to complain of. On April 20 a decree appeared, raising the pay of all ranks from 20 per cent. to 30 per cent., and appointing a Commission, of which four foreign general officers in the Egyptian employ, and among them Major-General Sir Frederick Goldsmid, the English Administrator of the Daira Sanieh, were members, to inquire into the army regulations, military schools, the rules for promotion and retirement of officers, and the situation of those on half-pay. This Commission held many meetings, but it soon became evident that all the non-European members were united, though the Government had expected that the Turkish officers would act together with the Europeans in opposition to any unreasonable proposals of the military agitators, who were represented on it by Ahmed Arabi Bey. This officer was now the recognised head of the military party, and as such held constant meetings in Cairo, at which speeches were made denouncing the Riaz Ministry and the foreign element in the administration of the country. This agitation, thus gradually spreading throughout the country, was fomented by violent articles in the Arab newspapers. The proceedings of the French in Tunis contributed much to heighten the animosity which was thus being kept alive. Still the Government took no steps to prepare for the coming danger. A warning of the temper of the officers was given in the Military Commission itself, where Arabi Bey declared that if ordered by the Minister of War to take his regiment to Soudan he would not obey. This drew forth an energetic reproof from General Sir Frederick Goldsmid, and Arabi Bey made a sort of excuse for his mutinous speech, but the truth was becoming every day more manifest that the army was completely master of the situation. The most serious change which had occurred was the complete effacement of the personal authority of the Khedive. He was deservedly popular with all who came in contact with him, and with the fellaheen especially, whose gratitude for the relief which they had experienced under his government had been shown in the enthusiastic reception given to him while on a tour which he made on April 9, from Suez through the canal to Port Said, before he took up his residence at Alexandria for the summer. His domestic virtues and sincere desire for the happiness of his people contrasted most favourably with the character of his father. But he wanted the decision and courage either to control his Ministry, or to give them any firm support against their adversaries in the country and the army; and he was not free from that Oriental dissimulation which inevitably degenerates into duplicity. His relations with Riaz Pasha were too often rather strained. The Prime Minister's great energy had given him such predominance in the Cabinet, and such an influence with the foreign political agents, that he came to

consider himself as the indispensable ruler of the country, and he showed a disposition to eliminate the foreign element in the administration of the country, which soon brought him into collision with M. de Blignières, who, in the absence of Mr. Colvin on leave, represented the control. The Khedive often winced under the yoke of his Minister. He could not, however, throw it off; for there was no one who could be summoned to succeed Riaz Pasha. Of the two other prominent Egyptian statesmen neither seemed for the moment possible. Nubar Pasha, as a Christian and the colleague of MM. Wilson and De Blignières, was regarded with the greatest antipathy by the national party, and had lost much of the somewhat exaggerated confidence once reposed in his ability and honesty by European statesmen. Sherif Pasha, on the other hand, was suspected, whether rightly or not, of being a partisan of the system which prevailed under Ismail Pasha, whose willing servant he had been during so many years.

The summer months had nearly passed over without a ministerial crisis, when one of those accidents which precipitate the inevitable occurred at Alexandria. On July 30 an artillery soldier was accidentally run over and killed in the streets by a native coachman; and a number of his comrades, in spite of the direct opposition of their officers, showed their dissatisfaction at the discharge of the coachman by carrying his corpse in procession through the streets to the Khedive's palace at Ras-el-Fin, where they demanded the punishment of the offender. The Khedive came out and promised them satisfaction. But soon after, the soldiers concerned in this affair were brought before a court-martial, and heavy sentence passed on them—on the ringleader, that of hard labour for life; and on the eight others, that of three years in the galleys at Khartoum. The extraordinary severity of this sentence caused an excitement in the army, and a few days afterwards Abdullah Bey, the colonel of the negro regiment at Tourah, and one of the three leaders in the affair of February 1, addressed to the Ministry of War a letter couched in terms very disrespectful both to the Minister of War and to the Khedive, contrasting this severity with the mild treatment of the officers of his own regiment, nineteen of whom had been allowed to retire on half-pay, after having refused to co-operate with their colonel in his agitation. The Minister of War communicated the letter to his colleagues and to the Khedive, but feared to punish this act of insubordination, and allowed the writer to withdraw it on his assurance that his intentions were not mutinous. The Khedive was much displeased at the Minister of War's want of energy, and took this opportunity of trying to regain the authority which he had lost. He wished to assume the presidency of the council himself, and Riaz Pasha and his colleagues offered to resign rather than agree to this step. But the Khedive's resolution failed, and no other change in the Ministry took place except the dismissal of the Minister of War, Mustapha Pasha Samy Baroudy, who was replaced by Daud Pasha Zighen,

the Viceroy's cousin. This change took place on August 11, and seemed to be a prelude to more vigorous measures to meet the military difficulty; for the new Minister of War, from his relationship to the vice-regal family, represented directly the Khedive's personal authority, and he assumed a firmer attitude towards the leaders.

But the Riaz Ministry was very much shaken. The Viceroy had on the late crisis declared his intention of dismissing them, though he had not the resolution to carry it out, and Mons. de Blignières was now openly hostile to them. Two consecutive denials in the *Moniteur Officiel*, on August 25 and September 3, of reports that M. de Blignières had demanded the dismissal, first of the Minister of Public Works, a close ally of Riaz Pasha, and then of the whole Ministry, inserted, as it turned out, without the knowledge or approval of M. de Blignières, were significant of the terms on which Riaz Pasha now lived with the French Controller. No more value was really to be attached to this denial than to a declaration of the military commission which was presented on August 31 to the Minister of War, expressing their pain at the articles in the newspapers containing assertions of the undisciplined state of the army, which they characterised as calumnious and without any foundation. One of those who wrote this document was Ahmed Arabi Bey, the colonel of the 4th Regiment of Infantry.

On September 3 the Khedive unfortunately left Alexandria for Cairo, the head-quarters of the military party, among whom the Minister of War and Riaz Pasha contrived within the next few days to create an impression that a sort of *coup d'état* was meditated by the arrest of the leaders. The first step to this was thought to be the order issued by the Minister of War for the removal from Cairo to Alexandria of the 4th regiment of infantry, of which Arabi Bey was the colonel. This measure had been already decided upon by the former Minister of War, Mahmoud Pasha Samy, but its execution at this moment, in direct opposition to the advice given by the acting agent of England, inspired Arabi Bey and his colleagues with great apprehension. They appear, too, to have connected it with the mission which Mr. Malet was at that moment executing at Constantinople, where it was universally thought that he had been sent to concert with the Porte on behalf of England and France a plan for an armed intervention, if a military revolt should again break out. They held meetings on September 7 and 8, at which it was determined to make a demonstration to intimidate the Khedive, and compel the resignation of the Ministers, whom they suspected of designs on their liberty or life. It was said afterwards by the official journal that these designs were not unknown to the Khedive and his Ministers, but that he counted on the loyalty of the 1st and 2nd regiments of infantry, and on the cavalry and artillery, a force more than sufficient to overpower the mutinous regiment of Arabi Bey whenever the crisis should arise.

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Friday, September 9, was the last day of the great fair at Santah, and the Khedive and Ministers went there on Thursday in state, and returned to Cairo that night without the least idea of what the next day was to bring forth. Indeed, there was so little expectation of any immediate crisis that M. Sienkiewicz, the French Consul-General, had not come up to Cairo from Alexandria, and M. de Blignières had left Egypt on private business only a few days before. Mr. Colvin had returned to Cairo from his leave of absence only that very morning. At one o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, September 9, Davud Pasha, the Minister of War, was informed by a letter, signed by Arabi Bey, that at three o'clock in the same afternoon the army would present itself on the square before the Palace of Abdin, to demand the execution of the political programme which their leaders had agreed upon. This was composed of three points,—

1. The instant dismissal of Riaz Pasha and all his colleagues.
2. The summoning of the Chambers of Notables.
3. The carrying out of the recommendation of the military commission.

The most important recommendation was the augmentation of the army to 18,000 men. At the same time, Arabi Bey, in the name of the army, sent a circular to the different foreign consular representatives, assuring them that the *pronunciamento* of the army covered no designs hostile to the safety of the lives and property of foreigners. The Viceroy was at the Palace of Ismalieh when the Minister of War brought him Arabi Bey's letter. Riaz Pasha and other Ministers, together with Mr. Colvin, the English Controller-General, and Mr. Cookson, the English Acting Agent and Consul-General, were at once summoned. When this latter arrived at Ismalieh, at about two o'clock, he found that, on the recommendation of Mr. Colvin, it was proposed that the Khedive should go at once in person to the barracks of Abdin, where the 1st regiment of guard was, to assure himself of their fidelity, of which he said he felt no doubt; and thence, putting himself at their head, proceed with the same purpose to the quarters of the 2nd regiment of infantry at the citadel. It was hoped that he might be in time to forestall the arrival at Abdin of Arabi Bey's regiment, which was quartered at Abassieh, some little distance outside Cairo. This plan seemed to offer the only chance possible of opposing force to force, and it was approved by all present. Mr. Cookson returned home to telegraph to his Government what was happening; but Mr. Colvin, as an Egyptian official, accompanied the Khedive and his Ministers. On arriving at the barracks of Abdin, the Khedive was received by the officers and men of the 1st regiment of guard with every mark of respect, and he and Riaz Pasha addressed the troops, and were answered with loud protestations of loyalty and devotion to their Prince. The guards of the palace were doubled, and its entrances closed; and the Khedive proceeded to the barracks at the citadel. Here the same reception and the same protesta-

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tions from the 2nd regiment. Now was the moment to carry out the plan up to this point so boldly conceived and so successfully initiated. If the Khedive, as urged by Mr. Colvin, had put himself at the head of these troops and marched at once to Abdin to await the arrival of Arabi Bey from Abassieh, perhaps all might have gone well. But the Khedive wished to make a final effort to avoid a conflict. He insisted on driving to Abassieh before returning to Abdin, where he told the Ministers to go and wait for him. Mr. Colvin alone accompanied him; but when they got to Abassieh it was forty minutes past three o'clock, and they found the barracks empty. Arabi Bey had marched them off three-quarters of an hour before, taking with him eighteen pieces of artillery to blockade the Palace of Abdin. The subalterns and men of the artillery had forced their colonels to follow Arabi Bey. When the Khedive returned at full speed to Abdin, at half-past four o'clock, he found the sides of the square in front of his palace completely surrounded by 4,000 troops, with cavalry in the centre, and eighteen loaded cannon pointed on his windows. The two regiments which had sworn fidelity only an hour before had joined Arabi Bey's forces. The Khedive went into the palace by the back entrance; but Mr. Colvin, who had not left him, urged him to make a last effort by a personal appeal to the loyalty of the troops. He passed through the corridors of the palace, and, with Mr. Colvin on his right, and accompanied by the American General Stone, chief of the staff of the Egyptian army, and three officers of his household, went down the great staircase of the palace towards the group of colonels, of which Arabi Bey and Abdullah Bey, both on horseback, were the centre. The order "Get off your horses!" given in a firm voice, was unhesitatingly obeyed. Who can say what would have been the response to another to the colonels to give up their swords, which Mr. Colvin had the courage to suggest, but for which the Khedive substituted one to sheathe them? After being twice given this last command was obeyed. To the Khedive's question what it was they demanded, Arabi Bey answered that he came in the name of the people to ask for the liberty and the grant of the three points formulated in the letter sent that morning to the Minister of War. "Have you forgotten that I am the Khedive and your master?" was answered by Arabi Bey with a verse of the Koran: "The ruler is he who is just; he who is not so is no longer ruler." To carry the interview any further was evidently quite useless. The Khedive withdrew to his palace under pretext of considering the demands made upon him. At this moment a significant manœuvre was executed. The soldiers of the 1st regiment in guard of the palace were withdrawn, and replaced by others of the negro regiment of Abdullah Bey, and the entrances of the palace surrounded. As the Khedive retired Mr. Cookson arrived. The only representative there of the two Powers, after a short counsel taken with Mr. Colvin and the Ministers, by desire of the Khedive, Mr. Cookson addressed himself to Arabi Bey as a spokes-

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man for the army, and, pointing out in strong terms the disastrous consequences to themselves and their country of thus intimidating the Sovereign before his own palace, asked what were their demands. Arabi Bey repeated the three points—dismissal of the Ministry, convocation of Chambers, and execution of programme of military commission; and said that they were there to defend the liberties of Egypt, which England, the opponent of slavery, ought never to crush. On retiring to present these demands to the Khedive, Mr. Cookson told his Highness that, judging from what he had been able to gather from this conversation with the officers, he thought that if the Ministers were to consent to resign, the other demand would not be insisted upon. Riaz Pasha at once agreed, and Mr. Cookson was authorised by the Khedive to announce this to the officers. He did so, making the concession conditional on the troops being at once withdrawn, adding that he could not recommend the Khedive to accede to the other two demands without reference to Constantinople; and he stipulated for full liberty to the Khedive to choose the new Ministry. To these terms Arabi Bey at first assented, and Mr. Cookson was on his way back to inform the Khedive of this result, when he was recalled by the clamour of some of those around Arabi Bey, who demanded first that no member of the vice-regal family should be chosen, and then mentioned the name of Sherif Pasha. This expression of their desire was carried to the Khedive, and he at once accepted the selection. It only remained for the Khedive, at the request of Arabi Bey and his followers, to sign the letter asking Sherif Pasha, who was absent at Alexandria, to form a Cabinet. When Mr. Cookson took from Khaivi Pasha the Khedive's letter and delivered it to Arabi Bey, who read it out aloud, it was greeted with a general shout of "Long live the Khedive!" The negotiations had lasted nearly two hours. Before withdrawing, Arabi Bey and his associates asked to be allowed to be received by the Khedive, to present their excuses and receive his pardon. This ceremony was decorously gone through; and at half-past seven o'clock the troops were all drawn off to the barracks.

This eventful day thus came to an end less disastrously than could have been expected. What might have been a bloody revolution had apparently been appeased for the moment by a mere change of Ministry. Throughout the whole day no excitement whatever was observable among the population of Cairo, nor in any other part of the country, which was apparently quite ignorant what great deeds its professed champions were performing for it. But the next few days were full of anxiety. Sherif Pasha, summoned on the evening of the 9th from Alexandria, refused to accept the mandate of the mutineers. Though all seemed quiet, and the current business of the public offices was hardly interrupted, it seemed that anarchy was very near, as no statesman could be found to take up the *damnosa hæreditas* of the Riaz Government. The position of the country, without any Ministers, while the

Khedive was practically in the power of the army, became every moment more critical. The Cabinets of England and France gave no sign of any intentions of intervening. The Khedive, under the first impression of the events of the 9th, had telegraphed to the Porte for 10,000 soldiers to put down the military revolt. But it soon appeared that the army had not much to fear from that quarter. Arabi Bey openly declared that he had support from Constantinople; and it seems pretty certain that he and his friends would never have proceeded to such extremities if they had not reason to believe that the Porte would not lend the Khedive any aid except on such terms as would be equally distasteful to him and to the two great European Powers on whom he depended. September 10 and 11 passed in negotiations on the part of the Khedive and his advisers, the English and French Agents and Mr. Colvin, to induce Sherif Pasha to accept office. It seemed, indeed, that this was the only way out of the difficulty. But Sherif Pasha had on his side been unable to get Arabi Bey and his comrades to accept the only terms on which it was possible for a statesman to accept office in that crisis: he required from the army the removal from Cairo of the two regiments of Arabi Bey and Abdullah Bey, and full liberty of choice of his colleagues in the Ministry, and complete submission to his orders. The military leaders refused to consent to the removal of their regiments, and demanded the right of naming the new Minister of War, the increase of the army to 18,000 men, and a constitution. On the morning of September 12 Sherif Pasha had declared that he withdrew from any further efforts to come to terms with the military chiefs. That same evening it was announced that the colonels had determined to summon the sheiks of the villages and other notables from the interior to make a demonstration in favour of their demand for a constitution. The idea of using this body as a guarantee for the orderly conduct of the army was most happily conceived. All of these persons having a stake in the country, they rallied rather round Sherif Pasha than those who had called them to their assistance. They showed no enthusiasm for the projected constitutional liberties, but considerable apprehension of the consequences of the continuance of the interregnum, which threatened to terminate in anarchy. Their attitude made the officers reflect on the danger to themselves if they did not come to some settlement before Ottoman or European intervention brought on them the inevitable consequences of their rash enterprise. On the morning of September 13 the Khedive summoned a meeting of all the consular body in Cairo, at which Sherif Pasha and Mr. Colvin were present, and a unanimous request was made to Sherif Pasha not to desert his Sovereign at this moment of extreme danger. He consented once more to re-open negotiations, relying on the support of the notables to make something like suitable conditions. This attempt proved successful. The officers agreed to quit Cairo within a short time, and to leave to Sherif Pasha the choice of the

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time when constitutional liberties should be granted to the country, and full liberty of choosing his own Cabinet, and they forbore to insist on the immediate augmentation of the army. Sherif Pasha, on the other hand, consented to name Minister of War Mahmoud Pasha Samy—the same who had been chosen on February 1, and whose replacement by Davud Pasha had been the immediate cause of the late demonstration—and to put into execution the other recommendations of the military commission. Thus once more it was proved how almost exclusively predominant in the minds of Arabi Bey and his comrades was a regard for the interests of their own class.

On September 14 the Sherif Pasha Ministry was definitely formed, Mustapha Pasha Fehny, the Foreign Minister of the Rias Cabinet, though for Europe, was reinstated in the same office. His acquaintance with current politics, and the excellent footing on which his amiable and courteous disposition had always put him with all the foreign representatives, were sufficient recommendations for the post. The other members of the Cabinet—Haidar Pasha, Minister of Finance, Ismail Pasha Egoub, Minister of Works, Kadiz Bey, Minister of Justice, Mahmoud Zeky Pasha, Minister of Religious Institutions (Wakfs) and of Public Instruction—were all more or less known as having had experience in public affairs; and their co-operation was calculated to obtain public confidence for the administration. The programme was embodied in a letter addressed to the Khedive by Sherif Pasha on assuming power, the most important point of which was the emphatic declaration of an intention to maintain the Anglo-French control. It contained also a promise of administrative reforms, but was silent about constitutional changes. As hinted in it, this programme had been submitted and approved by the representatives of England and France, and by Mr. Colvin. This last-named had contributed more than anyone else to the settlement of the difficulties of the situation by his personal influence with and wise advice to Sherif Pasha, who showed throughout these trying circumstances that loyalty and moderation which had always distinguished his character. The fallen ministry of Riaz Pasha had for fifteen months carried on the government.

Mr. Malet arrived from Constantinople on September 17, but he brought with him no fresh instructions for any change of policy, or for any decisive action on the part of his Government. It was no secret that France was led by the strained conditions of her relations with the Porte, in consequence of the aggression on Tunis, to oppose anything like Ottoman intervention in Egypt; and the English Cabinet preferred to follow France in this view, rather than break up the alliance which had hitherto proved so fruitful of financial and material good in Egypt. It was therefore a painful surprise to the English and French Ambassadors when they heard, on October 2, that the Sultan had on his own personal responsibility despatched to Egypt a mission composed of Ali

Nezam Pasha and Ali Fuad Bey, two high functionaries of the Porte. Its arrival at Alexandria on October 6 was an equal surprise to the Khedive, and he summoned Mr. Malet and Mr. Sienkiewicz when he heard of its arrival. They assured him that they and their Governments were entirely strangers to this step on the part of the Turkish Government, and during the twelve days the mission remained in Egypt it was received with the coldest courtesy by the Egyptian Government, and utterly ignored by the foreign representatives. Its declared object was to make inquiries into the military difficulty, and in doing this the envoys, while they openly counselled good discipline and subordination to the Sultan and his representative the Khedive, contrived to do much to increase the growing animosity to foreigners. Their departure from Egypt was hastened by the arrival of an English and French ironclad, whose orders were to stay as long as the Turkish envoys. The English ship only arrived outside the harbour of Alexandria in time to salute the Turkish man-of-war as she steamed out.

The conditions on which Sherif Pasha accepted power were loyally carried out on both sides. On September 22 the Khedive signed four decrees, regulating (1) the leave; (2) the retirement; (3) the pay; (4) the promotion in the army on the lines laid down by the Military Commission. On October 4 appeared a decree for the opening of the Chamber of Delegates. On December 23 next this decree was accompanied by a letter from Sherif Pasha to the Khedive, insisting on the advantage which the Ministry expected from the assistance of representatives of the people in carrying out the intended reforms, but express reservations were made that the financial engagements of the country, as being of an international character, were not to be liable to be discussed by the Chamber. The interval of three months before its meeting, the letter said, would be employed by Ministers in preparing for its consideration various bills relating to questions of pressing interest, especially those of the mode of appeal against taxation, of forced labour, and of provincial councils. A subsequent decree fixed the date of the elections for November 10; and a circular was issued by Sherif Pasha, as Minister of Interior, giving the most ample liberty to the electors. The elections were to take place according to the old law of 1860, by which Ismail Pasha had first created the body of notables, which in his time served no other purpose but to give a false air of legality to his arbitrary taxation. The electors of the notables were according to that law the sheiks of the towns and villages, themselves honourably chosen by the inhabitants.

On October 6 Arabi Bey and Abdullah Bey carried out, their promise to withdraw their regiments from Cairo, the one to Ouady and the other to Damietta. But the success of the revolt of September 9 had now produced its effects on the country. The rational party, which had been a mere dream of visionaries or a device of agitators, had become a reality. There was now a

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growing union of all the various elements of opposition to the artificial system established under Ismail and consolidated under Tewfik, by which foreigners controlled the political and administrative life of Egypt. The native aspirants for public employment, who found themselves put out of the posts in which huge illegitimate gains made up for the scantiness of nominal salary, joined in the outcry against the high pay given to Europeans at the head of the different administrations, and the military agitators had well employed the eight months between their two *pronunciamentos* in strengthening themselves by this feeling. The sheiks and the notables welcomed their own advent to an independent share in the government of the country, to which they had hitherto been admitted only through the favour of the Government. The partisans of Ismail and of Nalim joined in hatred to the foreigner, and the spirit of fanaticism which seemed dormant in every Moslem mind threatened to be aroused by the triumphant and truculent tone of the local press, which was more especially inspired by Arabi Bey and his allies. Some of these diatribes had been translated by *L'Egypte*, the French devoted, flattering journal which had been Riaz Pasha's special organ. Though *L'Egypte* had shown the greatest versatility in transferring its advocacy to the Sherif Ministry, its connection with the former one was a crime which the new Prime Minister could not forgive. Advantage was taken of a passage, inadvertently copied into an historical article, which characterised Mahomet as the "false prophet," to suppress the paper. The editor was even officially recommended by the French Consul-General to leave Egypt, in consequence of threats which were made of vengeance meditated against him. In spite of a warning addressed to the European and Arab press, the latter still continuing their inflammatory articles, complaints on the subject were made by the foreign representatives, and on November 27 a press law was published of more stringent and illiberal character than exists in any other country except Russia. It gave the Minister of Interior absolute power, without any judicial process whatever, to fine and suppress any printing office or newspaper. This law was said to be aimed directly at the native journals; but it was not attempted to put in force against them either this or the previous Ottoman press law, which allowed ample authority to the Government to repress dangerous publications of all kinds.

Meantime, the tone of some of the English journals was calculated to excite apprehension that England desired to make the internal condition of Egypt a pretext for an act of annexation similar to that lately perpetrated in Tunis. To calm this feeling, Lord Granville, on November 4, addressed a despatch to Sir E. Malet containing a full exposition of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, as shown in a previous chapter ("English History," chap. iv., p. 181).

It was, perhaps, partly in deference to the excellent advice

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then given as to the pre-eminent importance of justice for the natives, that the Egyptian Government hastened the publication of a scheme for the reorganisation of the native courts, the greater part of which it had borrowed from the Riaz Administration, but which it had carefully deprived of its most important characteristic, which was the intermixture of European with the native judges. In other respects this pretentious scheme was nearly a literal copy of the "Règlement d'Organisation Judiciaire" of the mixed courts. A costly array of judges, procureurs-général, substitutes, and ushers—what was all this worth? It was notorious that there were not a dozen men in the country fitted by education to administer any system or code for which this machinery was adapted. This seemed but a poor firstfruit of the national party's legislation. But perhaps it was only put forward now to make the pretence of some practical work. The real business in hand was to get the new Chamber into existence. With its meeting the eventful year 1881 ended in Egypt.

On December 25 the Khedive in person opened the first session of the Egyptian Parliament with a speech, in which he had the courage to declare that it had always been his desire to summon the Chamber of Delegates, and to express his confidence that wisdom and moderation would reign in its deliberations, and that it would respect the Law of Liquidation and all other international engagements. The President of the Chamber, Sultan Pasha, then made an address, inculcating on the members the same lessons, and one of them made a suitable reply. The next year will see this youngest and not least interesting of representative assemblies at its work.

If it was not easy to reckon up the political loss and gain of Egypt during 1881, there was not at the close of the year the same difficulty in striking a balance in regard to other items in the national account. The annual return of the national receipts and expenditure as compared with the preceding year showed a nett increase of revenue of 189,231E.*l.*, to which the railway administration and harbour of Alexandria contributed 136,768E.*l.*; the salt tax (levied on a new system), 72,655E.*l.*;[1] and the rest of the sources of revenue, the balance. The only revenue in which there was any important falling off was the land tax; and this was owing to the cotton crop of 1880–81 being far inferior to that of the preceding season, which had been the largest on record. On the other hand, the national expenditure had increased in a far larger proportion, exceeding that of 1880 by 461,168E.*l.* For 198,980*l.* of this increase, the charges on the Public Debt were responsible; and the Department of Public Works for 76,868E.*l.*: the Ministry of Public Instruction only for 14,552*l.* All these may, perhaps, be considered as remunerative items; but the increase of 93,565E.*l.* in the cost of the Ministry of War, of 48,539E.*l.* in the Ministry of Finances, and of 17,762E.*l.* in State pensions,

[1] Against this must be set 23,784*l.* excess on cost over that in 1880.

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were almost entirely a loss to the Treasury. But, on the whole, the result of the financial year was very satisfactory; and the more so when compared with the calculations which had been made in the Budget of 1880. The revenue, estimated at 8,419,421E.*l.*, had exceeded that sum by 592,589E.*l.*, and the expenditure had fallen short of that estimated by 731,005E.*l.* No better proof could be afforded than these figures of the success of the system of foreign, financial, and administrative control against which the complaints of the national party were so vehement.

But in the financial and commercial world outside the state the picture to be drawn of the year 1881 is very different. Trade at no time was really flourishing, and the political events of September caused a fall in Egyptian stock, which showed, by the ruin which it brought on hundreds of speculators, almost incredibly reckless gambling in the funds and produce. Fortunes made rapidly disappeared instantaneously; and even the fellah seemed to benefit far less than it had been hoped by the undoubted improvement in his condition brought about by that in the financial administration. He could now borrow money at 8 per cent. instead of 16 per cent., or a still higher rate. But the facility only seemed to foster the habit. He too often spent his ready cash on new wives and family festivities, and borrowed at the old rate in anticipation of the crop on which he now felt he could calculate as free from arbitrary exactions. One of the immediate consequences of the military revolution was to arrest all investment of European capital in Egypt, and thus to hand over the fellah more completely to the local usurer.

The appearance of cholera in the autumn in the Hedjaz, and its spread thence to Aden and Jeddah, tested the efficiency of the reorganisation of the Egyptian Sanitary Board, by which the Maritime and Quarantine Board at Alexandria (where foreign consular delegates made up the majority) was separated from the International Sanitary Board, composed exclusively of native and Government officials. It was found in practice that the International Board was not only too numerous for practical work, but that the interests of commerce, especially of British shipping, suffered much from the unreasonable manner in which quarantine restrictions were imposed by those who had either no national interest in navigation, or one adverse to those of the flag which covered more than three-fourths of the merchandise engaged.

The service, of which Comte della Sala Pasha had been appointed chief, for the suppression of the slave trade continued during this year its regular work. If it did very little to suppress the traffic, it made it more difficult and more expensive to carry it on, and it succeeded in limiting it to the territories or borders of Egypt.

The Italian occupation of Assab, during the summer of 1881, gave occasion to some diplomatic correspondence between Egypt, England, and Italy. Riaz Pasha's Government resisted the claim of Italy to this territory, as resting on a purchase from the Sheik

of Rohuta, whom Egypt considered as her vassal. The Italian Government would perhaps not have been sorry to abandon what they regarded as a troublesome legacy of their predecessors in office; but they did not dare to face the outcry which this might cause against their pusillanimity. The Rubattino Company, who had projected the colony at Assab, found it a very bad speculation; and they sent an expedition, composed of a party from an Italian corvette, to prospect the land to the north of Assab. In doing so they came into collision with the savages in the interior, near Bollene, and the whole, to the number of nine, were massacred. For this it was sought to make Egypt liable, and an Egyptian commission was appointed to examine into the circumstances of the case. It reported, as might naturally have been expected, that the explorers had been the victims of their own rashness and aggression, and, as naturally, the Italians were much dissatisfied with this result. There the matter ended for the present.

IV. SOUTH AFRICA.

THE beginning of the year 1881 found the state of affairs in the Transvaal as serious as it was unexpected. It was on December 16, 1880, that the Republic had been proclaimed at Heidelberg, and the first days of January found Colonel Winsloe besieged outside Potchefstroom, Sir Owen Lanyon blockaded at Pretoria, and Major Montague besieged at Standerton. Derby had been taken possession of by the Boers, and the Landdrost's papers, &c. seized, although the clerk in charge of them had been allowed to depart in peace.

The Boers had also taken possession of Utrecht, and were besieging Lydenberg. Major Clarke, Commandant Raaf, and some thirty or forty English soldiers under their command, who had been compelled to surrender after defending the Landdrost's office at Potchefstroom, were prisoners; and, most serious of all, some two hundred and fifty men of the 94th, under Colonel Anstruther, who had been marching to the relief of Pretoria, were either killed or taken prisoners. On Christmas Day the Boers had occupied Zeerust, and on January 3, Joubert, the Boer general, under whose leadership most of their successes were afterwards gained, was at Coldstream, on the borders of Natal, with some 700 men.

On January 8, the Boers appeared, some 500 to 800 strong, at Bliquants Pont, opposite Fourteen Streams, on the Vaal River, the border of Griqualand West. These two latter movements were intended to prevent assistance being sent, either from Griqualand West or Natal. It had been rumoured that volunteers were about to march from Kimberley, the centre of the Diamond Fields, to the relief of Potchefstroom, a distance of about 200 miles; and, as in the Gaika and Galeka wars the Kimberley men had made for themselves no mean reputation, the Boers were well advised to take this precaution, although it proved to be

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needless, as throughout the war no colonial volunteers were used. The war was carried on solely by Imperial troops, and Natal was used as the sole basis of operations.

Such was the state of affairs within the Transvaal itself. In the meantime Sir George Colley, Governor of Natal, whose authority as High Commissioner of South-east Africa extended over the Transvaal, had not been idle. He made immediate preparations to march to the relief of Pretoria; and although he was able to muster only some 1,500 men under his command, he deemed it necessary with this, as it afterwards proved, wholly inadequate force to march to the relief of the besieged British garrisons, whose position, owing to all communications being cut off, was thought to be even more serious than it actually was. Sir G. Colley issued an address to his troops, in which, while declaring his intention to put down the rebellion, he said, 'The task now forced upon us by this unprovoked action is a painful one, and the General calls on all ranks to assist him in his endeavours to mitigate the sufferings it must entail. We must be careful to avoid punishing the innocent for the guilty, and must remember that, though misled and deluded, the Boers are in the main a brave and high-spirited people, and are actuated by feelings which are entitled to our respect.'

Newcastle, the nearest town to the Transvaal border, was the point of concentration for our troops; and reinforcements were anxiously expected both from England and India. The Boers in the meantime advanced from Coldstream, across the Natal border, to Laings Nek, and patrolled as far as the Ingogo River, within sixteen miles of Newcastle; later on both these places obtained a melancholy notoriety.

The state of affairs had excited a deep and widespread sensation throughout Europe. In Holland, naturally, the feeling was strong in favour of the Boers, who were looked upon as fellow-countrymen fighting for their liberty, of which they had been unjustly deprived by England. Both in Germany and in France the liberal portion of the press adopted the same view; and in England an influential committee was formed, called the Transvaal Independence Committee, for the purpose of urging upon the Government the restoration of self-government to the Boers. In Cape Town the principal members of the Opposition waited on the Governor, Sir George Strahan, with a similar object, more especially representing the effect on the colony of a war which must, if carried on, become a war of races. The Conservative press, on the other hand, denounced the attack on the 94th as a massacre, and called loudly for vengeance.

In the Free State, bordering as it does on the Transvaal, inhabited by people of the same race, of similar pursuits, by men who had arrived where they were by a precisely similar process that their neighbours became settled in the Transvaal, the interest not unnaturally culminated; and it was thought far from unlikely that the Boers of the Free State would not remain content with mere

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The Boers were here charged, on the authority of an alleged eye-witness, with shooting the wounded, and the London streets were full of newspaper placards with 'Boer atrocities;' later on, however, General Colley telegraphed that the Boers had 'treated the wounded with courage and humanity.' Sir William Lanyon charged the Boers with stirring up the natives against the English, and they made similar charges against him, both equally groundless, although it is true that a British official, Sir Morrisson Barlow, did propose to raise a commando of Swazis against the Boers; his action was strongly disapproved of both by Sir O. Lanyon and the higher authorities.

After the repulse on the 28th, General Colley returned to camp, and remained there unmolested, keeping up his communications with, and sending his wounded into Newcastle until February 7, when the post was stopped by a strong Boer patrol, and on the 8th General Colley, with five companies of the 60th, two field and two mountain guns, and a detachment of cavalry, moved from camp to restore the communications. Leaving two mountain guns and one company of rifles on the one side, he crossed the Ingogo River, and shortly afterwards was attacked; the attack was repulsed, but with heavy loss on the side of the British. About sunset the Boers retired, and the force was brought back into camp, and a burying party under a flag of truce was afterwards sent to the scene of action. Captain MacGregor, R.E., Assistant Military Secretary, and five officers were killed, and sixty-two men killed, and sixty-four wounded.

On February 17 Sir Evelyn Wood, who had been sent out as second in command, arrived at Newcastle with reinforcements, consisting of the 2nd battalion 60th Rifles, the 92nd Highlanders, two squadrons 13th Hussars, and 50 men Naval Brigade, with two guns. At this time the road from Newcastle to General Colley's camp was open. In the meantime communications had been going on between President Brand, Sir Hercules Robinson (the new Governor of the Cape Colony) and the Home Government, and on January 27, Sir Hercules had telegraphed the President, "I am directed to inform your Honour that if avowed opposition ceased forthwith, her Majesty's Government would thereupon endeavour to frame such a scheme as they believe would satisfy all enlightened friends of the Transvaal."

Sir E. Wood returned to Maritzburg on February 22, after a consultation with Sir George Colley, and making a reconnaissance, and General Colley returned to camp with reinforcements, consisting of the 15th Hussars, the 92nd, naval detachment and two guns, and a convoy of 150 waggons.

On the night of February 26 General Colley and staff moved out of camp to occupy Majuba Hill, overlooking the enemy's position at Laings Nek. He had with him twenty officers and 627 men of the 58th, 60th, 92nd, and Naval Brigade. With great difficulty they arrived, after an arduous climb of some eight hours,

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at the top, too much fatigued to intrench themselves. The Boers seem not to have been aware of this movement until 5 A.M. in the morning, when the English opened fire on them. At first everything seemed favourable for the British troops, and the position was thought almost impregnable. Although the Boers kept up an incessant fire, yet up to 11.30 only four of our men had been wounded, when, suddenly, as if by enchantment, the enemy were in possession of Majuba Hill, General Colley was killed, and our men in full flight with heavy loss. It was principally owing to the fact that the pursuit of the Boers was checked by the guns from the camp, that so many managed to get back.

In consequence of the death of General Colley, the Chief command and the governorship of Natal now devolved on Sir Evelyn Wood, who, on receipt of the news of the disaster, hurried up from Maritzburg to Newcastle, and thence to the camp. On March 6 a conference was held between Sir E. Wood and Joubert, half-way between the Boer and British lines, and an armistice was agreed upon for eight days, lasting from noon of the 6th to midnight of the 14th, in order to enable the Boer President Kruger to reply to communications, which had been already made to him by the late Sir G. Colley; the difficulty of, and time taken in communicating from one part of the country to the other, having hitherto prevented him from replying. This armistice, as it will be seen, ended the war.

The conditions were that neither party was to make any forward movement, but retaining the liberty of moving within their own lines. Sir E. Wood was at liberty to send eight days' provisions, but no ammunition, to the Transvaal garrisons, the Boer officers undertaking to pass the provisions to the garrisons. Joubert undertook to send notice of the armistice and conditions to the garrisons and to the Boer commanders at once.

President Brand, on hearing the news of the armistice, started for the frontier, in the hopes of interviewing Joubert and Kruger, and assisting towards a settlement. On March 14 an interview took place between Sir E. Wood, Colonel Buller and Joubert, and the armistice was extended for four days more, in order to give time for the arrival of Kruger, who had been delayed by the bad weather, the same terms being made as to sending provisions, &c. The armistice was afterwards still further extended, and on March 21 a conference was held at which Kruger, Pretorius, and President Brand were also present, and on the 22nd Mr. Gladstone announced in the House of Commons that the following terms had been agreed to between Sir E. Wood and the Boers: 1. The suzerainty of the Queen over the Transvaal was to be acknowledged; 2. Complete self-government was to be given to the Boers; 3. Control over foreign relations was reserved; 4. A British Resident to be at the future capital; 5. A Royal Commission, consisting of Sir E. Wood, Sir H. de Villiers, and Sir Hercules Robinson, to consider the provisions for the protection of native interests and

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questions of frontier, and whether any portion of territory eastward should be severed from the Transvaal; 6. Boers to withdraw from Laings Nek; 7. British garrisons to remain in Transvaal till final settlement; 8. Sir E. Wood not to advance or send warlike stores into the Transvaal.

On March 21 the garrison of Potchefstroom had surrendered, owing to lack of provisions, as the waggon containing eight days' provisions, despatched by Sir Evelyn Wood from Newcastle in terms of armistice of March 6, had not arrived, the distance being 200 miles. As the armistice was actually existing at the time of the surrender, Sir Evelyn gave notice that he should claim the return of the guns and other Government property at Potchefstroom by virtue of the terms of the 21st instant, and the right to re-garrison the place. This little episode happening at the time it did had an unfortunate effect, causing some ill-feeling on both sides; charges of bad faith being made against the Boer Commandant, Crouje, in having kept back the news of the armistice from the besieged garrison. The total loss during the siege was eighteen killed and twenty wounded.

Eventually it was agreed that the guns should be returned to Sir E. Wood; the rifles surrendered had already been too much dispersed to admit of re-collection; a fresh British garrison also was to be sent to re-occupy the fort at Potchefstroom.

On the 30th instant in the House of Lords an elaborate attack was made on the policy of the Government in the Transvaal by Lord Cairns, supported by the Marquis of Salisbury and other Conservative Peers.

The terms of peace were widely discussed both in Natal and the Cape Colony. Throughout Natal the action of the Government was much condemned, but at the Cape, in spite of various demonstrations against the peace and Mr. Gladstone, the House of Assembly, after a somewhat strong resolution moved by Mr. Hofmeyr had been withdrawn, unanimously passed a resolution expressing their satisfaction at the peace.

The Royal Commission was opened at Newcastle by Sir Evelyn Wood, acting as President, and Sir Henry de Villiers: Sir Hercules Robinson, the President, being detained at Cape Town. On May 10, Sir Hercules took his seat as President. The Commissioners came to the conclusion that their enquiries could not be satisfactorily carried on at Newcastle, as constant references had to be made for documents and authorities to Pretoria, and therefore resolved to proceed to that town for the purpose of holding their sitting. The delay in the surrender by the Boers of the guns taken by them at the capitulation of the garrison of Potchefstroom, made it desirable that the Commissioners should not enter the Transvaal as early as they otherwise would have done, and accordingly they did not start for Pretoria till June 1.

Their first sitting was held there on June 14, and their sittings

continued until August 3, the day on which the Convention was signed.

The principal subjects taken under consideration by them were as follows:—

1. The mode of trial of persons accused of murder in connection with the late hostilities.

The Attorney-General of the Transvaal was strongly in favour of the creation of a special tribunal for this purpose, as otherwise the prospect of obtaining a fair jury was remote.

The Commissioners however were of a contrary opinion, on the ground of the delay and difficulty which would be met in constituting such a tribunal, and "because in such a case an acquittal would be regarded as the triumph of natural equity over an arbitrary government, while a conviction, stripped in popular estimation of all character of morality, would have been, as a political event, calamitous. The criminal would have attracted sympathy instead of censure; and the British Government would have made for itself amongst the Dutch population of South Africa a name for vindictive oppression which no generosity in other affairs could efface."

The next subject was the "Recognition of the Representatives of the Boers." Such members of the Volksraad of 1877 as survived, and as had not attached themselves to the British Government, had come together at Heidelberg and had passed a resolution, in consequence of which representatives had been appointed, and these representatives the Commissioners resolved to recognise, although not recognising the title of the Volksraad, or the so-called Transvaal Government, to represent the people in the then existing emergency.

On the question of the "Eastern Boundary," Sir Evelyn Wood was of opinion that the British Government should be maintained over an eastern belt of the Transvaal territory, so as to prevent dangerous border disputes between the Boers and Zulus, and Boers and Swazis. But his colleagues, although recognising the desirability of such a course, gave way to the strongly urged objections of the Boer leaders backed up by President Brand, and were convinced that there was a danger that the people of the Transvaal would not acquiesce in such a decision.

The people, it seemed, would not have valued the restoration of a mutilated country. "Sentiment in a great measure had led them to insurrection, and the force of such a factor could not be disregarded." Moreover, it was thought that by giving way in this particular they could obtain better terms for the native tribes within the Transvaal.

With reference to the much and long vexed question of the "Keate award territory" in the south-west, the Commissioners gave effect to the recommendations of Colonel Moysey, R.E., who had been appointed Special Commissioner in 1879 for the settlement of land claims in that district. Colonel Moysey drew a distinction

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between two parts of the disputed territory: the one part having been actually occupied and beneficially used by the Boer farmers, and the other and more western part having only been divided into farms and allotted on paper.

The line drawn was nearly between these two practically distinct divisions of territory.

By this arrangement the important chiefs Moshesh the Baralong, Massouw the Korrama, and the Batlapins, Mankeroane, Makhlabana, and Gasibon were left in independence outside the Transvaal; whilst, although Montsioia's claims were not in their entirety satisfied, he was compensated by the assignment of a fair share of water-supply from farms within the Transvaal.

The "Acts against Rules of Civilised Warfare" on which the Commissioners reported, were ten in number, and as the disastrous affair at Brunker's Spruit was not included among them, it must be assumed that it did not come within that category. In nearly all these the persons implicated were acquitted, either for want of evidence, or because interference with ordinary law did not come within the scope of the convention.

With regard to the "ratification of the convention," it was settled that it should take place within three months, that as soon as it was concluded the civil government should be handed over to the Boers, but the troops should not be withdrawn until the vote of approval by the Volksraad had been obtained; in default her Majesty would resume her sovereignty over the Transvaal.

The question of "compensation for losses through war" was naturally the subject of much discussion, but eventually an agreement was come to. The Boer leaders argued that "the act of taking from individuals and using anything required for a combatant force was an act justified by the necessities of war, and the loser had no title to indemnification. Such a disposal of private property was, according to their contention, only the system of requisitioning known to all civilised warfare, and was specially legalised by the laws and customs of the Transvaal under the name of commandeering. They had taken and used in that way the property of the people who had been on their side without making any return for it, and it was not fair, they argued, that they should have to make a return to those who had been against them."

This position was in accordance with the general custom of the Transvaal as to commandeering, and the Cape Colony had so far followed the practice as to pass Acts of indemnity after the Garka and Galeka war, and in the Transvaal itself under British government a similar Act was passed with regard to the war with Secocoeni by its final and short-lived legislature. The Commissioners, however, were of opinion that taking property *without paying for it* was not an act 'justified by the necessities of war,' although Sir Henry de Villiers thought that, nevertheless, her Majesty's Government was precluded by the terms of the peace agreement from demanding compensation for such acts.

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Indirect claims, however, resulting from possible depreciation of the value of property, the Commissioners refused to recognise.

A sub-commission was appointed to adjudicate on the former class of claims, and it was provided that the English Government should advance such sums as should be awarded by the sub-commission.

The next subjects referred to are the "Duties of British Residents, and the Native Question." The Resident was invested with (1) the control of the foreign relations of the State; (2) the control of frontier affairs; (3) the protection of the interests of the natives. As to the second of these points, there was a stipulation that in the event of a disagreement between the Resident and the Transvaal Government as to any encroachments by Transvaal settlers, the decision of her Majesty as suzerain should be final. As to the natives within the state, special reservations were to be made for them in the districts of Waterberg and Zoutpansberg.

Under the South African Republic natives were not allowed to acquire land by individual title, and it was held by the British Attorney-General of that state that by the terms of the Annexation Proclamation this law was still in force; a remedy, however, was found by making the Secretary for Native Affairs act as trustee for the natives.

In a similar capacity it was arranged by the Commissioners that a Native Location Commission should act, which was to be composed of the Resident, the President or Vice-President of the state, or his nominee, and a third person, to be nominated by the British Resident and the President.

It was also provided, and not objected to by the Boer leaders, that the chief Secocoeni, who up to that time had been imprisoned at Pretoria, should be released.

Natives were also granted free liberty of movement subject to the pass laws, and the provisions of the Sand River Convention as to slavery were re-affirmed. This last gave great offence to the Boers, as they considered it unnecessary, always asserting that they have never infringed its provisions. It was also provided that a power of veto on all measures affecting the natives should be reserved to the Suzerain.

It had been suggested by Lord Kimberley that the district of Zoutpansberg might be made an independent native territory, but this the Commissioners were unable to recommend, and their decision was approved of by her Majesty's Government. Provisions were also made for the protection of trade and free exercise of religion.

The 'financial' question was the last though not least dealt with by the Commissioners. The liabilities of the Republic at the time of annexation amounted to 301,727*l.*, and of this under British administration over 150,000*l.* was paid off, but fresh liabilities had been contracted, and on December 31, 1881, the total liabilities were 390,404*l.*; this included a parliamentary grant of 100,000*l.*

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These liabilities had increased by August 8, when the administration was handed over, to 457,393*l.* In addition to this there was to be taken into account the cost of the two expeditions against Secocoeni, the latter being estimated at over 383,000*l.*; compensation to those who had suffered loss of property through the war, put at 200,000*l.*; and indemnification to displaced officials, altogether making nearly 600,000*l.*, which, added to the former liabilities, would bring the total debt to over 1,000,000*l.*

The Commissioners recommended that the Transvaal should not be charged with the cost of the unsuccessful expedition against Secocoeni in 1878, and also (Sir E. Wood dissenting) that the costs of the successful expedition of 1879 should be remitted; and both these propositions were approved of by Lord Kimberley.

Eventually the debt of the new state was brought out as due to creditors in the following order:

		£
1st Charge	Cape Commercial Bank	48,000
	Railway debenture holders	85,667
	Orphan Chamber Fund	27,226
2nd Charge	British Government	265,000
	Total	£428,893

This included gratuities to displaced officials, but not compensation for war losses.

It was proposed that a sum of not more than 500,000*l.* should be advanced by her Majesty's Government to the new state at 3½ per cent., and also a payment of 2*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* per 100*l.* for a sinking fund to extinguish the debt in 25 years.

It is necessary here to retrace somewhat our steps in order to follow the course of events. Major-General Sir Frederic Roberts, V.C., had been despatched in all haste to take command in Natal, as soon as the news of the defeat at Majuba Hill arrived in England. On his arrival, however, he found that the armistice had been concluded, and that the Commissioners were occupied in carrying out a peaceful solution of the difficulties that had arisen, and accordingly returned to England after a stay of less than forty-eight hours at Cape Town.

The Triumvirs lost no time in calling together the Volksraad with the object of getting the Convention duly ratified. Long and anxious debates took place, and the end of the three months was rapidly approaching, and the Convention still unratified, and it was rumoured that the Volksraad would refuse to ratify it. So great indeed was the opposition to it that the Triumvirs telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone, asking him to make some material alterations; the time however came for England to assume a firm attitude, and the Boers were told that the Convention must be ratified as it stood, although it was added that, if it was found to be in any respect unworkable, modifications might probably be introduced.

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Under these circumstances it was hardly possible for the Raad to adopt any other course than to ratify the Convention, which they did on October 25.

Such of the officials and civil servants who had acted under the British Government, and wished to take service under the new Government, were continued in their posts.

The Chief Justice, Mr. De Wet, however refused to do so, and Mr. Kotze became Chief Justice in his stead. The men who had been accused of the murders of Captain Elliot and Dr. Barber, had been duly tried, but were in both cases acquitted.

The Raad proceeded to levy many vigorous import duties, and voted 1,500*l.* to Messrs. Kruger and Joubert for arrears of salary. Certain gold concessions in the Lydenburg district were made to Mr. David Benjamin, of Cape Town. These concessions were much and hostilely criticised in the Colony and in England, as tending to shut up the gold-fields and drive away the diggers. From Mr. Benjamin's own account it appears that in the time of the Republic gold-fields had been proclaimed on a private farm, that he purchased this farm during British rule, and obtained British title, and in order to protect his rights he induced the new Transvaal Government to rescind the original proclamation. He also professed himself willing to permit the diggers to continue their occupation on liberal terms. At Paandekraal a mass meeting was held from December 13 to December 16, to celebrate the restoration of the Republic. The proceedings consisted of sports, speeches, and religious ceremonies. All passed off well, and with the exception of a few of the Predikants (clergymen), the general tone throughout the meeting was moderate and conciliatory towards the English.

V. CAPE COLONY.

The Basuto war found itself still dragging its slow length along on January 1, 1881. There were rumours that on that day the Fingoes were going to rise and sack Grahamstown. Preparations had been made to give them a suitable reception, but all passed off quietly.

On January 22 Sir Hercules Robinson, the new Governor, arrived, and relieved Sir George Strahan, who had been temporarily administering the Government since the departure of Sir Bartle Frere.

The Houses of the Legislature met on the 28th of March, and were for the first time attended by representatives from Griqualand West, which had been a few months before annexed to the Cape Colony. Early in the year the Government was somewhat weakened by the resignation of one of its most energetic members, Mr. Uppington, the Attorney-General. He was succeeded by Mr. Leonard, but after a very few weeks of office that gentleman discovered that he did not agree with the native policy of the Govern-

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ment and resigned. Mr. Uppington resumed office for a few days, but the defection of Mr. Leonard proved too much for a Government already on its last legs, and this, coupled with a most extraordinary change of opinions on the part of one of the new-fledged members for Griqualand West, caused Mr. Sprigg's (Sir Bartle Frere's) Ministry to cease to exist.

A new Ministry was formed as follows:—Mr. Scanlen, Premier and Attorney-General; Mr. Merriman, Commissioner of Public Works; Mr. Sauer, Secretary for Native Affairs; Mr. Hofmeyr, without a portfolio; Mr. Molteno, Colonial Secretary; and Mr. Hutten, Treasurer-General.

The Premier, Mr. Scanlen, had been a solicitor, and much surprise was felt at his assumption of the office of Attorney-General, an office which had always been previously held by a member of the higher branch of the profession; and Mr. Uppington brought forward a motion condemning the course Mr. Scanlen had adopted, which was however lost by a majority of six in a house of sixty-eight.

Sir Hercules Robinson had been instructed to offer his mediation between the Colonial Government and the Basutos if both parties were willing, and after two or three engagements with varied results Lerothodi sued for peace, through the medium of Mr. Sauer, and an armistice was declared on February 18 for six days. Sir Hercules had told the Basutos that if they would place themselves 'unreservedly in his hands' he would ensure them 'just and generous terms,' but the first condition he made was that they should lay down their arms at once. This, however, they were unwilling to do, and hostilities were resumed and carried on in a desultory manner until April 9, when Lerothodi again asked for peace. The Governor thereupon took up the position of mediator, and made an award between the hostile parties. A general amnesty was to be granted; they were to be disarmed, but there was to be a liberal issue of licences to carry arms, and no confiscation of territory, but a fine of 5,000 head of cattle. To these terms Lerothodi, Joel, Molappo, and other chiefs assented, but Masupha remained silent, and Mr. Sauer, the Secretary for Native Affairs, was sent to Basutoland, to arrange for the carrying out of the award, for which it may be remarked, although made in pursuance of instructions from the Home authorities, Lord Kimberley declined all responsibility.

Later on Masupha consented to accede to the award, and the chiefs began to collect the cattle, and the Colonial troops were withdrawn from Basutoland. The disarmament however appears to have gone on but very slowly, and the loyal Basutos were still afraid to return to their villages. Although comparatively quiet, the state of Basutoland was still far from satisfactory, and there were indications of a desire on the part of the Government to free themselves from their embarrassments by disannexing that country. In Kafirland the rebellion was early in the year brought to a

close, and in July the much-sought-after Kreli surrendered himself. In the Cape Parliament the new Government early gave prominence to the question of railway extension, and it was resolved to extend the line to Kimberley, near Beaufont West. The Rev. Mr. De Villiers gave notice of a motion to make the use of either the English or the Dutch languages optional in the Houses of the Legislature, but, owing to the late period of the session, this did not come on.

A not unimportant feature of the year was the formation of the Afrikander Bond, which arose out of the Transvaal question. The avowed object of this movement was to give the Afrikanders a larger share in the public business and government of the country. Mr. Hofmeyr took a prominent part in this. And in the Free State the Chief Justice and another judge (Gregorowski) identified themselves with it. The opinion, however, of a most impartial critic, President Brand, was not favourable. "I entertain," said he, "grave doubts as to whether the path the Afrikander Bond has adopted is calculated to lead to that union and fraternisation which is so indispensable for the bright future of South Africa.

"According to my conception the institution of the Afrikander Bond appears to be desirous of exalting itself above the established Government, and forming an 'imperium in imperio.'"

Mr. Merriman, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, also strongly denounced the bond in which his brother minister was so strongly interested, and in November Mr. Hofmeyr resigned, declaring his intention of continuing to give an independent support to the Government. For his resignation, however, he gave no reason.

Cetywayo, who had been since his arrival in Cape Town kept a prisoner in the Castle, was in January removed to a farm in the country called Oude Molen, which had been purchased expressly for his accommodation; the object being to give him all reasonable indulgence and freedom, subject to such regulations as might be necessary for his safe detention. After receiving the news of the disasters to the British troops in the Transvaal, he wrote a letter to her Majesty, breathing a strong spirit of hostility towards the Transvaal Boers.

He afterwards petitioned to be released and sent back to Zululand, and it was arranged that he should be brought to England in the following year, in charge of Mr. Henriques Shepstone. Against this course Mr. Uppington, the Attorney-General of the late Government, published a strong manifesto.

In Natal during the greater part of the year, the presence of the troops in connection with the Transvaal troubles caused considerable activity in commercial circles.

Resolutions in favour of responsible government were passed by the Legislature. In November, when Sir Evelyn Wood, having completed his task in the Transvaal and Zululand, was about to return to his military duties in England, Mr. W. J. Sendall was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in his stead. This appointment

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caused great indignation in Natal, partly on account of his being an unknown man, and partly because he had previously served under Sir Hercules Robinson in Ceylon. This last circumstance, it was considered, showed a wish to render the Government of Natal in a position of too great subordination to that of the Cape Colony. Public meetings were held denouncing the appointment, and it was even suggested that it should be made impossible for Mr. Sendall to land, unless under the protection of British troops.

Resolutions passed the Legislature in favour of altering the appointment from a Lieutenant-Governorship to a Governorship, and raising the salary to 4,000*l.* per annum in order that, the choice being greater, some other gentleman of superior standing and reputation might be appointed. Eventually, although the appointment of Mr. Sendall was warmly defended by Mr. Courtney, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a speech to his constituents at Liskeard, the Government thought well to give way to the popular clamour. Mr. Sendall placed his appointment in the hands of Lord Kimberley, and Sir Henry Bulwer, who had been Lieutenant-Governor of Natal at the time of the Zulu War, was appointed Governor.

In Zululand there were disturbances between John Dunn and Sitimela, resulting in the discomfiture of the latter. The agitation in favour of the return of Cetywayo met with but little favour in Natal, and public meetings were held at which resolutions were passed strongly opposing any such idea, and a resolution was passed by the Legislature deprecating Cetywayo's return as dangerous to the peace both of Zululand and the Colony.

At Walwich Bay also things were far from quiet, one cause being the quarrels between the French and German missionaries, the latter of whom were accused by the former of inciting the natives against them, but of the truth of this accusation there are not at present sufficient means of judging.

CHAPTER VII.

CANADA—UNITED STATES—CENTRAL AMERICA, MEXICO, ETC.—WEST INDIES—BRAZIL—ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, URUGUAY, ETC.—CHILI, PERU, AND BOLIVIA.

I. CANADA.

At the close of the survey of Canadian history during 1880, we expressed an opinion that the Government scheme for the construction of a railway through Canada to the Pacific Ocean was almost certain to receive the approval of Parliament. This anticipation was verified early in the year 1881. After a protracted

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and acrimonious debate the Dominion House of Commons, by 128 votes against 49, passed the measure in the form in which it was originally introduced. In consequence of this result great activity has since prevailed in carrying out the enterprise. It is even probable that the line will be opened for traffic within five years, instead of the ten which it was supposed would be necessary. Already a large part of the North-West has been opened up and settled through the medium of this railway. Trains now run regularly over many hundred miles of it.

In the course of the year the Governor-General, the Marquess of Lorne, paid a visit to Manitoba and the Canadian North-West. He was received with enthusiasm everywhere, and none welcomed him more cordially than the Indians. After traversing a great part of the Far West and a part of the corresponding region on the United States side of the boundary line, the Governor-General was entertained at a banquet by the Manitoba Club at Winnipeg, where he stated the impression made upon him by what he had seen and experienced. Amongst other things, he remarked that, "We may look in vain for a situation so favourable and so commanding [as that of Winnipeg]—many as are the fair regions of which we can boast. There may be some among you before whose eyes the whole wonderful panorama of our provinces has passed—the ocean-garden island of Prince Edward, the magnificent valleys of the St. John and Sussex, the marvellous country, the home of 'Evangeline' where Blomidon looks down on the tides of Fundy, and over tracts of red soil, richer than the weald of Kent. You may have seen the fortified paradise of Quebec; and Montreal, whose prosperity is worthy of her great St. Lawrence; and you may have admired the well-wrought and splendid province of Ontario, and rejoiced at the growth of her capital, Toronto, and yet nowhere will you find a situation whose natural advantages promise so great a future as that which seems assured to Manitoba and Winnipeg, the heart city of our dominion. . . . Manitoba must support a vast population. If we may calculate from the progress already made in comparison with our neighbours, we shall have no reason to fear comparison with them on the new areas now open to us. We have now 4,400,000 people, and these, with the comparatively small numbers as yet in this province, are restricted to the old area. Yet, for the last ten years our increase has been over 18 per cent., whereas, during the same period, all the New England States taken together can show an increase of only 15 per cent. In the last thirty years in Ohio the increase has been 61 per cent. Ontario's has been during that space of time 101 per cent. of increase, while Quebec has increased 52 per cent. Manitoba in ten years has increased 289 per cent., a greater rate than any hitherto attained, and, to judge from this year's experience, is likely to increase in an even more wonderful degree during the following decade."

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While the Canadian Pacific Railway is now in course of construction at a rapid rate, another undertaking of great magnitude, the Intercolonial Railway, has become remunerative. For several years the annual deficit of that railway was considerable, and the line itself was regarded as a serious burden to the Dominion. As much as a dollar-and-a-half had to be expended in order to secure the return of one dollar. This ruinous state of things was entirely reversed last year, the expenditure then being less than the nett earnings. A surplus accrued at the end of the year. In another important particular the prosperity of Canada was marked. The revenue showed an elasticity which pleased the upholders of the 'National' policy. The receipts from Customs and Excise during the five months, from July 1 to November 30 inclusive, contrast, as follows, with those in the corresponding period of 1880:—

	1880	1881
Customs . . .	$7,481,201 : 64	$9,012,546 : 90
Excise	2,258,717 : 09	2,509,495 : 38
	$9,739,918 : 73	$11,520,042 : 28
Increase over 1881		$1,780,123 : 55

With the exception of the discussion concerning the Pacific Railway, the debates in the Dominion Legislature were not exciting. The administration of Sir John Macdonald preserved alike its popularity and its large working majority. At the close of the Session, the Governor-General congratulated Parliament upon the amount of practical legislation which had been concluded. This legislation embraced the Pacific Railway Act, Acts for extending the boundaries of Manitoba, amending the naturalisation laws, for consolidating and amending the railway Acts, for extending the system of electric cables in the river and gulf of St. Lawrence, and for promoting the civilisation of the Indians in the North-West.

Last year promises to be noteworthy in the history of Canada, owing to the beginning then made to utilise the vast deposits of minerals on the Canadian shore of Lake Superior. On that shore, and on the Island of Michipicoten, the existence of native copper has been known for centuries. When the Jesuit fathers explored Lake Superior upwards of two hundred years ago, they found quantities of copper in its native or metallic form, on what is now Canadian territory. For many years the citizens of the United States have worked the mineral deposits on their side of the Lake. The product of their mines has been 300,000 tons of metallic copper, valued at about 30,000,000*l.* sterling. The result has been to convert the wilderness of the lake part of Michigen into a busy and thriving district. Two English Joint Stock Companies, Michipicoten Native Copper, and the Lake Superior Native Copper, were established last year in order to effect a like transformation on the Canadian shore of the Lake, and at the same

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time to acquire some of the mineral riches with which nature has profusely endowed this region of the earth.

II. THE UNITED STATES.

On February 9, 1881, the formal counting of the vote for the twentieth President of the United States took place. Owing to the elections in Georgia having taken place on the wrong day, the vote of that State was excluded. Had it been included, General Garfield would have had 214 votes, and General Hancock 155. Though General Garfield had so considerable a majority in the Electoral College, the popular vote in his favour was only 3,000 in excess of his opponent. He entered office, however, on a much better footing than his predecessor. Mr. Hayes was the only President who had held office under a title which was open to question. As a result, probably, of the dubious legality of his position, his administration did not inspire popular confidence. Scarcely anything was done by him to further that reform of the Civil Service which, before he became President, he had pronounced to be indispensable. Having rewarded with office some of the persons in the South to whose unscrupulousness he owed his election, his influence as a reformer was destroyed. He left office without any other charge against him than that of being too grateful for favours from unworthy persons. Both his wife and himself had set a good example by their unblemished life at Washington, while, for the first time in the history of the country, and at the instance of Mrs. Hayes, the principles of the total abstainers were rigidly carried into effect at the White House.

Though Mr. Hayes was not a President of conspicuous ability, he had the tact or good fortune to select able advisers, and to be guided by them. During his administration the country flourished. When he became President, the national debt was $2,089,000,000; when he left office, the debt had been reduced to $1,880,000,000. Mr. Sherman, the Secretary of the Treasury, reduced the annual interest on the debt from $94,500,000 to $76,750,000, while he left behind him an overflowing Treasury, the amount contained therein being $173,000,000 in gold, and $84,000,000 in silver. These results were largely due to bountiful harvests and the revived trade of the country. During the first year of Mr. Hayes's presidency the cotton crop was 4,485,423 bales; during the last it had risen to 5,761,252. During the first year the production of wool was 207,000,000 lbs.; during the last it had risen to 264,000,000 lbs. During the first year 364,000,000 bushels of wheat were grown; during the last, 481,000,000; while the production of Indian corn in the two years was 1,342,000,000 and 1,537,000,000 bushels respectively. During the first year the quantity of iron produced was 2,066,594 tons, and of coal 54,308,250 tons; during the last it was 3,835,191 tons of iron, and 69,200,934 tons of coal. The export of live-stock during the

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first year was valued at $4,205,893; it was valued in the last year at $20,681,738. The exports of food had risen from a value of a little over $269,000,000 to $465,000,000. The value of the foreign trade during the first year was $639,000,000 in exports, and $476,000,000 in imports; during the last year the value had risen to $915,000,000 in exports, and $703,000,000 in imports. These tokens of prosperity excited the pride of the citizens of the United States; yet they would not have erred if, while rejoicing over the retrospect, they had refrained from considering the excess of exports over imports a subject for unmixed self-gratulation.

President Garfield took the oath of office and delivered his inaugural message on March 4. The first part of the address was directed to a survey of the progress which had been made during the century of the republic's existence. He noted that, under the present constitution, "thirty-five States have been added to the Union, with constitutions and laws, framed and enforced by their own citizens, to secure the manifold blessings of local self-government. The jurisdiction of this constitution now covers an area fifty times greater than that of the original thirteen States, and a population twenty times greater than that of 1780." He held that the civil war had secured the Union for ever, and, as a consequence, "the supremacy of the nation and its laws should be no longer a subject of debate." He considered "the elevation of the negro race from slavery to the full rights of citizenship the most important political change we have known since the adoption of the Constitution of 1787." He believed the progress of the negroes since their emancipation to have been very remarkable. He thought the freed negroes deserving of the generous encouragement of all good men, and he intimated that, so far as his authority extended, "they should enjoy the full and equal protection of the constitution and laws." He went on to depict the country as unprecedentedly prosperous. Much of the prosperity he attributed to the maintenance of public credit and the resumption of specie payments under the administration of his predecessor. He pledged himself that "the finances of the Government shall suffer no detriment which it may be possible for my administration to prevent." He thought that the interests of agriculture should obtain more attention than they had yet received, and that the steady and healthy growth of manufactures should be fostered. Referring to the Panama Canal, he declared that American interests in connection with it must be protected, adding, "We urge no narrow policy, nor seek peculiar or exclusive privileges in any commercial route; but, in the language of my predecessor, I believe it to be the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any interoceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our national interests. He expressed an opinion that, while absolute religious freedom should

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something should be done to hinder the Mormon
from offending the moral sense of mankind by
amy, but also from preventing the administra-
ough the ordinary instrumentalities of the law.
hat "the Civil Service can never be placed on a
asis until it is regulated by law for the good of the
f;" and he promised to ask Congress "to fix the tenure
minor offices of several executive departments, and pre-
grounds upon which removals shall be made during the terms
which the incumbents have been appointed." The closing paragraph may be given in full: "Finally, acting always within the authority and limitations of the constitution, invading neither the rights of States nor the reserved rights of the people, it will be the purpose of my administration to maintain authority in all places within its jurisdiction, to enforce obedience to all the laws of the Union in the interests of the people, to demand rigid economy in all expenditures of the Government, and to require honest and faithful service of all the executive officers, remembering that their offices were created, not for the benefit of the incumbents or their supporters, but for the service of the Government. And now, fellow-citizens, I am about to assume the great trust that you have committed to my hands. I appeal to you for that earnest and thoughtful support which makes this Government in fact, as it is in law, the Government of the people. I shall greatly rely upon the wisdom and patriotism of Congress, and of those who may share with me the responsibilities and duties of administration, and, above all, upon our efforts to promote the welfare of this great people and their Government, and reverently invoke the blessing of Almighty God."

More than usual interest was manifested in the composition of the Cabinet. The point at issue was whether it should be dependent upon Mr. Conkling, and thus subject to prompting from General Grant, Mr. Conkling's avowed chief, and likely to further attempts for securing the election of General Grant as President for the third time. The danger of the latter contingency appeared at an end when it was announced that Mr. Senator Blaine was to be Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine having been himself an aspirant to the Presidency, and directly opposed both to Mr. Conkling and General Grant. The Secretary of the Treasury was Mr. Senator Windom, of Minnesota; the Secretary of the Interior was Mr. Senator Kirkwood, of Iowa; the Secretary of War was Mr. Robert Lincoln, of Illinois; Mr. W. J. James, the postmaster of New York city, was appointed Postmaster-General, and Mr. Wayne M'Veagh, of Pennsylvania, was appointed Attorney-General.

No member of President Garfield's Cabinet was better known to the public than Mr. James Gillespie Blaine, Secretary of State. In 1876, and again in 1880, he was a candidate for the Presidency, but at neither time could he obtain the nomination from the convention representing the Republican party, of which he is a

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zealous member. His experience of public life thus extended over eighteen years, during fourteen of which he was a member of the House of Representatives, being Speaker of the House for four years, and Senator for Marine during the remaining years. Mr. Senator Windom had been ten years a member of Congress and a Senator for twelve. He had given special attention to economic questions, and he was in favour of moderate Protection. Mr. Robert Lincoln was an active agent at Chicago to procure the nomination of General Grant; he was Lincoln's only surviving son, and had gained reputation in Chicago as a lawyer. The Secretary of the Navy was Mr. William H. Hunt. Mr. Hunt had no other qualification for being appointed Secretary of the Navy than that of being a native of Louisiana and a notable lawyer in New Orleans. Mr. Senator Kirkwood, the Secretary of the Interior, had not only been Senator for Iowa, but he had been thrice elected governor of that State. Mr. W. J. James had earned so much credit as postmaster for New York city that it was generally supposed he would make an excellent Postmaster-General. Mr. Wayne M'Veagh, the Attorney-General, was an experienced Philadelphia lawyer. He had also been minister at Constantinople in 1870. The Senate neither delayed nor differed about confirming all the nominations to the Cabinet.

When other appointments were presented to the Senate for confirmation much dissatisfaction was caused among the small group which took the name of "Stalwarts," and was headed by Mr. Roscoe Conkling, a Senator for New York. At the end of March the President appointed Mr. Merrit, then Collector of the Customs at the port of New York, to be Consul-General at London, and nominated Mr. Robertson, State Senator for New York, to succeed him. Mr. Robertson had striven hard to procure the nomination of Mr. Blaine, the Republican candidate, for President; to his refusal at Chicago to assent to what is termed "the unit rule" was attributed the failure of General Grant to obtain the nomination there. Hence Mr. Robertson was obnoxious to Mr. Conkling, who disliked Mr. Blaine and his supporters, and who had worked with his whole soul for the re-election of General Grant. Many attempts were made to induce President Garfield to withdraw the name of Mr. Robertson; as an inducement it was promised that, should he do so, all his other appointments would be confirmed. The President having refused, Mr. Conkling resigned his seat in the Senate, and appealed to the Legislature of New York to re-elect him, and thus strengthen his position. Mr. Platt, his colleague, who owed his election almost entirely to Mr. Conkling's influence, followed his example. These resignations took place on May 16. Soon after, Mr. Robertson's appointment was confirmed by the Senate. In a speech delivered at Albany immediately afterwards, Mr. Robertson expressed the opinion that, in his person, the following principles had been established: first, the abolition of "the unit rule" in party conventions; second, the defeat of the third term

project; the establishment of the principle of district representation; and fourth, the reaffirmation of the President's constitutional right "to nominate to the Senate, and to have such nominee considered by the Senate."

An event so unusual, if not altogether unprecedented, as the resignation of two Senators, attracted the attention of the whole country. The contest for this re-election was long and bitter. If they counted upon being re-chosen immediately, the event entirely upset their calculations. Nearly two months were passed in balloting at Albany, none of the candidates obtaining the requisite majority. But it soon became obvious that neither Mr. Conkling nor Mr. Platt had any chance of success. Whatever chance the latter might have had on other grounds was annulled by the discovery of immoral conduct of a flagrant character. At length, towards the end of July, Mr. Warner Miller was elected in the place of Mr. Platt, and Mr. E. G. Lapham in the place of Mr. Conkling. During the struggle at Albany none worked more assiduously for the re-election of the two ex-Senators than Mr. Arthur, the Vice-President. This was deemed unbecoming conduct. Its impropriety was the more generally acknowledged when the Vice-President's prospects were suddenly altered, owing to the assassination of President Garfield and the probability that Mr. Arthur might soon become President.

On July 2, as President Garfield and Mr. Blaine were about to leave Washington for New York by train, the President was shot at and, as it was supposed, mortally wounded. The assassin, a lawyer in Chicago and a disappointed place-hunter, was named Charles Guiteau. After firing a second shot, and thinking that he had effected his purpose, he shouted, "I am a Stalwart," and "Arthur is President now." In a document entitled his Autobiography, published by the "New York Herald" upwards of three months after the assassination, Guiteau states that he shot the President because the idea flashed through his brain "that if the President was out of the way, everything would go better. At first this was a mere impression. It startled me, but the next morning it came with renewed force, and I began to read the papers with my eye on the possibility that the President would have to go; and the more I read, the more I saw the complication of public affairs, the more I was impressed with the necessity of removing him. This thing continued for about two weeks. I kept reading the papers, and kept being impressed, and the idea kept bearing, and bearing, and bearing down upon me that the only way to unite the two fractions of the Republican party, and save the Republic from going into the hands of the rebels and Democrats, was to quietly remove the President."

The indignation at the attempt upon the President's life was not confined to the United States. Messages of sympathy with his family and the nation were forwarded by the rulers of all civilised countries. When it was learned that the wound would

not prove immediately fatal, and that eventual recovery was deemed possible, a profound sense of relief and thankfulness was universally felt.

For two months the illustrious sufferer hovered between death and life. At the beginning of September he was removed to Long Branch in the hope that change of air might benefit him. This expectation seemed on the point of realisation. He rallied so much that his recovery was anticipated, when, at thirty-five minutes past ten o'clock on September 19, he suddenly expired. The result of a post-mortem examination was to show that the wound had really been mortal, and that the case was desperate from the first.

James Abram Garfield was the second President of the North American Republic who died from the bullet of an assassin. The mourning for his death was even more general than for that of Lincoln. As Earl Granville truthfully said, the general sorrow and sympathy "had been deepened by the long suspense, and by the courage, dignity, and patience shown by the illustrious sufferer." Immediately after the tidings of his death reached England, the Queen telegraphed as follows to Mrs. Garfield: "Words cannot express the deep sympathy I feel with you at this terrible moment. May God support and comfort you, as He alone can." As a mark of respect, which had the greater significance as it was the first of the kind paid by an English sovereign to the President of a Republic, the Court went into mourning for a week. Garfield was buried on September 26 at Cleveland, Ohio. The funeral ceremonies were on the grandest scale. A wreath sent by Queen Victoria, with the following inscription on a card attached, was placed upon his coffin: "Queen Victoria, to the memory of the late President Garfield; an expression of her sorrow and sympathy with Mrs. Garfield and the American nation."

Mr. Arthur took the oath of office as President the day after Garfield's death. He was the fourth Vice-President who had succeeded to the higher office. In a brief address delivered after taking the oath, he said that "all the noble aspirations of my lamented predecessor which found expression in his life, the measures devised and suggested during his brief administration to correct abuses and enforce economy, to advance prosperity and promote the general welfare, to ensure domestic security and maintain friendly and honourable relations with the nations of the earth, will be garnered in the hearts of the people, and it will be my earnest endeavour to profit, and to see that the nation shall profit, by his example and experience."

The new President did not make an immediate change in the Cabinet; on the contrary, he requested its members to retain their several offices. Before the close of the year holders of the most important offices resigned; Mr. B. H. Brewster became Attorney-General, Mr. C. J. Folger became Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Frelinghuysen Secretary of State. Before

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Mr. Blaine's retirement he issued several important despatches with regard to the Panama Canal and the war between Chili and Peru, and invited the South American Republics to send delegates to a conference at Washington. In the despatches relative to the Panama Canal he contested the right of any European power to guarantee its neutrality, maintaining that the United States had the sole right to do so, and he intimated the determination of the government of his country to retire from the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with England, wherein a joint guarantee of these powers is established. As he resigned office before the results of his policy were ascertained, it is unnecessary to do more at present than state what he purposed accomplishing, and that his projects, so far from meeting with the general approval of his countrymen, were regarded by them as ill-timed, and calculated to involve the country in war.

A memorable event in the history of the year was the celebration at Yorktown, on October 19, of the hundredth anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis to the army of the United States and France. The ceremonies lasted three days. They were attended by delegates from France and Germany to represent those in both these countries who took an important part in the war on the side of the United States. Most notable and significant of the good feeling now happily prevailing between the United States and the United Kingdom, the British flag was saluted at the close of the proceedings by the land and naval forces of the United States; and this graceful act of international courtesy was preceded by Mr. Secretary Blaine reading the following order of President Arthur: "In recognition of the friendly relations so long and so happily subsisting between Great Britain and the United States, in trust and confidence of peace and goodwill between the two countries for all centuries to come, and especially as a mark of the profound respect entertained by the American people for the illustrious sovereign and gracious lady who sits upon the British throne, it is hereby ordered, that at the close of these ceremonies, commemorative of the valour and success of our forefathers in their patriotic struggle for independence, the British flag shall be saluted by the forces of the army and navy of the United States now at Yorktown; and the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy will give orders accordingly."

III. CENTRAL AMERICA, MEXICO, &c.

The Panama Canal was actually commenced on February 1, and such good progress has been made during the year that it is expected to be finished in 1888. At a meeting held in Paris in February, M. de Lesseps gave some interesting information respecting the scheme. The total cost was to be 20,500,000*l.* sterling. This will include weirs, a waiting-dock, and tide-gates on the Pacific, and will render the canal complete and ready for naviga-

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tion. The engineers conclude from the surveys already made that the construction of the canal will be a comparatively easy matter. In October the great cutting at the Culebra was taken in hand, and before the end of the year the excavators were to begin to cut out the basin of the canal in the lower parts, while in the Bay of Colon a marine dredge would scoop out a channel from the sea to the canal. From a financial point of view the prospect is regarded as satisfactory. There are 102,230 shareholders, 80,839 of them holding from one to five shares, 19,143 from six to twenty, and 3,208 from twenty-one to fifty. Among the shareholders are 16,000 women inscribed as such by name. The canal will follow almost the exact course of the railway, starting about a mile from Colon, and terminating close to the Panama railway station. The geological survey of the route shows the formation of the soil to be entirely volcanic. An unlooked-for quantity of alluvial soil, however, covering nearly the whole of the Isthmus was discovered, and the hard solid rock of the summit dwindled into angular boulders of dolomite impacted in heavy clay. According to M. de Lesseps' hopeful forecast, 8,000 men would be constantly occupied on the work, the number perhaps being increased to 10,000 at the busiest time; and as no engineering difficulties were expected, the canal might be finished in less than the six years specified.

Of Mexico there is little of importance to be recorded beyond a marked desire on the part of the Government to renew official relations with European powers, suspended since the death of Maximilian. In April, General Grant visited the capital, and urged upon the Government the need of the country for political repose, strongly recommending the development of railway and mining industry, assisted by capital from the United States. A more liberal policy towards foreigners was subsequently adopted, and American capitalists obtained concessions to lay down railroads and erect telegraph lines, whilst later on the Mexican Government appointed a committee to arrange the bases for a Commercial Treaty with the United States. The Committee on the National Debt advised the recognition of $145,000,000 of the Debt and its consolidation into 3 per cent. bonds, exchangeable for outstanding bonds, and receivable in payment of the purchase-money of public lands. This amount includes $89,000,000 of the principal and accrued interest of the London debt under the decree of October 14, 1850, $6,000,000 under the English Convention of December 4, 1851, and $7,000,000 under the Spanish Conventions of 1851 and 1853. There have been various rumours as to a settlement of the English debt, but nothing has yet been arranged. Whether in consequence of there being no English Consul in Mexico, or from other causes, British trade has shown a considerable falling off, and it is said only six English firms trade with that country, the goods sent thither from Manchester and Sheffield being ordered chiefly by German merchants. It is, however, probable that the exorbitant tariff duties, added to municipal and State

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duties, rather than the want of Consular authority, are the chief obstacles to revived trade. Two-thirds of the whole revenue of the country is derived from Customs duties, but the temptation to evade them is so strong, and such facilities for smuggling are offered by the extended sea-coast and the difficult nature of the land boundary with the United States, that there is the greatest difficulty in repressing the entry of contraband goods. The President has strongly urged a gradual reduction of the tariff; and as a sudden lowering of the duties would seriously cripple the revenue, it was proposed to spread the reduction over a period of several years. In October the relations with Guatemala suddenly became critical, owing to some boundary dispute: at the request of that country the United States consented to mediate, but Mexico declined to submit the question to arbitration, though abstaining from any hostile action.

IV. WEST INDIES.

The islands which have employed Asiatic labour in preference to African appear to have thriven materially. The condition of Jamaica has not improved, in spite of the hopes at one time entertained of its returning prosperity. There was a great decrease in the revenue for the quarter to March 31, whilst the whole year shows a falling off of 50,000*l.* as compared with 1880, the amount realised being lower than in any previous year since 1868. To cover the deficit, an extra duty of three shillings per gallon on rum was levied, together with an additional 10 per cent. on all imports previously taxable. The deficit was attributed to a strain on general revenue, caused by paying off part of the Immigration Debt, to meet which no new taxes had been imposed. But figures show that the fault did not wholly lie here. The exports for the year to September were only 1,097,082*l.*, i.e. nearly the same as in 1867, showing a decrease of 25 per cent. on 1880, and of 50 per cent. since 1876. Notwithstanding the marvellous resources of the colony, the condition of the labour market and the absence of men of capital prevent the colony from making those advances of which it is capable.

The climate is not dangerous, and life on the hills is even healthy. Nevertheless the comparison with other colonies under similar conditions is most unfavourable. The 150,000 people of Trinidad, for instance, upon one-third of the area, produce twice as much in the way of exports as the 500,000 people of Jamaica, an island possessing a better soil and finer climate. In Dominica the Commission of Inquiry into the general state of the colony reported its financial condition to be very unsatisfactory. The public expenditure had greatly exceeded the vote, and the Assembly had to pass supplementary estimates for money already spent without legislative sanction; and increased taxation followed. The fruit trade of Dominica is rapidly increasing, and this is the

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only island south of Jamaica that exports fruit. Fever has been very prevalent both in Demerara and Barbados: in the latter the work of the Session was interrupted by the breaking out of the epidemic, and the Assembly adjourned for six weeks.

Grenada, at the beginning of 1881, was virtually free of debt and had a surplus of 5,000*l.* in the Treasury; this too in spite of unfavourable planting seasons and the depression of the sugar trade.

In the Bahamas the trade in British commodities is said to be fast slipping into the hands of the Americans, and most of the articles required in the construction and equipment of small vessels engaged in domestic commerce, formerly supplied from England, now come from the United States.

In Barbados the revenue and expenditure keep very even: in 1881 they were 132,261*l.* and 131,809*l.*; they are estimated for 1882 at 133,705*l.* and 134,441*l.* The output in sugar has steadily increased from the earliest times up to the year 1881, and that article alone contributes 1,110,000*l.* out of 1,330,000*l.*, the total exports.

In Demerara the "crystals" trade, for which British Guiana has so long been celebrated, continued to thrive, and the secret of this lies in the scientific principles on which the sugar is cultivated and refined and in the rich alluvial soil on which it is grown. The use of small canals through the sugar districts for the carriage of the canes is found to be cheaper than tramways, and helps to irrigate the soil. There being 2,000,000*l.* worth of machinery now at work in this colony, besides an annual importation of 1,000,000*l.* worth of English goods, some idea of the magnitude of the trade may be formed.

Commercially both Cuba and Porto Rico show symptoms of depression, the sugar crop, which used to average 760,000 tons, having fallen to 520,000. This is probably due to the great destruction of plantations by slaves during the rebellion, to the heavy taxation, now amounting to 12,000,000*l.*, or 8*l.* per inhabitant, to the increase of beet sugar in Europe, and to the differential duties on foreign vessels. In Cuba the year has passed quietly, no new insurrections disturbing the pacification effected towards the close of 1880. On May 1 the extension of the Spanish Constitution was promulgated, and great festivities were held in honour of the event. A Royal Order was also published stating that the new constitution would not be allowed to prejudice the execution of the law of 1880 emancipating the slaves throughout the island, and the Colonial Minister had previously promised to consider a proposal for the abolition of corporal punishment and the enfranchisement of all slaves not included in the registration of 1870. In October, General Blanco, who had taken a prominent part in quelling the insurrections of late years, returned to Spain, and was succeeded by General Prendergast, as Captain-General of the island.

San Domingo does not appear to progress, and things are left

to take care of themselves. The soil is exceedingly fruitful, but it is not cultivated. In Hayti the inhabitants choose to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* a bushel for imported salt rather than work a salt-pan close to the town, where sufficient salt for the district might be made. Here, too, the English market is being closely pressed by the American. Early in the year the United States Government proposed to purchase the Bay of Samana from the San Domingo Republic, but the latter declined to sell it. There have been several insurrectionary movements during the year. In July Alvarez, the insurgent leader, appeared near the capital with fifty men, and opened fire on the West Gate, but they were surrounded by the Government troops, and nine were killed and fifteen taken prisoners. Towards the end of July the hiding-place of four generals and three other officers, adherents of Alvarez, was discovered, and they were shot the same day. Eight more partisans were shot the following week. Guillermo then headed an expedition from Porto Rico and landed in San Domingo. He was defeated by Heureux, the commander of the Government forces, in three successive engagements, the last of which is said to have continued for forty-eight hours. In December another insurgent party took possession of the arsenal, and though eventually overpowered by the Government troops, managed to escape. The year closed with a very general state of uneasiness prevailing throughout the country. The Government being satisfied that the bones discovered on September 10, 1877, in the Cathedral of San Domingo, were really those of Christopher Columbus, voted 2,000*l.* towards the erection of a suitable monument beneath which to deposit them.

V. SOUTH AMERICA.—BRAZIL, ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, ETC.

Brazil.—The Electoral Reform Bill, which had occupied the attention of the General Assembly more or less since April 1880, finally passed the Senate on December 29, 1880, and the Chamber of Deputies on January 7, 1881. By this measure, full political rights were granted to freed men, non-Catholics, and naturalised citizens, and the principle of district representation in the Chamber of Deputies was established. The Bill had encountered so much opposition before reaching its final stage that, on the day after the closing of the Session, the Ministry tendered their resignations, "in order to leave the Emperor free to choose a Ministry possessing his entire confidence to carry the law into execution." Don Pedro, however, expressed his complete confidence in his advisers, and refused to accept their resignation.

Since 1872, the work of slave-emancipation has been steadily pursued, nearly thirty thousand per annum being set at liberty. Every month hundreds of them are released through the generosity of their masters and the help of the Emancipation

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Societies established in various parts of the country. Early in the year the Government resolved to repress the system of Indian slavery, and to punish all persons who should possess slaves on the Amazon, whilst the province of Parana imposed a tax of 2,000 milreis on all slaves introduced within its boundaries.

Although many things, especially its annually recurring deficits, tend to check the prosperity of Brazil, there are indications of a steady, if slow, development. Peace with her neighbours has been maintained throughout the year, but, on the other hand, the constant withdrawal of deposits from the savings banks points to a gradual impoverishment of the people. Lotteries have been greatly on the increase, the pernicious credit system is still allowed, and restrictive legislation, in the shape of excessive taxes on imports and exports and in the curtailing of the rights and privileges of foreigners, retards the advance of the country.

Argentine Republic.—The era of prosperity that set in under the presidency of Señor Avellaneda, has continued under that of his successor, General Roca, and the jealousy so long existing between Buenos Ayres and the other provinces of the Republic, which culminated in the brief and almost bloodless revolution of 1880, disappeared with the decision as to the national capital.

December 8, 1880, the day on which the city of Buenos Ayres first adopted its title of capital of the Argentine Republic (the provincial capital being subsequently fixed at Ensenada), is therefore a memorable day. The popularity of General Roca, growing out of his settlement of the long-pending question of the capital, had been increased by his wise encouragement of immigration, and special agents were sent to Ireland and Germany to facilitate emigration from those countries, Congress, at his instigation, voting 40,000*l.* in July to assist the expense of passages. A number of Welsh colonists arrived and were sent on in Government steamers to Chubut, whilst, to a petition addressed to the Government for a grant of territory for the establishment of a Scotch colony near that district, the President returned a favourable reply. Early in the year he offered 50,000 Irish immigrant families land on the Rio Negro, with good climate, excellent soil, and free from locusts, the pest of adjoining regions.

Commercially, the year opened well throughout the country and new industries were started on all sides. The provincial governors were ordered to draw up full reports on the national resources of each province, the industries carried on, the systems at work, and to suggest how production could best be fostered and developed. The wheat harvest was magnificent and the maize crop the largest ever known. Gold mines were discovered in the Rio Negro territory, a new mint was opened at Buenos Ayres, and railways were planned and the works commenced, whilst the Legislature passed a Bill, authorising the Government to conclude a loan of $1,500,000 for the harbour works at Riachuelo. A fresh loan for

railways in the interior was arranged on more favourable terms than any previous Argentine loan, buyers coming from Europe to purchase the bonds, instead of the bonds being sent over there for sale. In June it was said affairs had never been more prosperous. The premium on gold had declined, exchange was rising, and wool, which had been so locked-up in 'deposits,' was finding a ready sale at good prices. Fresh capital was flowing steadily into the country, and estancia lands were rising in value, one that was bought in December 1880 for 22,000*l.*, being sold shortly after for 72,000*l.* Great excitement was caused in Buenos Ayres on June 19 and 20, by the Government forbidding memorial services for the victims of the previous year's revolution. Disturbances followed, several people were wounded, the troops were called out to assist the police, and some arrests were made, but as soon as the duration of the edict expired, masses were said in several of the churches without further disturbance. The Boundary Treaty with Chili was eventually ratified on October 22, amid great rejoicings in both countries. By this treaty the Andes were to form the dividing line, and the Straits, up to Point Dungeness, were to belong to Chili, while the Argentine Republic was to have the whole of Patagonia. In September the Consolidation Law was passed, which provided for the abolition of the forced currency within two years. This measure had been eagerly looked forward to for some time as one that would do away with those bank privileges which had so long weighed upon the market and industries of the country. The war between Chili and Peru excited but little interest among the Argentines. A suspicion at one time existed on the part of Chili, that the Argentine Government had been indirectly aiding the Peruvians, but the State papers found at Lima proved that the Argentine Government had throughout observed a strict neutrality. At the beginning of the year, public tranquillity was so disturbed by rumours of aggressive purposes on the part of Brazil, that the Emperor thought it expedient personally to communicate to the Argentine Minister at Rio Janeiro, "that all the reports in Brazilian newspapers, about the Imperial Government having taken alarm at the war preparations of the Republic, were altogether fictitious."

There was a grand demonstration at Buenos Ayres on the arrival of the steel corvette, "Almirante Brown," constructed in England, and a valuable addition to the Argentine navy. At a banquet given on board, President Roca and others made patriotic speeches, one of the speakers, Dr. Rocha, causing some subsequent stir by stating that he thought the best thing that could happen to the Banda Oriental (his own country) would be its annexation to the Argentine Republic.

Uruguay.—The Senate began the year by passing a Bill authorising the issue of Treasury Bills for 2,000,000 pesos, bearing interest at 4 per cent., in order to cover the deficits of 1879 and 1880; and new duties were imposed on flour, wheat, and maize,

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which it was expected would produce enough revenue in future. In May, great sensation was caused by a decree forbidding the press to discuss political questions in a manner that might create any difficulties for the Government, and two editors were put in prison for a time. This restriction had been preceded by rioting in Monte Video and attacks on various newspaper offices. So great was the alarm caused by this riot that the legations were crowded, the shops closed, and the session of the Legislature postponed. On the close of the Chambers in July, the President congratulated them on terminating a four years' existence which, for the first time, had been untroubled by civil war. He added that the revenue had increased by $1,200,000, and that there had been a rise in the public funds from 5 to 14 per cent. The foreign relations too of Uruguay were satisfactory, and Brazil had given proof of her friendship by promising to intern Colonel Latorre. The estimated revenue for 1882 was $8,599,000, and the expenditure $8,798,079, which would again leave a deficit.

VI. CHILI, PERU, AND BOLIVIA.

In January 1881 the war between Chili and Peru culminated in the fall of Lima, and although no cessation of hostilities followed, the struggle has assumed all the character of guerilla warfare. In spite of Pierola's defiant attitude within the walls of Lima and his elaborate preparations for its defence, it was clear the Chilians had resolved to seize the city, and their course had hitherto been so persistently victorious, it was almost certain they would succeed. Eventually there was no attack on Lima itself, for after the series of decisive engagements which preceded the arrival of the Chilians, and which had resulted in the breaking-up of the Peruvian army, the city surrendered without a blow. On January 4, 12,000 Chilians landed at Corayaco, Baquedano, their commander-in-chief, preparing immediately for the march on Lima, and at the same time examining the enemy's strongly fortified position, which extended from Bella Vista to Monterico. Fighting began early on January 13, Lynch's division carrying the first heights and capturing forty-five redoubts by six A.M., and the reserves coming up promptly under Martinez, charged the enemy and secured a complete victory by nine A.M. As 8,000 Peruvians were still concentrated in Chorillos and the neighbouring hills, and continued to resist, Baquedano determined to follow them at once. A stubborn fight ensued, lasting until two P.M., when the Chilians had driven the enemy from his commanding position, and had destroyed the towns of Chorillos and Barancas. The next day, when Baquedano was taking measures for attacking Miraflores, the enemy's second line of defence, he received a communication from the Diplomatic Corps in Lima, asking for an interview. To this he agreed, and early on January 15, the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps and the

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Ministers of England and France presented themselves and begged the General's protection for the neutrals residing in the city, adding that, as the Government of Peru were about to make some proposals, they hoped further bloodshed might be avoided. Baquedano thereupon promised not to open fire that day, and would wait until midnight for the proposals. However, at two P.M. the Peruvians suddenly opened fire from an ambush upon the General and his staff; a battle followed, in which, after four hours' fighting, the Chilians, assisted by their ships, succeeded in dislodging the enemy from their position at Miraflores, and pursued them to the suburbs of Lima. Pierola fled, and his brother and the War Minister were taken prisoners.

The Peruvians are said to have lost 9,000 men in killed and wounded during the fighting on January 13 and 15, and the Chilians 7,000, but accounts vary considerably, Baquedano estimating the Chilian loss at only 600 killed and 2,000 wounded.

Don Carlos A. Vergara Silva has formed a table of the losses of the Chilian army and of that of the allies, from the taking of Calama to the entry into Lima, and it also shows the number of men under arms. The actions include those of Calama, Chipana, Iquique (two), capture of the "Rimac," Angamos, Pisagua, Jermania, capture of the "Pilcomayo," San Francisco, Tarapaca, Los Anjeles, Sama, Tacna, Arica, Torata, destruction of the "Loa" and "Covadonga," El Manzano, Chorillos, and Miraflores. The losses also include those incurred in bombardments and reconnaissances. The result is as follows:—

	Chilians	Peruvians	Bolivians
Killed	3,276	9,672	920
Wounded	5,610	4,431	1,210
Prisoners	390	7,020	300
	9,276	21,123	2,430

The allies placed under arms the—

Army of Tarapaca	14,000
„ Tacna and Arica	14,000
Bolivians	7,000
Army of Arequipa	5,000
„ Ica	3,000
„ Lima and Callao	45,000
Total	88,000

Chili opposed to the forces of the allies the—

Army of the North	30,000
The Reserve	15,000
Army of the Frontier	3,000
Total	48,000

But of these the army of the North alone has vanquished the allied armies.

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The defeat of the Peruvians at Miraflores, which reduced their army to 3,000 men, decided the fate of Lima. The Chilians being now encamped outside that city, steps were taken for its immediate bombardment, but the Municipal Alcaide, accompanied by the English and French Ministers and Admirals, and by the Commander of the Italian naval forces, agreeing to its unconditional surrender, the Chilian troops entered on January 17, and Callao surrendered the same day, its garrison having previously dispersed and the forts and ships having been destroyed. A local government was forthwith established in Lima, Señor Godoi, formerly Chilian Minister in Ecuador, being made Prefect of the city, whilst Lynch was made Prefect of Callao. The night before the entry of the Chilian troops Lima was the scene of terrible disorder. Inflamed by liquor and emboldened by the disappearance of the authorities or by the hope of securing something through the city's change of masters, rioters entered and plundered houses as they pleased. There being no one to check them, they grew bolder and bolder, and from robbery they proceeded to murder and incendiarism. Their numbers were increased by the arrival of drunken soldiers and sailors who had abandoned Callao and had been since disbanded. All night the work of plunder, destruction, and death went on, but early the next morning the foreigners turned out in force and combined for their common safety and that of the city. English, Americans, French, Italians, Germans, Spanish, Austrians, Colombians, and others, to the number of 5,000, procured firearms and patrolled the streets in dozens and fifties. By degrees they succeeded in terminating this reign of terror, and the dead bodies of the rioters lying about the streets warned others what they might expect. The aspect of affairs had been so threatening on the morning of the 17th, that a deputation went out to Baquedano to beg him to occupy the city at once, and in the evening 4,000 Chilian troops were duly installed in its various barracks. This step was taken none too soon, for property to the value of two million dollars had been stolen or destroyed during the previous night. Similar excesses had taken place in Callao, and there too had been quelled by the foreigners, but not until after four hours' hard fighting and the death of 150 rioters.

The Peruvian officers, instead of proceeding against the rioters, were busy blowing up the forts and sinking what remained of the Peruvian fleet—not very honourable conduct on their part as the capitulation of Lima had already been agreed to. In this way they either burned or sunk the corvette "Union" (subsequently refloated and refitted), the monitor "Atahualpa," the screw-steamers "Rimac" and "Talisman," the paddle-steamers "Oroya," "Chalaco," and "Limena," the frigate "Apurimac," two training ships, all the Chilian prizes, the hulks, and a large number of steam-tugs, launches, &c.

Lima was not sacked by the Chilian army, and as soon as the latter was quartered in the city barracks, general confidence was

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restored, families returned to their dwellings, and the city resumed its normal state—a result not a little brought about by the strict enforcement of a decree that all citizens should give up their arms and ammunition within a certain time. Private property was respected and government employés were continued at their accustomed duties. On February 1 the Chilian governor of Lima called upon the leading townsmen to organise a provisional government. This they refused to do on the ground that Pierola was still dictator. The city was therefore placed under martial law, and its attitude for some time was that of passive resistance. Truvillo was occupied by the Chilians on February 17, and a few days later they held the whole coast of Pacasmayo. Pierola, under the necessity of frequently changing his headquarters, issued a proclamation that the seat of government would be where he and his secretary were found. Although practically powerless, and in spite of the appeals of the citizens of Lima, Pierola obstinately refused to terminate the war, and complained to the Foreign Ministers that the Chilian Government declined to treat with him according to the usages of war. Meanwhile the country was left to govern itself, the Chilians assuming no control except along the coast and in the capital. Anarchy was consequently everywhere rampant; bodies of men moved about the country, under the name of patriotism harassing, plundering, and killing without hindrance; and in the valley of Cañete 1,000 Chinese miners were brutally murdered, whilst property valued at millions of dollars was destroyed.

Early in March a provisional government, under the leadership of Calderon, was constituted and formally recognised by the Chilians, although they refused to quit Lima until heavy indemnities had been paid. Fifty of the wealthiest residents of Lima were made personally liable for a contribution of $20,000 each. Neither the merchants nor the municipality were able to pay the second month's instalments, though everything was sold, even from private furniture to sunken ships. On June 10 Congress was opened at Chorillos by Calderon, accompanied by his Cabinet, the foreign representatives, and such persons of rank or importance who, by their presence, might help to strengthen the only Government that seemed capable of effecting any good for the country. He stated that, destitute as the country was of arms, money, and soldiers, it was impossible to continue the struggle against Chili, and therefore the action of such obstructionists as Pierola, Solar, and Montero was to be strongly condemned. He appealed to the legislative body to save the country by negotiating an honourable peace at once with their conquerors. He was then re-elected provisional President of the Republic, and it was thought the country was fortunate in having a man at this crisis of such energy and perseverance. This feeling, however, was not universal, for at Magdalena he was greeted with shouts of "Pierola!" and but for the proximity of

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500 Chilian troops, there would have been a hostile demonstration; whilst the majority in Congress refused to consent to any cession of territory, and a portion of the few remaining troops disbanded themselves or openly mutinied. The town of Piura was for some time in the hands of a colonel named Negron, and for protection the inhabitants applied to the Chilians to assume the government. In Yea things were still worse. It had been for several months in the hands of the Chilians, who at length quitted it. Rioting commenced, the Chinese were murdered, and then other foreigners were threatened. A committee of public safety, formed by those in danger, established a strictly municipal authority, and at last succeeded in maintaining order. The Chilian troops continued in Lima, and Calderon, with no police to support him, and exercising no real power, remained President only in name. On its becoming known that Montero with his troops had abandoned Pierola and given his adhesion to Calderon, the latter was deposed by General Lynch, but, persisting in his duties as provisional President, he was arrested on November 6 and sent in a Chilian ironclad to Valparaiso. Montero then agreed to accept the Presidency if supported by the United States Government. The announcement in Europe of Calderon's arrest and removal caused the Peruvian Legation to publish a general intimation that the President of Peru—i.e. Pierola—had not left Peru, and continued to exercise his functions. Early in December the United States Government sent a special envoy to Chili, and another to Peru, with instructions that would, it was hoped, bring the two Powers into friendly relations. At the close of the year the situation was little changed, though in spite of vigorous protests on the part of the mayor, the Chilian army had suppressed the municipality of the city, and substituted Chilian authorities, who had undertaken the administration of the post offices and revenue departments in Peruvian territory occupied by them.

A new phase in this unsatisfactory war was the strong desire of the United States Government to terminate the war, and what looked at one time like a disposition to dictate to Chili. It seems that at an interview in Lima between Mr. Hurlbut, the United States Minister there, and General Lynch, the Chilian commander, the former stated that his Government considered the time had arrived for a conclusion of hostilities, but would view with displeasure the annexation of any part of the Peruvian territory, though recognising the rights of Chili to compensation for the costs of the war and to exact guarantees for its payment. This caused considerable excitement in Chili, and General Kirkpatrick, the United States Minister at Santiago, subsequently modified the statement by declaring that it had been unauthorised, that Chili had nothing to fear from the United States, and that, though the latter felt an offer of intervention just then would not be agreeable to Chili, their good offices would be ready whenever desired.

The despatches from the United States Secretary at Washing-

ton to his representative at Lima in June last were presented to Congress in December, and it then became a question whether Mr. Hurlbut had exceeded his instructions or not. It was obvious that the primary object of the United States Government was the conclusion of peace between the belligerents. It was also clear that it did not approve of Chili annexing any of the conquered territory, and it was most anxious no European power should mediate between the two countries. "The United States Government seeks only to perform the office of a friend to all parties in this unhappy conflict, and would regret to be compelled to consider how far that feeling might be affected, and a more active interposition forced upon it, by any attempted complications of this question with European politics." The attitude of the United States with regard to the affairs of Chili and Peru was said to be viewed with dissatisfaction by all the South American Republics; but the subsequent explanation received from Washington removed much of the misunderstanding which Mr. Blaine's despatch had in the first instance aroused.

The diplomatic relations between Spain and Chili, which had been interrupted since 1866, were formally renewed under a treaty of peace signed in the month of August.

Bolivia appears throughout the year to have taken little active interest in the war, but has left Peru to carry it on single-handed. The Convention, nevertheless, decided in July to continue the war with Chili, and then, so as to secure unanimity in the public press, arrested the editors of the newspapers advocating peace. Subsequently the Bolivian troops bestirred themselves sufficiently to occupy Tarapaca, and to cause a force of 1,200 Chilians to be sent from Valparaiso to dislodge them. No serious opposition was offered, and the Bolivian commander was captured. The President of Bolivia and Pierola were present together at a parade of several thousands of Bolivians at La Paz, thus testifying to the supposed common action of the two countries; and later in the year, further evidence of their sympathy was shown in a revolution, which, spreading from Peru, broke out also in Bolivia.

CHAPTER VIII.

AUSTRALASIA.

In *Victoria* the principal event of the year was the overthrow of the Berry administration. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the situation, the crisis was surmounted by ordinary constitutional methods, and in a manner highly creditable to the colony. The Reform Bill,

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which had so long engaged the attention of the two Chambers, at length reached a stage which, owing to the exhaustion of party spirit and the assertion of common sense, ended in a reasonable compromise. The Legislative Council offered to reduce the qualification of its members to 100*l.* per annum, and to waive its claim to two Ministers in the Cabinet. A conference took place between the two Chambers on this basis, and the Bill was agreed to. No sooner, however, had the Bill become law, than Sir Bryan O'Loghlen proposed a vote of want of confidence in the Berry Government, and through the joint action of Constitutionalists and Democrats this vote was carried, and a coalition Ministry, with Sir Bryan O'Loghlen as its head, took office on July 9. The members who had to vacate their seats on accepting office were, with one exception, re-elected. The new Premier, in a speech to his constituents, announced his watchword to be "Peace and Progress," and stated that it was intended to redeem outstanding 6 per cent. loans to the extent of 8,000,000*l.*, and convert them into an equivalent 4 per cent. stock, and, at the same time, to issue a fresh loan for 4,000,000*l.* for public works. Any remission of taxation was declared to be impossible, but the land tax would be amended so as to include under it both town and country property; selectors' areas would be enlarged to 640 acres instead of 320, and other facilities were to be granted to investors. This programme found expression in the Governor's speech on the reassembling of Parliament, on August 4, after a brief prorogation of only two days. This step had been rendered necessary in order to vote the unpaid salaries of the civil servants, and to despatch various matters requiring immediate legislation; but in a few days the session, which had lasted over a period of fourteen months, was brought to a close. The new Ministry, on taking office, was generally regarded as weak—the portentous outcome of an "immoral alliance," as Mr. Berry termed it, which had effected the downfall of Berryism, and which, called into existence for that one purpose, would tumble to pieces as soon as it was attained; but, as the year advanced, Sir B. O'Loghlen's Ministry gradually acquired strength and public confidence. The large majorities at the re-elections moreover indicated that the public were tired of Mr. Berry's wrangling over the Reform Bill, and had found to their cost that he had done little for them beyond the imposition of new taxes. After a short recess, to enable the Government to prepare their new measures, Parliament met again, and Sir B. O'Loghlen made his financial statement on September 23. The year 1881–2 had opened with an "apparent" credit balance of 188,780*l.*, and the estimated revenue from all sources was 5,257,000*l.*, against an estimated expenditure of 5,398,000*l.* Of this latter sum, 200,000*l.* went to recoup "the railway loan liquidation account," and 166,000*l.* more as the first instalment of 500,000*l.* borrowed by Mr. Berry from the Banks, and for which Treasury bonds had been given. With these debts on hand it was impossible to promise any reduction of

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taxation. The Government therefore announced its intention of applying in London for a loan of 4,000,000*l.* Of this, 2,500,000*l.* would go in constructing railways, and the remainder in supplying water in the country districts, in improving harbours, opening the Gippsland lakes, and erecting public buildings, &c. Sir B. O'Loghlen did not think this loan would add materially to the burdens of the colony. In the period 1883–5, nearly 8,000,000*l.* of the original railway debt would become due, on which 6 per cent. has been paid, and the benefits to be derived from a 4 per cent. loan, spread over a long term, would more than compensate for the extra charge. Exclusive of the Bank loan of 500,000*l.*, before referred to, the entire debt of the colony at the close of the year stood at 22,593,000*l.*, of which 15,236,000*l.* had been spent on railways, though their actual cost had been 18,041,295*l.*, the difference having been defrayed out of current revenue. For many years these railways neither paid nor were expected to pay; but the traffic having rapidly increased of late, they now show a net return of 4 per cent. on the money spent in their construction and maintenance. As a set-off to all the liability, Sir B. O'Loghlen was careful to explain that the colony possessed assets in the shape of valuable dividends in railways and Yan Yean reserves, besides "ten millions of acres" of crown lands for selection, which he valued at 15,000,000*l.* After a short discussion the Budget passed without alteration. Parliament was occupied for some weeks in considering a motion brought forward disapproving of the Education Commission as endangering the secular principles of the Education Act. As that Commission was an inquiry to which the Premier thought the Government was pledged, for the purpose of examining the Catholic grievance about schools and the general working of the Education Act, he looked upon the motion as equivalent to a vote of want of confidence, and it was consequently rejected.

The new Commissioner of Customs, less favourable to protection than his predecessors, has already sanctioned several modifications of the tariffs, whilst the Tariff Committee, appointed late in the year to inquire into the various anomalies and absurdities existing in the Customs' regulations, promises to be productive of good results. They tabulated the articles subject to Customs' duties under (1) Necessaries of life, and (2) Luxuries: dividing these heads again so as to show which articles are taxed for revenue purposes and which for protection.

On December 1 the new Act to "resist the influx of Chinese into Victoria" came into force; but as they have been steadily and rapidly leaving the colony for some years past, the necessity for such an Act is not apparent. In 1871 there were about 18,000 Chinese in the colony; there are now scarcely one-third of that number. Content with low wages, they do much work that, but for them, would remain undone; but the labouring classes, dreading Chinese competition, and crediting them with bringing small-pox from China, clamoured for restriction, and the Lower House accordingly

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passed this Act, by which shipmasters are forbidden to bring into Victorian ports more than one Chinaman to every 100 tons of the vessel they command, and a tax of 10*l.* per head must be paid before landing. Unnaturalised Chinese may not vote at elections, but British-born subjects and naturalised Chinese are not deprived of the franchise, though the onus is thrown upon them to prove their qualification before they can obtain registration.

An outbreak of small-pox found the Government unprovided for the emergency, and in their zeal to stem it they made some mistakes. They began by quarantining every medical man who had visited a small-pox patient, the consequence of which was to deprive the authorities of the services of all men in good practice; the inferior ones bungled, and some people got sent into quarantine who were not afflicted with the disease. Taught by experience, the Government at last established a Board of Health, organised a disinfecting staff to cleanse properly all infected houses, and erected a hospital in an unfrequented spot about eight miles from Melbourne.

In *New South Wales* the abundance of money in the revenue—as shown by an excess over the estimates of one million—and the prosperity of the squatters, stimulated the demand for land to such an extent, that during the first six months of the year 1,750,000 acres were sold. Sheep-farming was most prosperous, the season being good and the London market favourable; whilst the mining industry revived considerably, and, a large amount of money being spent on public works, a high rate of wages was maintained. From the financial statement which the Colonial Treasurer introduced in the Legislative Assembly in November, the revenue for the current year was estimated at 6,440,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 5,960,000*l.*; but by December 31 the revenue had reached 6,710,000*l.*, as compared with an estimated income of 5,440,000*l.*, the increase being distributed over almost all branches of the revenue. Notwithstanding the surplus, however, there was no intention to pay off any of the public debt, which had been considerably augmented since the close of 1879, when it amounted to 16 millions. The income of 1881 was made up roughly as follows:—(1), 2½ millions from the sale and rental of land; (2), 2 millions from public works, &c., the railways contributing nearly 1½ millions; and (3), 1⅞ millions from taxation proper, nearly 1½ millions being furnished by the customs and excise, and 170,000*l.* by stamps. The State thus draws less from taxation than from the sale of Crown lands. The future is therefore being compromised for the sake of the present, since the land sales must have a limit, and because the extensive public works are being paid for out of loans, which are repayable at very remote periods. The general prosperity, however, of the colony has shown itself in many ways; customs revenue, excise and stamps, have become more remunerative, and railway revenue shows an increase of 74,000*l.* above the estimates. During the

year, 147 miles of fresh railway were opened for traffic, making up a total of 1,006 miles in working order. Altogether, 2,219 miles have been sanctioned, to be completed by 1886, when the entire colony will then be traversed from north to south, and such distant places will be reached as Narrabie, Tenterfield, and Bourke. When this is carried out, Sydney may again become the grand central port of all Australia, being in direct communication with Melbourne and Queensland (*viâ* Newcastle) and South Australia. The population of New South Wales, as shown by the census of 1881, had reached 750,800; being an increase of 50 per cent. in the last ten years.

The year 1881 will long be remembered as the one in which the transport of fresh Australian meat to England was first shown to be practicable. The town of Orange has so far taken the lead, both in the magnitude of its operations and the perfection of its arrangements for freezing the meat. So far the experiments have scarcely proved remunerative, and there is a prejudice on the part of the British public against the meat, whilst there is still some difficulty in adjusting the supply to the demand.

An event in the Parliamentary history of the year aroused much angry feeling. Part of the money voted as compensation to the shareholders of the Milburn Creek Copper Mining Company for being dispossessed of their ground, had been, it was asserted, improperly used to pay for Parliamentary support for the vote in question. A special commissioner, appointed to investigate the matter, reported that he could find no trace of the alleged offence; but that, in the course of his inquiry, he had accidentally discovered facts affecting the character of two members of the legislature. One of these, together with two other trustees of the mine, had appropriated 4,500*l.* of the compensation money as a reward for their own services, without authority, and without making any entry of the matter in the books of the company. In the balance-sheet submitted to the shareholders, they had included the amount under a lump sum of 4,710*l.* for legal and other expenses, but of which only 210*l.* was so spent. The inculpated member having been called upon for an explanation, made so poor a defence that, on the motion of the Premier, his expulsion was forthwith put to the vote, and carried, only two members demurring, on the ground that they doubted the assembly's jurisdiction. The charge against the other member was that of having received 2,000 shares from the solicitor to the company for his services in its behalf, and for having disguised the transaction by the form of a sale. When called upon for his defence, he stoutly denied the truth of the charge, attacked the solicitor who had accused him, and appealed to the memory of his political life, and to the services he had rendered. It was urged by several members that as the evidence was not absolutely conclusive he should have the benefit of any doubt, and so he escaped by a majority of two in his favour. This scandal gave rise to many difficult questions,

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and was increased by the relations previously existing between the Government and the two incriminated members, one of whom had held office in the Robertson-Parkes Administration. There were several stormy Cabinet meetings as to the proper mode of procedure, the two leaders holding different opinions on the subject. Sir John Robertson wanted the whole affair transferred to the Supreme Court, whilst Sir Henry Parkes thought Parliament ought to act irrespectively of the law courts. The latter view prevailed, and was followed by the resignation of Sir John Robertson, who, however, subsequently consented to retain office, at least temporarily.

The antipathy of the working classes to the Chinese was heightened by an outbreak of small-pox, which was attributed to them, and under this pressure the Chinese Immigration Bill was passed, under which a poll tax of 10*l.* will be levied on every Chinaman arriving in the colony. The Trades Unions Bill, to legalise and regulate trades unions, and to enable them to acquire and hold property like other corporations, made some progress; and a Bill for the protection of native game and imported song-birds became law.

Queensland.—The Governor congratulated the Colony, in opening Parliament in July, on the return of prosperity in the agricultural, pastoral, and mining industries. The revenue returns were favourable, and indicated signs of gradual improvement, the receipts being equal to the expenditure. The Census of 1881 puts down the population at 218,159—an increase of about 85 per cent. in the last ten years. A preliminary agreement was entered into with the Trans-Continental Railway Company to construct a railway to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and there were also negotiations for extending the existing railways on the land grant system to the borders of New South Wales and South Australia. One of the most important of the public works of the Colony—the large graving-dock at South Brisbane—was completed, and large speculations in land for sugar purposes were reported, and there seems every probability, if a sufficiency of coolie labour can be obtained, that the already established sugar works will multiply to such an extent that the Colony may be rendered independent of Mauritius.

In *South Australia* the Secretary to the Treasury made his financial statement on August 16, stating that the estimated revenue for 1881–2 was 2,069,000*l.* and the expenditure 2,075,000*l.*, of which sum 473,800*l.* was the amount of the interest on the bonded debt. His proposal to reduce the interest on the debt from 4 to 3½ per cent., and other changes, were rejected by a small majority, but this was not intended as a mark of want of confidence in the Ministry, which consequently remained in office. The most important measures passed were the Constitution Act Amendment Bill, the Civil Service Bill, the Insolvency Bill, the Land Bill, and the Loan Bill. The latter authorised the borrowing of 1,319,800*l.*

to be expended on railways, water-works, well-sinking, drainage works, and the construction of main roads. According to the Census of 1881 the population of South Australia is 279,615. Gold mines are being developed in the immediate vicinity of Adelaide, and numerous gold reefs have been discovered elsewhere. The great "Northern Territory," which hitherto has been considered almost an unknown land, is yielding astounding resources, thanks principally to the adoption of Chinese labour, and its income is so far in excess of its expenditure that the Government are taking steps to regulate its affairs. Universal complaints arose against the house-sparrow introduced into the Colony from England a few years previous. Its numbers have multiplied so rapidly that a definite scheme to keep the birds in check became necessary, and the Government in the course of the year paid the stipulated rewards on over 40,000 eggs. The International Exhibition at Adelaide, opened by the Governor, Sir William Jervis, on July 21, was a marked success in every way, and has been the means of attracting much mercantile attention to the Colony.

Tasmania; Western Australia; Fiji.—Of these three Colonies there is little to note beyond their sure and satisfactory progress. In the first two good work has been done, quite as much as could be expected where the population bears so small a ratio to territory. In Tasmania the mineral resources are being steadily developed, encouragement is given to immigration by free grants of land to people intending to settle in the Colony, and railways, bridges, and other public works are being constructed in various directions. Savings banks are properly appreciated, a sure sign of progress and prosperity, and the deposits have increased from 220,000*l.* in 1870 to 310,000*l.* in 1880. The imports and exports are each about 1,500,000*l.*, the revenue and expenditure each a little under 400,000*l.*, and the Public Debt about 2,000,000*l.* The population, according to the Census of 1881, is 115,000, but the increase is not sufficient for the requirements of the Colony, and the cry is still for more immigrants. The Colony has been agitated during the twelve months by the reports of vast mineral wealth in the little-known western districts, and there is reason to believe that the deposits of tin are of unusual extent and richness. In Western Australia an International Exhibition was opened at Perth on November 21. About the same date, the Governor, in a speech at Geraldton, spoke well of the financial condition of the country; whilst at an Agricultural Exhibition, also held in November, the best sheep ever shown in the Colony were exhibited. The population, according to the Census of 1881, was 31,000.

New Zealand.—Although considerable discontent prevailed during the year among the Maoris in the province of Taranaki, the fears of a serious outbreak were not realised. The cause of the discontent lay, as on previous occasions, in the natives having to make way for white settlers. After the Waikato war certain territory in the district of Parihaka was confiscated by

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the Colonial Government. A portion was set aside for the natives, and the rest is being gradually surveyed and sold.[1] Hitherto the natives had been allowed to occupy this confiscated territory. On hearing of its intended sale they refused to withdraw, and early in the year began to molest the settlers and destroy the fences. They were supported in these acts by Te Whiti, their leader and prophet. An interview between him and the Native Minister, in which the latter tried to induce him to come to terms, brought no result. Matters grew so grave that the authorities thought it prudent to accept the services of 300 volunteers to maintain order, and the Government issued a proclamation in October warning the natives that unless they accepted at once the large offers of land reserves and other conditions made to them, the offers would be withdrawn and the question of the reserves reconsidered. It was intimated at the same time that the Government would continue the making of roads at Parihaka, for the benefit of both races alike. Several meetings of hostile natives were held, at which Te Whiti advised patience and passive resistance without violence. At one gathering of 3,000 natives he addressed them with much force and at great length, stating that he had hitherto carried their troubles upon his back, but could do so no longer, and urging them to act for themselves. His attitude, however, was so aggressive that he was arrested and committed for trial on a charge of using seditious language. Tito Kowaru and 124 lesser chiefs were also arrested, the native tribes remaining stubborn, but not coming into conflict with the constabulary or the volunteers. Early in December the native settlement at Parihaka was broken up and dismantled, a quantity of arms and ammunition being captured, and the making of roads was commenced. The natives offered no resistance, perfect quiet prevailed in the district, and the volunteers were released from service. Tito Kowaru, the famous fighting chief, was bound over to keep the peace for one year, and Ta Whiao, the Maori king, and some of the prominent natives in other parts of the Colony expressed their approval of the action of the Government. Earlier in the year Ta Whiao had visited the nearest English settlement with some of his followers, and laid down eighty guns at the feet of the Government agent, as a token of submission.

The generally improved relations between the Government and the natives allowed a considerable decrease in the defence estimates for the year 1881–2, and in many ways permitted a continuance of the retrenchment policy which was so successful in 1880. In a colony where, in the short space of forty years, there has grown up a national debt of nearly thirty millions sterling, the question of finance is an all-important one, and it is therefore satisfactory to find that there is a steady determination on the part of those in

[1] During one week in September 10,000 acres of this fine land were sold to Europeans at prices averaging between 3*l.* and 4*l.* an acre, whilst half-acres in the village sites averaged 85*l.*

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power to keep the reduction of the debt constantly in view. During the year there was a considerable revival of trade and commercial prosperity. The surplus, which in 1880–1 was 26,700*l.*, was expected to be 21,450*l.* in 1881–2, and the receipts and expenditure, which in 1880–1 were respectively 3,461,682*l.* and 3,434,976*l.*, were estimated at 3,663,023*l.* and 3,641,572*l.* for 1881–2. One indication of progress and improvement in the Colony is the fact, that although the revenue from taxation and services rendered has increased from 1,057,218*l.* in 1870 to 3,123,960*l.* in 1880, the taxation per head of the population has only increased from 3*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* to 3*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*; whilst, if the cost of education were deducted, the taxation would be actually 2*s.* 6*d.* per head less than in 1870. When the treasurer brought forward his budget in July he proposed to reduce the property tax from a penny to a halfpenny in the pound, and to abolish certain customs duties to the extent of 15,000*l.* Instead of applying to England or elsewhere for another loan to carry on the extension of the main lines of railway the Government proposed, as an experiment, to issue at par within the Colony a loan of 250,000*l.*, the principal and interest of which were to be paid in New Zealand only, the loan to be issued in the form of inscribed stock, bearing interest at five per cent., and convertible into bonds of 10*l.* each, payable to bearer.

Wool continues almost the only product that pays for export to a distant market. During the year to March 31, 1881, 3,000,000 lbs. of wool were exported from New Zealand, and so long as oats are to be had for a shilling a bushel and mutton for twopence per pound, the wool trade will take the lead. Rabbits, which are such a pest as to be classed with floods because of the damage they cause, are being kept under with more rigour than in former years, and in some parts are systematically exterminated. The rabbit inspectors employ men who go over hill and dale with bags filled with grain steeped in phosphorus, and rabbits are thus killed in great numbers. Among the exports for the year to March 31, 1881, were 6,000,000 rabbit skins, valued at 57,000*l.*

The Census of 1881 reveals an extraordinary growth of population, the numbers having risen from 256,300 in 1871 to 489,500 in the present year, being an increase of ninety per cent. The prostration from which New Zealand suffered through the debt incurred in constructing railways and other works is passing away, and the Colony is beginning to reap the benefit of them.

In the House of Representatives a formidable case of obstruction, or "stonewalling," as it is called in the Colony, arose. The Government had introduced a Bill for amending the representation of the people, which was under discussion for ten days, the House on one occasion sitting day and night continuously in committee for forty-eight hours. The Chairman at this point remonstrated against the palpable attempt to obstruct business, and stated that he would not put any amendment which might be offered with

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that view, nor allow any discursive discussion. Thereupon the "Stonewallers" objected, and asked for authority to justify the chairman's ruling, which he declined to give, saying that he would not allow his ruling to be disputed. Mr. Gisborne, a deservedly respected member, who had been a Minister of the Crown and filled various high positions in the Civil Service, then moved that the Chairman should leave the chair and report his ruling to the Speaker. The Chairman refused to put the motion as being obstructive, and Mr. Gisborne persisting, he declared him to be in contempt, voluntarily left the chair, and reported the circumstances to the Speaker. The latter then asked Mr. Gisborne if he wished to make any remarks, and after that gentleman had asserted that he was right in acting as he had done, he was ordered to leave the House until his conduct should have been discussed. The Speaker then called on the Premier to table a motion declaring Mr. Gisborne to be in contempt, and inflicting a penalty of 50*l.*, in accordance with one of the Standing Orders. The Premier's motion was carried by more than two to one. Mr. Gisborne was then sent for, and in his place informed of the decision of the House (the amount of fine having been reduced to 20*l.*) and received an extremely severe but dignified rebuke from the Speaker. He was then allowed to interview the clerk in a private room, paid his penalty, and resumed his seat. The result was that the House was restored to order, the obstruction suppressed, and the debate limited to the questions actually in issue on the several clauses of the Bill. Before, however, the Bill finally passed through committee, the House had sat continuously for eighty hours, during which many members had neither gone to bed nor changed their clothes.

Parliament was prorogued on September 24, and dissolved on November 9, after passing several important measures. Besides the Electoral Representation Bill, which increased the European members of the House of Representatives to ninety-one, the new members to be elected by a single electoral district, a Bill extending facilities to private companies to construct railways was passed, and the Act relating to the appointment of agents for inscription of stock at the Bank of England was amended. The Licensing Laws were amended, and a Bill for restricting Chinese immigration was passed.

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RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1881.

LITERATURE.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Greek. Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 1881.—This is the fruit of eleven years' assiduous labour on the part of a body of divines chosen without respect of party in the Church. Their object was to compare the "Authorised" Version of A.D. 1611 with the most ancient authorities, and to revise its translation by the light of more modern knowledge. The time chosen was appropriate, for many obvious reasons; and although the "Revisers" as little wished to overshadow the original "Translators" as to claim finality for their own work, yet amid the wars of destructive criticism of which the text of the New Testament has been the object, there has been a general consensus that little or nothing remains to be done in the field of original discovery. All that is possible is to take advantage of our progress in the constantly extending domain of comparative language. The basis of our present Authorised edition is the Greek Testament of Erasmus printed in 1516. Since then various editions were from time to time issued, each showing a considerable advance towards accuracy. The materials for a still more thorough revision have accumulated since James I.'s reign; and it was time to collect and apply them to practical use. There is no immediate idea of substituting the present Revised New Testament for that still in use, but this question will have to be faced when the revision of the Old Testament is complete. Many, to whom the rich and precious words of the text of their childhood have become endeared, will doubtless view with regret the substitution of new readings and the loss of familiar quotations; but such as they are not likely to offer a blind opposition to a change, which the most thoughtful and prudent may advocate as the wisest course to adopt in view of the altered conditions of Biblical knowledge and Biblical criticism.

The Annotated Bible. Vol. III.—**The New Testament.** By Rev. John Henry Blunt (Rivingtons).—Mr. Blunt has at length brought his somewhat arduous task to a close. The appearance of this volume almost simultaneously with the Revised Version is singularly opportune. Mr. Blunt adheres to the accustomed text, but in his annotations he seldom omits to bring into notice those variations which the authors of the Revised Version have included in the text. The historical introduction which precedes the volume gives a lucid and at the same time a simple account of the Jews at the time of our Lord's coming, and enables the reader to understand more accurately many of the allusions with which the New Testament abounds. The text throughout is

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copiously illustrated by quotations from the Fathers, from secular historians, and from more modern writers whose labours have thrown light upon either the text, the history, or the doctrines of the New Testament; and in this way Mr. Blunt's "Annotated Bible" is a valuable book of reference to clergymen and laymen alike.

The Beginnings of the Christian Church. By W. H. Simcox (Rivingtons).—This volume has grown out of a course of lectures delivered by Mr. Simcox in Winchester Cathedral in Lent 1880, at the request of Canon Wilberforce. They retain their original form, and there is an absence of reference and index which seems to indicate that the book is more one for the general reader than for the student of Church history. There are eight lectures in all, beginning with an account of the Church at Jerusalem, passing on to the apostles and their successors, and ending with the churches of the Apologists and Martyrs. They are written in a thoroughly liberal spirit, with a complete freedom from anything controversial. The treatment is slight throughout, with few landmarks, in an age the decades of which are too often indistinguishable to the present day reader; but perhaps these characteristics will not be unwelcome in a popular account of a subject which is generally overweighted with learning and research. But it would have been better if Mr. Simcox had modified his too colloquial style, and given some headings or index by means of which the intending reader could gather the scope and treatment of the book.

The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches. By Edwin Hatch (Rivingtons).—The eight Bampton lectures for this year are an application of the historical method to ecclesiastical history so often overlaid by Christian traditions and theological hypotheses. The difficulties of documentary evidence and of the space of time and place over which the history of the Church extends, increase the importance of the application of the comparative method to this subject. Why should not the growth of historical science be as applicable to ecclesiastical as to civil history? asks Mr. Hatch; and he proceeds to act in strict accordance with this idea, in his discussion of the constitution of the Church from the times of the apostles until the fall of the Western Empire.

The origin and development of the office of bishop, deacon, and presbyter, the functions fulfilled by the parish and the cathedral in connecting the organisation of the early churches with that of mediæval times, the growth of the councils of the Church as the guardians of traditions and lawgivers to the Christian world, are arrived at strictly inductively; or where evidence will not reach, hypotheses are stated as such, and not presented as facts. These lectures will be welcome to all who desire to see the scientific method of investigation extended to all departments of learning, ecclesiastical as wellas secular.

Evenings with the Skeptics. Vols. I. and II. By John Owen (Longmans and Co.).—This book—of which the title is somewhat misleading, from the term being used in its primitive sense of questioning—is an extension to more important subjects of the style of writing made so popular at one time by Sir Arthur Helps. A certain number of people are here supposed to meet at given intervals of time for philosophical discussion accompanied by a formal essay. The subject of these meetings is the various seekers after truth; and the object of the conversational form is that it is supposed to admit of a treatment of the subject from various standpoints, and with greater freedom and interest than would a series of didactic essays.

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Whether hard thinking is made more attractive by being sugared in this way is a question of taste; and whether a number of ladies and gentlemen meeting thus informally could make important contributions to philosophic thought is a matter of considerable doubt; but any way the matter provided by Mr. Owen is very interesting, and covers a considerable quantity of ground. Of the importance to the world of the questioning or sceptical spirit the author gives us ample proof, if that be needed, in the history of thought of the classical and middle ages, with a promise of more to come about the free-thinkers of later times. The first volume takes us through Greek, Hebrew, and Hindu scepticism—though we should be sorry to do it in the five evenings allotted; the second treats of the relation of Christianity to free-thought, and the scepticism of St. Augustine, the schoolman.

The Creed of Science: Religious, Moral, and Social. By W. Graham (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.).—The "Creed of Science" is an attempt to present in a popular and acceptable form the results that may be arrived at in regard to the principal problems and questions that excite the wonder and curiosity of thinking men in view of the most recent discoveries and generalisations of natural science. In this work of inquiry and investigation the author shows himself throughout altogether impartial. He has not undertaken the task in any special dogmatic interest, nor sought to wrest fact into agreement with a preconceived theory. Mr. Graham believes that human reason is capable of attaining at last to satisfactory conclusions on those problems which in all times, and never more than now, have exercised the mind of man. "God, Freedom, and Immortality," are the topics which most attract his attention; and while he holds these to be the deepest and largest interests with which human reason can cope, and doubts not that reason is able to attain to more or less satisfactory conclusions in regard to them, he is willing to accept the utterances of natural or physical science as guides in the difficult paths of inquiry. There is, however, in the reasoning of the writer a subordination of the purely metaphysical or philosophical elements of the problem, which some may consider as sufficient to disturb if not to destroy the fair balance of reason on the subjects under treatment. For instance, on the vexed question of free-will, Mr. Graham, in adopting the views of science on the subject of motives as the active forces which determine alike character, and will which depends on character, may be fairly accused of unduly narrowing the field of view. Nevertheless it is an able, thoughtful, and in literary respects an excellent work. The results and bearings of physical science on the great truths of morality and religion are clearly set forth, and important light is thereby thrown on many vital questions.

Anthropology. By E. B. Tylor (Macmillan and Co.).—Now that some knowledge of science is an absolutely necessary part of education, we must welcome any attempt to offer it to us in a non-technical form. In this small book, of which the style is perfectly simple and lucid, Mr. Tylor introduces us to the study of man and civilisation. Anthropology for him stands in the same position to other sciences as sociology did for Comte—that is to say, it gives a synthetical view of the relative position of the other sciences to each other and to itself as embracing them all. In a book of this kind, dealing with all departments of science, and intended for readers of ordinary, not special education, style is a most essential matter, and the author has performed his task with perfect success—for not the most scientifically ignorant reader could find anything requiring special knowledge for its comprehension. We

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have the relation of man to other animals, the different human races, their language, arts, science, history, and mythology all skilfully treated; and the concluding chapter on society embodies the most recent conclusions of Herbert Spencer, Maine, and Freeman. There are many capital illustrations, and further—what we could wish to see a universal practice in books of this kind—a list of works on the various branches of science treated of for those who wish to go more into detail.

Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries. Edited by J. W. Probyn (Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.).—A fresh edition of these essays, published under the sanction of the Cobden Club, has been issued by the committee at the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone, made in a letter to Mr. Bayley Potter, in January 1881. The work will be read at the present time with unusual attention by all those who are interested, whether personally or otherwise, in the systems of land tenure over the world.

The volume contains, in addition to a treatise on the Law and Custom of Primogeniture, by the Hon. Geo. C. Brodrick, essays on the Tenure of Land in Ireland, by the Right Hon. M. Longfield, late Judge of the Landed Estates Court in Ireland; on the Land Laws of England, by the late C. Wren Hoskyns; on the Tenure of Land in India, by Sir Geo. Campbell; on the Land System of France, by T. E. Cliffe Leslie; on the Russian Agrarian Legislation of 1861, by the late Dr. Julius Faucher; on the Agrarian Legislation of Prussia, by R. B. D. Morier; on the Land System of Belgium and Holland, by M. Emile de Laveleye; and on the Farm Land and Land Laws of the United States, by the late C. M. Fisher.

The essay which perhaps will be most widely read is that on the Tenure of Land in Ireland, by Mr. Longfield, who, from his experience as Judge of the Landed Estates Court, is well qualified to write on the subject.

Written, too, as the article first was, long before the Irish Land Act of last session had begun to occupy the attention of Ministers or of the country, some of the author's observations are peculiarly apposite now that the Act has not only been passed into law, but has been in operation more than six months. On the subject of outrages the author makes the following remarks:—

"If all the land in Ireland was divided in fee simple among the peasantry the number of murders would not be diminished. The difference would only be in the heading of the sensation paragraphs in newspapers. Instead of an 'agrarian outrage,' it would be called a 'domestic tragedy.' The same feeling that prompts a man to murder his landlord to prevent or revenge some real or imaginary wrong, would lead him to resort to the same remedy against a sister who claimed her fortune at an inconvenient time, or a brother who did not agree with his views respecting the partition of the estate."

Again, on the subject of professional valuers,—

"Many other things are to be considered, but I have said enough to show how utterly inadequate to the occasion is the cursory inspection that is made by a professional valuator. All that he often does is to find out what is the rent actually paid for the adjacent farms, and whether the farm he is valuing is better or worse than those; and then to make an abatement or increase on the result so obtained, according to the purpose for which the valuation was made. If the valuation is made for the purpose of taxation, it is generally made low, for then there is less likelihood of an appeal. If the owner gets it valued for the purpose of a sale the valuation is apt to be high—as more likely to suit the interests or wishes or feelings of the employers."

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We have no space to criticise the other essays in detail, but they will well repay perusal.

Renaissance in Italy—Italian Literature. By J. A. Symonds (Smith, Elder, and Co.).—These two volumes on Italian literature constitute the last part of Mr. Symonds's important work on the Italian Renaissance, the three former volumes dealing respectively with other departments of Italian activity, her social and political activity, her attainments in the fine arts, and the revival of classical taste. Each part is in a sense independent of the others, though really incomplete without them. Mr. Symonds might say with Sainte-Beuve, "Chaque esprit a, pour ainsi dire, son climat natal: le mien était plutôt celui des époques civilisés cultivées dans le sens classique de la Renaissance." The key-note of that epoch is impulse towards freedom—freedom from social, religious, intellectual, and political trammels; and much of its interest lies in its marking the transition from mediævalism with its prevailing features of the Church and feudalism, to modern times with its characteristics of science and democracy.

Italy presents the history of this movement in art and literature with greater completeness and continuity than any other nation, though at the same time with political and moral degradation, and a total absence of national cohesion. It is to her, then, as the discoverer of modern freedom and civilisation that Mr. Symonds directs the attention of his readers. It would seem as if she could not do enough to render complete the antithesis between mediæval thought and feeling and that of her own time. Earth instead of heaven, hedonism instead of asceticism, the body instead of the soul, took the chief place as leading ideas. Refinement, high culture, and æsthetic sensitiveness existed side by side with depravity and a total absence of earnestness and moral insight.

The period from 1300 to 1653 is dealt with not as forming part of the real Renaissance epoch, but as the antecedent period, an acquaintance with which is necessary to a comprehension of the revival of letters, which Mr. Symonds places between 1453 and 1527. Thus he is enabled to deal with much of great interest in the development of the Italian language, such as the struggle between the language adopted by the humanists and vernacular Italian, and the triumph of the latter, thanks to its possessing the masterpieces of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and likewise the part played by the different districts in modifying its form.

The assimilation by the Italians of the Latin side of classicism in preference to the Greek, with true ancestral instinct, shown both in the matter and form of Italian literature, is another point of great interest treated by Mr. Symonds. Indeed, of the completeness and interest of his work it would be difficult to say too much. His intimate knowledge of Italian has enabled him to penetrate into the bypaths of Italian literature, while his intimacy with his subject gives a facility of touch which has a great charm upon the reader. We are never overwhelmed with the detail on which his generalisations are based, which he keeps well in hand, extensive as it is, using it for illustrative purposes, and never letting it be other than subordinate to the conceptions he offers.

The chapter on the great Triumvirate shows that the slight affectations of style apparent in some of his earlier works have completely disappeared with the breadth of treatment necessary to an important subject, and his language remains a fit exponent of his critical thought.

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Greek and Gothic. By Rev. St. John Tyrwhitt (Walter Smith).—The object of Mr. Tyrwhitt's book is to treat the progress and decay of the three arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture from a Christian point of view. He objects, in fact, to the way in which the field of classical archæology is being usurped nowadays by what he calls the modern atheistic renaissance, and the aim of the early part of his book is a treatment of the subject from the standpoint of the Christian Church. "There is practically," says Mr. Tyrwhitt, "no other hypothesis of art possible except the atheistic or materialistic." Thus, the existence and development of Greek art is explained through English Christianity, religion being assigned as the prime motive of ancient art rather than nature-worship and a susceptibility to physical beauty; and in the same way the absence of art at Rome is explained by the lack of religious inspiration. Thus, the devotion to one idea dominating the consideration of every part of the subject spoils some excellent work in the same manner as it does in much of Mr. Ruskin's. Mr. Tyrwhitt, indeed, has much in common with Mr. Ruskin—the same love of symbolism and symbolic language, the same dominant note; though in the latter it is rather the moral, in the former the religious sense which is made the text of all discourse. One is conscious of the shock of anachronism when the spiritual language of modern Christian feeling is made explanatory of the Parthenon. But Mr. Tyrwhitt's treatment of classic art is really only instigated by the fact of its entering as so important a factor into Gothic or Christian art, in the spirit of which he breathes so much more freely—the technical art discipleship of Goth to Greek is really the cause of the introduction of the subject. The rest of the book is devoted to Christian art, its construction with the basilica, cross, and dome, its decoration of mosaic and sculpture; and here we may take occasion to sympathise with the author in his wish that the subjects of church decoration were confined to purely Christian symbolism—to the Biblical cycle, as was the custom in the primitive church, instead of employing those which, like the eagle, have no connection with the church. An interesting chapter is devoted to the catacombs, and another to the ideas conveyed by the Christian symbols. If classical art and archæology has been treated with more of inward sympathy and comprehension elsewhere, the spirit of Gothic art has been nowhere better described or insisted upon, nor has Christian art, to our knowledge, ever met with so comprehensive an account. Of Christian art, illustrative of Christian legend, Mr. Tyrwhitt is an excellent exponent.

A Treatise on Wood Engraving. By William Andrew Chatto. New edition (Chatto and Windus).—The original edition of this valuable work published in 1839 has long since been out of print—and, equally with a subsequent edition published in 1861, is almost beyond the reach of any but the most ardent collectors. It is practically the only work in our language which thoroughly traces the history of wood engraving from the earliest times, and has become the recognised text-book and authority on all points of difficulty. Wood engraving is no doubt contemporary with block printing, and from the specimens which survive of early printed books, we can recognise the important part which illustration played in the revival of learning. The admirable woodcuts (from the originals by Mr. J. Jackson) which appear in Mr. Chatto's volume in such profusion prove their use in our day, and serve to elucidate clearly the various phases through which from Laurence Coster to Linton, our greatest contemporary wood engraver, the art has passed. Like many other arts it passed through its period of neglect, but since its revival

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in this country in Bewick's hands interest in old work and increased proficiency in new have been noticeable both here and abroad. The present volume is produced in a style not unworthy of the art of which it relates the history, and it cannot fail to occupy a prominent position among the books of reference and authority which should form the staple of every public and private library.

Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses. By Richard Edis (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.).—Mr. Edis has attempted to direct the taste of the public in the matter of house decoration—first in the Cantor lectures and now in this book, which gives the matter of the lectures enlarged and illustrated. If it be possible to interest English people in this direction, Mr. Edis ought certainly to be successful, for he has much practical knowledge of the subject, and knows how to give it with due consideration for the feelings of the Englishman, whose house is his castle, and who resents any interference with his running riot therein. The discussion of materials of decoration—walls, ceilings, paperhangings, fittings, tiles—is all of the most practical kind, and is not gone into regardless of expense, though we think that the author makes out good furniture to be cheaper than it really is. Sanitary matters too—including smoke abatement—get their due attention. The remarks against the slavish imitation of certain styles on the one hand, and the craving after eccentricities on the other, will, we hope, have their effect; and the prices which accompany the description of many of the things recommended ought to be a considerable help to intending furnishers.

This book, though it has much to inveigh against, is certainly a sign of the improvement of taste; and we believe that the next century will look back upon the preceding one as one of art revival, at all events in matters decorative.

College and Corporation Plate. By Wilfrid J. Cripps (Chapman and Hall, Limited).—This is one of the admirable art handbooks which from time to time are issued under the auspices of the South Kensington Museum. The volume is in design little more than a 'catalogue raisonné' of the reproductions of old plate now to be seen in the Museum; but in reality it is a valuable supplement to the author's more important works on 'Plate Marks,' which are the recognised text-books of collectors and students.

The Lyrical Drama: Essays. By H. Sutherland Edwards (W. H. Allen and Co.).—With very slight materials the author has constructed a pleasant history of a popular subject, and furnishes a useful and necessary supplement to his former work on a cognate subject. That traced Don Juan back to his first appearance in 1588, and followed his unedifying career through the literature of Western Europe, at last driving him to Russia, where he was welcomed by Poushkin. Mr. Sutherland Edwards similarly describes the transformation of the Faust legend; and deduces from the popularity of the 'necromantic' drama the rise of the romantic opera, which finds its latest expression in the wondrous works of Wagner and the other less famous disciples of Weber.

History of Ancient Egypt. By George Rawlinson, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford (Longmans and Co.).—Professor Rawlinson's "History of Ancient Egypt," like so many recent books on that subject, does not claim to be other than a popular account of that country. It is a continuation of the author's scheme of "Ancient History," following the same lines. Thus we have the description of the

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country itself, climate, people, language, literature, science, religion, &c. In the preface a grateful tribute is paid by Professor Rawlinson to the authorities upon whom he so largely relies, the work before us being an elaborate compilation of the learning and research of others, the author himself being, as he says, acquainted only with the mere rudiments of Egyptian decipherment.

Beginning with a very full description of the sole river of Egypt, with its yearly "gifts" of soil from the highlands of Abyssinia, and the marvellous fertility accruing from this natural irrigation, it describes at length the fauna and the flora of the country.

After touching on the races of Egypt, the difficult question of hieroglyphics is clearly stated, with quaint specimens of the national literature which throw a curious light upon the genius of Egyptian thought. The architecture of Egypt is fully illustrated, and the most familiar examples of Egyptian art are reproduced by excellent woodcuts.

Religion, which entered so largely into the every-day life of an Egyptian, without a knowledge of which any attempt to understand Egyptian customs would be profitless, absorbs much of the present work.

The second volume contains all we at present know of the history of Egypt, a history without a chronology, but with a mass of material which, by the aid of three generations of students, has been resolved into a chronological system which, though necessarily vague, is plausible.

The Egypt of the Past. By Erasmus Wilson (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.).—Egyptian lore as well as other has its enthusiasts, but it has hitherto been but little studied except by professed archæologists or students of ancient history. Dr. Wilson gives an account of Egyptian history, for the general reading public, beginning about 3000 B.C., down to the final conquest of its 30th dynasty, which was a Persian one, by Alexander the Great.

The Egyptians have a special interest, as being the most ancient people of the world, and as having possessed a complex civilisation and art of no little importance to students of classical art. The British Museum is particularly rich in Egyptian antiquities, but it is probably the department least known of any; and much more interest would no doubt be taken in its monuments were Egyptian history not such untrodden ground for most people. The author has, moreover, successfully carried through his self-imposed task of casting in a popular form the learning of Burgsch, Lepsius, Mariette, Birch, Maspero, and others, and his book will prove a valuable digest of all recent Egyptian lore, and will be read by those who might hesitate to approach the original authors. The profuseness of Mr. Pearson's woodcuts, and Mr. MacCallum's views, representing with much effect, and in glowing colours, the more familiar points of Egyptian travel, will commend the work at once to the general reader.

England and Egypt. By Edward Dicey (Chapman and Hall, Limited). Although the materials of which this volume are made up are necessarily of ephemeral interest, their preservation in a collected form will be useful to future students of history. Mr. Dicey is a believer in the future of Egypt, and he sees even doubtful acts in her policy through rose-tinted spectacles. He, however, by no means submitted to the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians"—the realisation of which, he holds, would be of more than doubtful detriment to the country. It is because the European element is strong in Egypt that there is hope for her—Mr. Dicey holding that none of the

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nations who have an interest, immediate or remote, in the country will ever allow her to fall back into the anarchy to which she was, under Ismail Pasha, rapidly hastening. He gives his reason for believing that the present Anglo-French control must sooner or later give way to a Protectorate, and discusses with point and vigour the conditions under which it should be established and by whom exercised.

The Historical Geography of Europe. By E. A. Freeman (Longmans and Co.).—Mr. Freeman's work supplies a want which has been widely felt, and especially by teachers of history to children, in whose minds great confusion is occasioned because they have never realised that the names of different countries have not always been applied to the same extent of territory. "It aims at tracing out the extent of various states at different times, and at attempting to place the various 'changes in their due relation to one another and to their causes.'" Historical geography differs from physical geography, which is concerned solely with the natural features of the earth's surface, and from studies like ethnology and comparative philology, but although distinct from these studies it makes much use of them. For, as Mr. Freeman shows, the physical geography of a country always has a great effect on its political history, and the dispersions and movements of different nations are exactly those parts of history which have most to do with fixing the names and the boundaries of different countries at different times. But it is with political divisions that historical geography has to deal in the first place, and with the nature of the land, and with the people who occupy it, it is concerned only so far as they have influenced the political divisions. Mr. Freeman, of course, assumes in the reader a certain elementary knowledge of European History; but the present work will enable the student to see far more clearly the general sequence of events, and connection of cause and effect, than a mere outline of names and dates. The maps, which are bound separately from the text, are admirably clear and comprehensive. They lay no claim to the character of an historical atlas, but as illustrations of the text they are perfect, and add considerably to the value of an already useful and well-written book.

The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I., 1637–49. Vols. I. and II. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner, LL.D. (Longmans and Co.).—This is another instalment of Mr. Gardiner's great historical work which commenced some years back with the reign of James I., and had been steadily brought down to the year 1637. The two new volumes carry on the history to 1642, when the king first raised his standard at Nottingham. It was during this eventful period of six years, that there grew up that crisis in English history which was a little later to develop into revolution and civil war. It also includes the ecclesiastical controversies, the burning questions of ship-money and monopolies, the riots in Edinburgh and the Scottish Covenant, the assemblies in Glasgow and Edinburgh, the Short Parliament and the Long Parliament, all of which are fully and impartially dealt with by Mr. Gardiner. These two volumes are specially interesting and important from the new light thrown upon the policy of Charles I. by means of information Mr. Gardiner has gleaned from the hitherto untapped correspondence between Rossetti, the papal agent at the court of Queen Henrietta Maria, and Cardinal Barberini. The Venetian despatches have also contributed somewhat, whilst in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh Mr. Gardiner has found a full description of the Scottish Commissioners in London during the early

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part of 1641, that has so far escaped the notice of Scottish writers. Mr. Gardiner's clear, careful, and most impartial history will in future be a necessity to everyone who would honestly study the origin and progress of the struggle between King and Parliament.

Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity. By John Daniel Leader (George Bell and Sons).—This bulky contribution of 600 pages to the history of the hapless Queen of Scots, deals with that portion of her life which has been comparatively neglected by other biographers. It embraces the fifteen years (1569–84) which she passed under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and nearly the whole of which was spent at one or other of his mansions near Sheffield. It does not attempt to decide any of the numerous disputed points connected with Mary's career, but it throws so much light on her life and character during this long confinement, that impartial readers will find in it much to enable them to form a more deliberate estimate of her actions and the motives that inspired them.

Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's. By W. Sparrow Simpson (Elliot Stock).—These researches into the history of our cathedral by its librarian, appear at a time when St. Paul's and other works of Sir C. Wren are attracting new interest from the destruction of many of the city churches built by him.

Beginning with a sketch of the early history of religion in London, Canon Simpson passes on to an account of the historical events connected with the cathedral of most general interest, such as the visit of Wycliffe and Latimer. What the author has really done is to select from the documents in mediæval Latin relating to the cathedral such desultory information as would be likely to be acceptable to the public. The principle of selection is therefore his own, and the account does not pretend to be exhaustive, but it seems a curious omission that there should be no mention of Sir C. Wren and his association with it, though there is a chapter devoted to the great fire of 1561.

History of China. Vol. I. By Demetrius Ch. Boulger (W. H. Allen and Co.).—This is but the first volume of what purposes to be an exhaustive history of China, and one the object of which is at the same time to popularise the subject. The English are certainly far behind the French in interest in Chinese history, and it is a curious fact that while our nation is foremost in the science of history so far as it concerns its own past, it is assuredly deficient in historical sympathy for the past of other countries whether near or remote. Chinese history proper begins about B.C. 1000, though it has an extensive mythical period stretching to centuries before the flood. M. Boulger's first volume deals with the dynasties of the empire down to 1350, closing with the decline of the Mongols. The style is particularly easy and lucid, and the author, already known by other works—for his great interest in and knowledge of Central Asia—manages to communicate thereby an enthusiasm for his subject.

The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government. By Jefferson Davis (Longmans and Co.).—The official position once held by the author of this voluminous work necessarily prevents him giving a dispassionate history of the events in which he was one of the chief actors. He has, however, rendered the highest service to the future historian by collecting for him, and putting together in an easily available shape, materials of the greatest value and importance, which were beyond the reach of others. The story of the Great War has been told over and over again from the Northern

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point of view; and, in the absence of official documents, mere students have been at a loss to oppose many of the bold assertions which have been put forward by zealous partisans. In future, writers on these troublous times will have the option of doing justice to the Confederate cause, or of ignoring the official documents issued by its leaders. The general verdict of the public may not be reversed by more accurate knowledge; but it will be henceforth impossible to ignore how small a part the slavery question played in the struggle, and how large a space was occupied by the wider question of State and Federal rights. The pure and undoubted patriotism of Lee, Johnston, and "Stonewall" Jackson must become intelligible, as it is obvious to the most careless readers when they see how those ties which knit these soldiers to their respective States were to be held subordinate to the wants and policy of the Union. The Federal Part, by which the relation of each State towards the Corporation of States was regulated, admitted of an almost unlimited licence of construction; and it was not unnatural that, when the Federal rulers seemed bent upon a line of policy which was opposed to the feelings of nearly half the population, the minority appealed to arms to decide the point thus raised. Interpretations of a Constitution by means of big battalions may not seem the most conducive method to adopt, and time alone will show whether the method is final. Meanwhile those who care to see the course of the Confederate policy, as day by day it unfolded itself at home and abroad, must follow Mr. Jefferson Davis' carefully compiled "*Mémoires pour servir*" for the history of the Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.

India in 1880. By Sir R. Temple (John Murray).—Sir Richard Temple, as Governor of Bombay and Bengal and Finance Minister of India, must speak as one having authority, and his views on the much-vexed questions of India's financial position and general progress would meet with respect even if they were not put forward (as is the case) in an admirably taking style, condensed and eloquent. On no subject are people more ready to give an opinion, and with so little material in the shape of personal experience for forming a judgment, as on Indian matters; and contributions to the subject by one who has lived thirty years in different parts of India—obliged by his position to look into all matters connected with the welfare of the country and to form an opinion upon them—must be carefully considered if they did not—as, indeed, they mostly do—carry conviction with them. That the book is not only intended for those who regard India from a political point of view is at once seen by the picturesque chapters on climate, scenery, and the objects of beauty in nature and art, though the detailed discussion of native states, the army, foreign relations, and the like, will satisfy the most ardent vindicator of British rights. The advantages of the independence of the different states, the state of national education, arts, and manufactures, and the effect of relief during famine, are some of the many questions dealt with by the late Governor. On the whole, we get a vivid picture of the present state of the Indian Empire, its mental and material progress, without discussion of policies. Sir Richard Temple does not share the alarmist views of Mr. Henderson and others, but is moderately optimistic.

The Afghan War of 1879-80. By Howard Hensman (W. H. Allen and Co.).—In this volume are collected a series of letters which were written from time to time by Mr. Hensman, who acted as special corre-

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spondent for the *Pioneer* newspaper (published in Allahabad) and the London *Daily News* during the course of the late Afghan war. The period treated of commences with the march of the Kurran field force upon Cabul consequent on the massacre of our envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, in September, 1879, and terminates with an admirably graphic and accurate account of our unfortunate disaster at Maiwund. The letters are peculiarly welcome at the present time. In the first place, Mr. Hensman was the only special correspondent who accompanied Sir F. Roberts in his march from Ali Kheyl in the autumn of 1879; and in the next place we have the testimony of Sir F. Roberts himself as to the general accuracy of the author's details and descriptions. The work should also be valuable from a military point of view. The description of the battle of Charasia is altogether excellent, and the details of our defeat at Maiwund will be read with the keenest interest. The criticisms passed by Mr. Hensman on General Burrows' disposition of his forces, and on his tactics during the engagement, seem to carry conviction with them, and will doubtless be carefully studied, as they embody the views of others even better qualified to judge from a military point of view than Mr. Hensman himself. A special word of praise must be accorded to the sketch pages, of which there are ten, illustrating different engagements; they have the rare quality of combining clearness with great accuracy of distance.

The Marriages of the Bonapartes. By Hon. F. Bingham (Longmans and Co.).—Mr. Bingham has collected together and summarised in an attractive form all that is known, and much that is not known of the Bonaparte family. The temptations to make out of so fruitful a topic a *chronique scandaleuse* have been studiously avoided, and to those readers to whom that remarkable, but almost forgotten work, the "Female Revolutionary Plutarch" is unknown, Mr. Bingham's volumes will reveal many piquant details of the family relations of the Bonapartes. The struggles which went on in the minds of many between fealty to their chief and fidelity to the objects of their choice, are not the least curious episodes of the Napoleonic era in Europe. After reading Mr. Bingham's book it is absurd to suppose, as Legitimists once did, that Napoleon was only tolerated among the crowned heads of Europe. The belief in his star was as sincere amongst the princes as amongst the people, and the "honour" of an alliance with his family was regarded by the powerful as a reality. Mr. Bingham recapitulates with great care the evidence for and against the marriage of Napoleon and Josephine; and it is remarkable to find how, even by those presumably most likely to have been acquainted with the facts, the most contradictory assertions are made in the most authoritative tone, and how much dispute can be raised on a point which would seemingly be so easy to set at rest. Mr. Bingham does not seem to endorse altogether Prince Metternich's story, that the marriage was celebrated by Cardinal Fesch the evening before the day on which Napoleon was crowned Emperor—but then Prince Metternich had an object in not believing the story to be true.

Life of Garibaldi. By J. Theodore Bent (Longmans and Co.).—Mr. Bent, whose enthusiasm for all free states and peoples is well known, has written a very interesting and successful short account of the great Italian patriot. It is not strange, indeed, that the narrative of Garibaldi's life should be interesting, full of romance and adventure as his seventy-five years of life have been; but, in the case of one with whose great deeds have

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always been interwoven great errors, it is not easy to write sympathetically and yet impartially. But Mr. Bent contrives that his appreciation of his hero's greatness should not interfere with recognition of his shortcomings, and shows the key alike to the good and evil of Garibaldi's career; in his childlike simplicity, which let him be an easy prey; his success as a soldier; his failure as a statesman; and, through all, his blind devotion to his country. That Garibaldi's life is really the history of the struggle of Italy from the weakness of petty principalities, which allowed her to become the victim of any European court, to the strength of a united nation and free constitution, is at once a surety of the fulness of material in the hands of any biographer. A period that embraces the struggles on behalf of their country of a consummate statesman like Cavour, a master of guerilla warfare like Garibaldi, and an ardent patriot like Mazzini, is a chapter of history not surpassed at any time for interest. The way in which Cavour utilised the important qualities of his rash general at the same time that he counteracted his defects, was not the least successful part of a most successful policy. Garibaldi hardly ever throughout his life met with a just measure of praise or blame as regards his powers and his employment of them. Flattered and fawned on at Venice with the fulsomeness of indiscriminating admiration, treated on other occasions with coldness by the man for whom he had won a kingdom, the victim even of a treachery such as that of Ratazzi in the affair of Aspromonte, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that in his old age his judgment has become perverted, and, from being the advocate of freedom and government in accordance with freedom, he has become the supporter of anarchy and the bitter opponent of all rulers.

Reminiscences of Thomas Carlyle. 2 vols. Edited by James Anthony Froude (Longmans and Co.).—No form of biography approaches autobiography for interest, and late years have given us two admirable examples of this kind in John Stuart Mill's and Miss Martineau's accounts of themselves. With these "Carlyle's Reminiscences" cannot take rank—though, from his outspoken judgments on many living people, they met with as eager a reception at the time of their appearance. Carlyle was one of those who outlive their influence on their generation—partly because of a very decided personality which naturally ceases to exert itself with age, partly through a considerable narrowness of vision, which was in one sense the cause of his strength, but which prevented him passing from the needs of one generation to those of another. By his philosophy truly—if one can call his peculiar and rugged transcendentalism by that name—he contributed nothing to the permanent stock for the guidance of human life: who indeed can understand it, with its extremities, abysses, and capital letters used as lightning conductors for his emotion? But his fervent hatred of shams, his universal scorn for everything that was petty, that made for show rather than reality—these qualities it was which, revealing themselves in flashes throughout his writings, had a permanent effect on his time.

But his powerful personality overshadowed all his judgments; he had nothing but contempt for the gentle humour of Lamb, while his remarks on Shelley make us sorrow that the man who of all others needs a discriminative mind for his comprehension should have come within the scorn that Carlyle hurled Titan-like at all—and they were many—whom his narrow intensity hindered him from understanding. Personal kindnesses availed nothing to stem the relentless criticism of those who crossed his path. All that were not

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with him he considered to be against him, and not only against him, but against truth and light. His attitude towards modern science, of which he was totally ignorant, is an instance of this spirit. The pleasing parts in the book are those which describe by firm and sympathetic touches the Presbyterian father, with the rugged nature he transmitted to his children, and the stern adherence to Puritan tradition the spirit of which, if not the letter, clung likewise round his son to the end of his days. Of the picture of Carlyle's wife, too—the only person who had any softening influence on his life—there is nothing but praise, save of a certain self-absorption and selfishness on his part which it reveals.

To Mr. Froude, Carlyle left the complete discretion of publishing the "Reminiscences" or withholding them altogether. His publication of them has been the subject of severe criticism, and many think that we should refrain from judging a man who wrote under the influence of strong grief and disease. The silence of suffering commands respect even when accompanied by paralysis of the will; but when a man gratuitously puts on paper his inarticulate cries with a half-wish that they should be given to the world, our judgment need surely be no longer withheld. Mr. Froude could not have considered that they gave impressions wholly false, or he would not have published them. And with all the excuses that can be made for the perversion of the mind by illness and old age, we cannot but think that the impression given is in substance the true one, distorted though it may be by the shadows of approaching death.

Thomas Carlyle. By M. D. Conway (Chatto and Windus).—It was only natural that the publication of the "Reminiscences" should bring an influx of contributions from those who had known Carlyle, in order to promote what they considered to be a juster view of his character than the world would or could gather from his autobiography.

Of all these, by far the best is Mr. Conway's, and partly because it is no instance of special pleading, but gives the simple memories of the man as he revealed himself in his conversations with the author throughout his life.

Mr. Conway does not try to alter the picture left by the "Reminiscences," but he says plainly that he does not recognise the portrait, and tells us how Carlyle appeared to him. It is needless to say that the picture is a very different one—the outlines are softer, the tone more mellow, and only here and there are we reminded of the harsh judgments and narrow measurements of men which are reflected in Carlyle's portrait of himself. Now that the "Reminiscences" are published, it is useless to go back on the question of the advisability of their being given to the world. Neither do we, indeed, agree with those who would have suppressed altogether the unfavourable view of Carlyle's character. For, after all, how a man passes through the furnace of grief—though it be heated ten times—is in some measure an index of both heart and head; but it is equally just that we should know him—as Mr. Conway lets us know him—before his mind was overclouded or his vision dimmed by tears.

Life of Richard Cobden. By John Morley (Chapman and Hall, Limited).—The life of Cobden is an opportune contribution to the present ...ssion of one of the strong points of political economy which is just now ... assailed with renewed vigour.

... Morley has had at his disposal the unreserved use of Mr. Cobden's

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correspondence, and the aid of Mr. Bright who fought side by side with Cobden during the whole of the Anti-Corn Law struggle. This material Mr. Morley has most judiciously employed, and the biographer does not obtrude his personality throughout, giving no more of comment and exposition than is necessary as a background to the picture traced in Cobden's letters.

From these, indeed, we learn his life without much further explanation. Self-taught as far as higher education is concerned, he began life in business in Manchester, but soon gave his mind principally to educational and municipal reform. His was no narrow provincial mind, though his first-hand familiarity with business impressed its stamp on all that he undertook. It was county first and home and business afterwards, with consequent gain to the first and as decided a loss to the other. Whether a man should receive State aid or private contributions when his affairs suffer through neglect of them for the public weal is always a very difficult matter to judge rightly, and is practically decided according as the critic is friendly or the reverse. Mr. Morley has certainly been a very lenient judge in the matter, though we think few would be disposed to blame him.

That Cobden had no respect for tradition—though Mr. Disraeli, with that curious felicity which characterised many of his judgments, praised him for that very quality—may be explained by his early career, with absence of public school or college life, that great nursery of conservative instincts. The late Mr. Bagehot remarked with perfect truth that the anomaly about Cobden was that he was a sensitive agitator, and this is clearly evident in his letters. Indeed, he never showed that callousness to criticism and to other people's feelings that distinguishes the typical reformer, though he always had the courage of his opinions, which he delivered with simple emphasis. Nor did he, like most of his kind, appeal exclusively to sentiment, his logical mind being never satisfied without first convincing the head. That the struggle to which he gave his life was not a class struggle, as many would affirm, is another point decided for all time by his life and letters. The free-trade agitation from first to last is an instance of his belief that when once a thing has been acknowledged as true in theory, it is a duty to leave no stone unturned to take action upon it as a practical power.

Caroline Fox, Journals and Letters. Edited by Horace N. Pym (Smith, Elder, and Co.).—Volumes of reminiscences may have appeared of late years which promise to throw light upon the characters with whom the author was thrown, but very few came up to the expectations formed of them by a curious public. With Caroline Fox the case is very different; the memories of old friends which her diaries and letters recall are distinct additions to our knowledge of the political and literary characters with whom she was brought in contact. Her memory, extending back almost to the passing of the first Reform Bill, is only surpassed by the power of recording conversations. Her records are all the more valuable and interesting from the fact that the people of whom she writes did not consciously "pose" before her, as they too obviously have done before certain well-known keepers of diaries and journals. The result is that we gather some idea of the natural conversation and thoughts of such men as Coleridge, Washington Irving, Carlyle, Wordsworth, and of a host of others whom we chiefly know as our fellow-men through the artificial media of professional biographers, to whom perhaps unconsciously they acted parts, or with whom they were never wholly off their guard.

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Sir Christopher Wren. By Lucy Phillimore (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.).—It is not often that biographers of men of genius belonging to the past have the advantage of working in apparently untrodden paths, but, strange as it appears, the "Parentalia" by Sir Christopher's son and a couple of works by Mr. Elwes in 1823 are the only records of his life.

Miss Phillimore gives us an account of the Wren family from 1552, and particularly of the architect's uncle, Matthew Wren, Bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and finally of Ely (through the influence of Andrewes and Laud), who was persecuted by the Long Parliament for idolatry when his nephew was passing his career at Westminster and Oxford. Sir Christopher's life, extending as it did from 1631 to 1723, was passed among probably the most interesting times in all history. He saw the rise of the Puritan party against Charles I., the impeachment and execution of Strafford and Laud, the victory of the Puritans under Cromwell, marked by the wrecking of all public monuments, and finally the triumph of the Royalists, to which party he and his family had always belonged.

Sir C. Wren would have made a name for himself in science had his attainments in that direction not been obscured by the greater results which he achieved in architecture. While at Oxford he took a prominent part in philosophical discussions, which were the germ of the Royal Society; and, almost before he had finished his studies there, he was appointed, in 1659, Gresham Professor, an office which he resigned in 1661, only to be made Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford.

His first architectural work was Pembroke Chapel, undertaken for his uncle Matthew, as a gift to Cambridge, on his release from prison, where he had been a scholar under Andrewes. From that he passed on to repairing the damages done by Puritan violence, and particularly to patching up St. Paul's, the work of Inigo Jones, whose successor Wren afterwards became. The fire of London in 1666 facilitated his desire to build a new cathedral, and he and Evelyn both submitted plans to the king for the rebuilding of the city. It is interesting to see what London might have been had Wren worked his will. We are apt to think that the present age is alone to be credited with sanitary science; but, in his petition to the king against mean habitations, Wren made a vigorous effort after sanitary improvement in trying to get rid of alleys and wooden houses; but the necessity of rapidly housing the people and the usual difficulties of property and vested interests prevented the success of his endeavours. The number of City churches and Halls of Companies, besides what he did at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere, testify to the unremitting labours of Wren's life, not confined, as we have seen, to this art alone. A return to Parliament in 1700, as member for Weymouth, must have diversified his career, but we hear nothing of it, nor of his political opinions. Indeed, the biography is wanting—though from no fault of the author—in material for an acquaintance with Wren's inner life, with the exception of little glimpses of his natural kindness of heart in helping young artists. We learn little of his character, but of external interest and well-worked material it is full.

A Biography of David Cox. By William Hall (Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.).—This account of one of our chief water-colour painters will be welcomed by all who appreciate the open-air charm of his works, as well for the intimate connection it shows between the artist and his style as for the singular simplicity and appreciativeness of the narrative.

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Mr. Hall was an intimate friend of the artist, for thirty years accompanying him on many of those sketching expeditions to Wales which they both loved so much, and having a technical knowledge of the same art, combined with a poetic temperament which makes itself felt throughout the biography. He describes the early struggles of Cox, first as apprentice to a miniature painter in 1798, then as scene-painter at the Birmingham Theatre, until he reached comparative ease as drawing-master to the Military College at Farningham, with pleasant appreciativeness.

Cox's love of scenery led him to accept a position as teacher of drawing in a girls' school at Hereford in 1814, where he settled for fourteen years, increasing his knowledge of Wales, which he never after wearied of in writing his books of lessons for students. With the exception of three times to the Continent, he never left his native country, finding ample material for inspiration in his favourite Wales and in sketching excursions to Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and the Lakes. He tried London life once more in 1827, for the sake of its social pleasures and increased opportunities for success, and soon attained a comfortable position from his importance as a teacher. In 1841 he returned to Harborne, near Birmingham, which he never left, except for his annual visit to Bettws-y-Coed, until he died.

Mr. Hall strikes us as singularly happy in the discriminating remarks he makes on the secret of Cox's power and on the technique of his art. The usual characteristics of present-day criticism would be out of place directed towards Cox, whose drawings are eminently simple, honest, and truthful as his own character, reflecting his long and intimate communion with nature, and marked by a total absence of self-consciousness, mannerism, or laboured grace.

The adjectives suitable to express his characteristics are few in number as the colours he used, which enabled him to seize more happily than even Turner the particular genius of English landscape and atmospheric effects. This biography, with its self-effacement and easy narrative style, is not without its reward for the author, who gains almost as much as the subject of his work.

Life of William Whewell. By Mrs. Stair Douglas (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.).—This volume of letters is at once interesting and disappointing: interesting, as showing the genial heart and kindly nature of a man far above most in power and ability; disappointing, as giving us too slight an impression of his mental calibre, and too little of his opinions on literature, philosophy, and the matter generally of his published writings. If a smaller share of space had been devoted to domestic correspondence, charming as this is, and more to such letters as those to Hare and Spedding, it would have seemed more in keeping with his long life of eager work and usefulness. His academic labours, too, might have taken a more important place, for to him are due many University reforms and much of the arrangement of the Triposes which now prevails. The history of his career, indeed, as Master of Trinity, and of his important share in all college work, still remains to be written.

His outward life was one of steady success; his character sunny, expansive, and needing the sympathy and comprehension which he met with from his contemporaries. Among the most interesting letters in the book are those between himself and Hare; and one written by the latter when Whewell must have been near fifty, reproving him for that vehemence by which he was always distinguished, and which so often created an unfavour-

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able impression of him, shows the deep and steady friendship which existed between them. Hardly less interesting, though less personal, are others to Thirlwall on his scheme for admitting Dissenters to Academical degrees; to Mr. Myers, on the relation of Church and State, suggested by a work of the latter (too little read) called "Catholic Thoughts;" and to Mr. Spedding, upon his intended refutation of Macaulay's views of Bacon.

The Letters of Charles Dickens. Edited by his sister-in-law and eldest daughter (Chapman and Hall, Limited).—This collection of letters is intended to supplement the "Life of Dickens" by Mr. Forster—exhaustive in itself, but incomplete as regards correspondence. The letters are arranged chronologically; so that, as Dickens was a most constant letter-writer, they form a continuous narrative in themselves without the need of explanation. The collection dates from 1833 to the day of his death in 1870, and includes many which have appeared elsewhere, but also some new ones. No one ever showed himself so thoroughly in his letters as did Dickens; his sincere and hearty nature, his benevolence, mode of work, and earnest desire to excel in all he undertook, shone forth in the simplicity and complete absence of pose in his correspondence. In the matter of conscience as regards quality of work he was a true artist. "Everything worth doing at all is worth doing well" was his motto; and throughout these letters this spirit is everywhere apparent. His grave English style, too, with its exceeding facility of expression, is among the best of its kind, a kind which does not—after the opinion of Talleyrand—disguise the thoughts of the writer.

Biographical Studies. By the late Walter Bagehot (Longmans and Co.).—These studies are in a way the pendant to the literary studies which showed that in Mr. Bagehot's death we not only lost an important economic writer, but also one of considerable critical acuteness in all literary matters. The same characteristics appear in both studies. We have the clearness and brilliancy of touch, the epigrammatic and often pictorial expressiveness; but also a certain want of historical sympathy and a tendency to epithet-using which sometimes resolves itself into a begging of the question for decision. This volume contains some studies of past politicians, as Bolingbroke; but its interest no doubt chiefly centres in the discussion of Victorian statesmen like Gladstone, Disraeli, and Lowe. Mr. Bagehot had a very shrewd mind, and one that was keenly analytic, and it is interesting to see how far his opinion in the case of our present politicians has been verified or discredited by the course of events.

Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Munro, K.C.B., Selections from his Minutes, &c. By Sir Alexander J. Arbuthnot. 2 vols. (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.). The name of Sir Thomas Munro is known chiefly to the general reader through the instrumentality of Mr. Gleig, who many years ago published his life.

The present volumes will be less interesting to the public than to students of Indian administration, and to those whose lot it is from time to time to carry on the government of that country.

The work now before us was first undertaken at the suggestion of the Madras Government between fifteen and twenty years since, but its publication has been delayed from various causes. The first volume contains, in addition to a well-written memoir, various letters and despatches bearing upon questions of revenue which came under Munro's notice; the second volume being devoted to matters judicial, political, military, and miscellaneous.

The letters are well arranged, and the work must have a definite value.

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A Pilgrimage to Nejd. By Lady Anne Blunt (John Murray).—Books of travel belong to the most ephemeral class of literature, and it is only in those rare instances, when the narrator combines accuracy and discernment with charm of style, that the journal of any excursion, however adventurous and however far removed from the beaten track, possesses any interest ten years after the date of publication. The present work seems to be one of those which deserve a better fate. Nejd is a district of Arabia lying to the south of the great Nefud or desert, and it includes the city of Haïl, which is the seat of the Emir Mahommed, the leading chief and breeder of horses among the Arabs of to-day. Lady Anne Blunt and her husband started from Damascus in the end of 1878, and travelled first through the then prosperous country of the Hauran Druses, where since the expedition of Midhat Pasha in 1879 an Ottoman governor replaces the native sheykhs, and Turkish misrule extends to every village in the district. Thence she went to Iof, an oasis on the edge of the desert, across which they travelled after a short halt. Our traveller's account of the Nefud is more sober than Mr. Palgrave's well-known piece of word-painting, the unconscious exaggeration of which their description is intended to correct. The desert of crimson sand is not wholly bare and desolate, but tufted over with vegetation, and sprinkled with mounds of lighter sand and with uniform lines of hoof-shaped hollows. Haïl, where they stayed some time, is not an imposing city, and the first view of the famous stud proved somewhat disappointing; but the Emir, the ideal Bedouin, who having gained power by a series of crimes, nevertheless exercises it beneficently, and his domestic life was full of interest to the travellers. Hence they went to Bagdad with a train of Persian pilgrims, and through the Tigris valley to Bushire. Such a journey was of course attended with troubles and adventures; but courage, and a thorough knowledge of Arab ways brought them safe through difficulties. Lady Anne's journal is pleasantly written in a style entirely devoid of affectation, and Mr. Blunt's historical and geographical notes add to the value of the book.

Six Months in Meccah, and my Journey to Medinah. By T. F. Keane (Tinsley).—This is an account of the Mohammedan pilgrimages to Meccah and Medinah undertaken by an Englishman professing Mohammedanism for the purpose in the pilgrim season of 1877–78. The author, a sailor of not more than twenty-five years, as we gather from some chance remarks, has apparently a most familiar acquaintance with the East and Oriental languages. The excitement of the journey he undertook is realised when one considers that his life as a Christian was not worth an hour's purchase in the midst of the fanatic Arab population, and that his safety depended entirely on his accurate observance of the numberless details of Mohammedan religious life. His account of Meccah at the great annual gathering, of his companions and of a certain Englishwoman, the Lady Venus whom he discovered living in disguise, is given with considerable humour and narrative power. The interest accorded to his Meccah experiences, induced the author to continue the story of his travels in the Hezaj with an account of his further pilgrimage to Medinah which he made from Meccah.

Still acting as Mohammedan servant to the Amee—a rich native of India, he accompanied him to Medinah and thence back to Bombay—this journey was more full of actual adventure than the other. His hardships by the way were really very considerable, and after an attempted assassination by a Bedawi whom he had punished for summarily sharing his dinner, he narrowly

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escaped being buried alive. Mr. Keane does not prose in the least as a skilled traveller. Indeed, it is the novelty of the situation, combined with his unvarnished account, which bears the stamp of truth, that distinguishes his book from the ordinary run of the literature of travel.

In the Ardennes. By Katherine S. Macquoid (Chatto and Windus).—This is a pleasantly written record of a picturesque journey through the Belgian Ardennes—a district but little known, with the exception of Spa and perhaps Dinan. From the account here given, it is a journey that cannot fail to delight such travellers as can put up with clean inns and simple fare, and who do not find life barren in a country where there are none of the luxurious hotels that tend to take away the distinctive characteristics of foreign travel for the wealthy Englishman. The story of our author's rambles is freshly and simply told, and the interest of the book, which is in all respects well got up, is increased by a large number of illustrations by Mr. Thomas Macquoid.

England Without and Within. By Richard Grant White (Sampson Low and Co.).—It is always interesting to learn the views of an outsider on our domestic affairs, to see ourselves to a certain extent as others see us. Mr. Grant White is a shrewd and usually accurate observer, and, unlike the large majority of American visitors to England, he starts with a strong prejudice in our favour. Unfortunately he made few notes, a fact which he seems to consider as a recommendation of his book, whereas slips of memory not unfrequent lead him into misstatement of fact and confusion of ideas. It is curious to note the extremely favourable view he takes of the English climate, which he maintains is the more conducive to an open-air life and healthy bodily exercise than that of America, with its extremes of heat and cold. His verdict is contrary also to the generally received opinion respecting the comfort of the American system of railway travelling. He gives his voice, "without hesitation or qualification," in favour of the English system, as the one by which the personal comfort and individual wishes of the traveller are consulted as far as possible. Moreover he is loud in the praise of English public officials of every kind, and looks upon policemen as the perfection of attention and civility. Mr. Grant White is occasionally, though rarely, unfavourable in his remarks; the inevitable criticism on the dress of Englishwomen is to be found at great length, and he is severe on minor traits. But as a whole he has but little fault to find; and while a number of small inaccuracies might be signalised, the general impression that Americans—for whom, of course, the papers are specially written—are likely to gain from the book is a view at once pleasant and truthful of England, the English climate, life, and manners.

Virginibus Puerisque. By R. L. Stevenson (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.).—It is curious how the light essay originated by Addison and Steele, and in our own generation employed so effectively by Charles Lamb and Hazlitt, seems completely to have disappeared from modern literature. Our magazines are filled with theological, or scientific, or historical studies, and seem to miss altogether what should be their object—the employment of spare half-hours which cannot be devoted to more serious work. Mr. Stevenson has already shown, in two little volumes describing his summer idyls, what he can do in the way of work at once amusing and full of delicate discriminativeness. This volume of essays contains better writing of the same

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kind, though not descriptive; he has evidently modelled himself on Lamb, and with much success. They are all various topics, such as Idling, Intercourse, Falling in Love, &c., as they present themselves to the individual not too young to be critical, and not too old to consider them matters of importance. But it is the grace of expression and extremely subtle observation that make the charm of the book, a charm of quality only equalled by the analysis of character Mr. James gives us in his novels.

The Myths of the Odyssey. By J. E. Harrison (Rivingtons).—This book marks an attempt to popularise the now growing study of archæology. Miss Harrison invites that portion of the public whose taste leads them to delight in the beauty of Greek mythology, to see what light the craftsman can throw upon some of the most beautiful of all myths—those of the Odyssey. She has represented the six most fully represented in ancient art, and has placed side by side with these, as told to us by Homer, the commentary of the gem-engraver and the vase-painter, interweaving such explanation as is necessary to an appreciation between the literary and the artistic treatment. We have in all seventy illustrations—which do not reproduce, as they might, the spirit of the originals—taken from every kind of available material, ranging between 500 B.C. and 300 A.D. Etruscan sarcophagi, mirrors, gems, vases, terra-cottas, Pompeian wall-paintings and Roman reliefs, all are found to yield something that will help to a better comprehension of the great story-teller, and enable his readers, at this distance of time and feeling, to get nearer in spirit to the age of whose floating-lore he made such a world-enduring monument.

To know what to leave unsaid is not less important than to know what to say, but perhaps, at the present time, to know how to say it must come before either, and in this the author has certainly succeeded.

Introduction to Comparative Mythology and Folk-lore. By the Rev. Sir G. W. Cox, Bart. (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.).—Sir George Cox has long been known as a zealous student of Aryan mythology, and the introduction to it he has now published will be welcomed by those who are interested in the subject. It is written in the same clear and attractive language as his previous works. It contains a general view of the vast mass of popular traditions belonging to the Aryan nations of Asia and Europe, starting from the principle that those of no one people can really be understood except in their relation to those of other tribes and nations of the same family, and that the epic and dramatic literature of those races has been constructed from materials common to all branches of the Aryan stock, and furnished by popular sayings, stories, and tales, many of which have never had the good fortune to be more than the talk of nurses and children. "The examination of the vast storehouses of Aryan popular tradition leads the author to the conclusion that it owes its existence to words and phrases which expressed the sensations and thoughts awakened in primitive generations of mankind by the sights and sounds of the outward world." In the proportion that these phenomena are important and impressive, the sayings belonging to them are numerous and striking. Among these sun, moon, and stars stand out with special prominence, and to them are attached a vast series of myths embodying the phenomena of the heavenly bodies and of light. Then follows a multitude of fables describing with singular exactness the phenomena of clouds and water of the upper and the nether worlds, of winds and

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dew and storms. "The myth," to quote the preface, "is a parasite which will twine round any stem, and in each case it is the business of the mythologist to ascertain the nature of the stem if he would account satisfactorily for the peculiar forms of its vesture." The great literary skill with which the special knowledge of an abstruse subject is moulded into an attractive form shows that it is the work of a master's hand, and this gives to the book the conspicuous merit of being readable.

Journal of Hellenic Studies (Macmillan and Co.).—The progress of classical archæology and its position as a science is attested by the "Journal of Hellenic Studies," which appears in half-yearly numbers, the text being accompanied by drawings and facsimiles of works of ancient art produced by the best processes possible and having a permanent value. The quality and success of the articles are ensured by the contributors, who include among them such scholars as Mr. Newton, Mr. Sayce, Mr. Jebb, Mr. Murray, Mr. Colvin, and others. Within the past year the subjects discussed have included matters of philology and inscriptions, art and manufacture, history and antiquities, excavation and travel. The articles are full of the last results of research and criticism, and though not appealing precisely to the general public, are full of importance for scholars and for students of the Classical Tripos in its latest development.

Introduction to the Study of English History. By S. R. Gardiner and J. Mullinger (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.).—This work is intended to provide some help for students who, having gone through the ordinary school course, wish to devote themselves to the special study of some part of the history of their country. The first part, by Mr. Gardiner, consisting of some 200 pages in all, contains an able and comprehensive sketch of the whole period of English History, to enable the student to grasp those general outlines, and to trace that sequence of events which he ought to have thoroughly mastered before seriously entering on the detailed study of any one generation or century. The introductory chapter takes a rapid survey of the various forms of ancient government, the great Asiatic monarchies, the Greek republics, the marvellous Roman organisation, and the evil days of her too easy victory, with the growth of the Church on the ruins of the empire. Then with the second chapter we have a description of the Roman occupation of Britain, the Augustine Mission, the Teutonic and Danish invasions, and the gradual rise of a national life. Details of wars and political cabals are excluded as far as is consistent with clearness, while the gradual growth of parliamentary organisation, the long struggle between the monarch and the pope, the slow development of the constitution, are presented in an easy flowing style, often picturesque, and sometimes epigrammatic. Mr. Gardiner goes on to show how the nation, weary of civil war, and dreading the return of the anarchy which had prevailed under the forms of constitutional government, willingly submitted to the almost despotic power of the Tudor sovereigns, describes the breach with the Roman Church, the religious fluctuations of the state and people, and the final establishment of the Anglican church under Elizabeth. He points out how it came about that the very variety of that queen's sympathies with the complex and ardent life of her time, while it made her conduct shifting and uncertain, gave her an abiding place in the hearts of every section of her subjects. He is even more successful when he reaches his own special period relating to the struggle between the Stuart kings and their parliaments, to the Protectorate

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the Restoration, and the Revolution. The rugged strength of the Puritan character, holding fast to the idea of moral purity which it had conceived, receives that ample justice and sympathetic treatment which the author has already shown to the monastic enthusiasm of the early Church, and to the violent revulsion of feeling which inspired the almost pagan ideas of the Italian Renaissance. The concluding chapters are devoted to the rule of the Whig aristocracy, that period characterised by the predominance of reason without active energy for the common good, and the gradual awakening of a sense of public morality, and a demand for a higher ideal of government, ending with a sketch of the influence exercised upon England by the French Revolution. Mr. Mullinger's share in the work, though less interesting to the general reader, will prove invaluable to the student. He gives all the best authorities for the study of each period, carefully distinguishing the contemporary sources of information from those of later times, and supplying such comments as to allow the reader to form a fairly accurate notion of the author's value as an authority. This is done with evident impartiality; and while of course the list does not pretend to be an exhaustive one, it is quite sufficient to enable the student to pursue his investigations with comparatively little further assistance. The index deserves mention on account of its completeness, a feature extremely important in a book of the kind likely to be frequently used for reference.

French History for English Children. By Sarah Brook (Macmillan and Co.).—It is necessary, no doubt, that the choice of school subjects for instruction should be somewhat arbitrary, but we have often wondered why the line should be drawn at French history. Ancient history finds a place at an early age, but of modern history in our English schools only that of our own country is considered necessary.

We hope that Miss Brook's book will change all this, as indeed it should do, for it is a very pleasant account of French history down to the death of Napoleon, written with great clearness and simplicity, and without digressions. Four hundred pages of large type with nine maps make an attractive volume, and the concluding chapters on the Revolution and on Napoleon, with a few pages devoted to what has happened within the sixty years that have since elapsed, are all that they should be.

Dryden. By George Saintsbury; **Landor.** By Sidney Colvin; **Wordsworth.** By F. Myers; **De Quincey.** By David Masson. **English Men of Letters Series** (Macmillan and Co.).—It is sometimes overwhelming to think of the quantity of second-hand criticism on literary matters with which the next generation will be provided, but if it must be so it is well that it should come from really competent hands. This series has on the whole been successful in this object, though of course some of the Men of Letters have been handled with much more insight and discrimination than others, and the four issued are an example of this. But for an occasionally too colloquial style, Mr. Masson's "De Quincey" is in every way good; the story of a life but little eventful—the most important part of which was the connection with the Lake school, and the author's own inner experiences—is well and simply told, while the chapter on the general characteristics of De Quincey's work is done with the firmness of touch and conclusiveness of criticism which distinguishes Mr. Masson's other writings.

Mr. Saintsbury has had a difficult task in hitting the mean of admiration and depreciation with regard to Dryden; for what with Johnson and Scott on

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the one hand, and Macaulay and Green on the other, there surely has been no one subject to such extremes of criticism.

We think that Mr. Saintsbury inclines too much to adoration for his author, and that he is not happy in the choice of adjectives which he applies in criticism of his special characteristics; but the setting of Dryden's life and times is well done.

Mr. Myers has been carried away by emotion in dealing with Wordsworth, and his adjectival and artificial language is but little suited to the treatment of one who discovered nature for his generation, and purified eighteenth century style. But the best part of the book is the letters hitherto unpublished of Dorothy Wordsworth, that charming sister whose relationship with her brother, like that of Lamb with his sister, is one of the most interesting of literary friendships.

The prose writers seem to be more fortunate on the whole than the poets, for Mr. Colvin's account of Landor, whom we may fairly reckon as among the former, is another instance of good work. His criticism of the least appreciated of men of letters is dispersed throughout the book, rather than summed up at the end, as is Mr. Masson's; but it contains some things excellently well said about the man who was before all things a scholar, whose gaze was for ever fixed on classical models, and whose excess of style resulted from the Hellenism which he affected, and which has been often assumed since his day without the real interpenetration of Greek thought and feeling which characterised him.

First History of England. By L. Creighton (Rivingtons).—The competition between the different educational publishers to bring out cheap and sound school books still continues. No subject seems to be neglected in this respect; and while attempts to make classical studies easier and more attractive still continue to be numerous, the departments of English language, history, and literature seem equally well supplied. In no branch of literature has more improvement been shown lately than in books for young children, both of amusement and instruction. At the latter class Mrs. Creighton has always been an adept, and the book before us is no exception to the rule. It is really what the name implies; and no children old enough to read history at all could find it other than interesting and perfectly within their comprehension. Especially happy is Mrs. Creighton in her knack of bringing ideas and general principles within the range of child-mind, and this gives her work a value which the histories of facts and battles of our youth never had, and shows what good fruit the modern historical school has already borne. It also contains numerous illustrations —those necessary landmarks in early school books.

The Life of Cromwell, by F. W. Cornish (Rivingtons), is the sixth of the series of historical biographies which have done much to fill up unavoidable gaps in the handbooks of history which generally prevail in schools. It makes an effort to kindle enthusiasm for great men and their deeds, and to take advantage of that disposition to hero-worship which is always present at a certain age, and which may as well be turned towards worthy objects. If this volume is hardly so interesting as those on Simon de Montfort and the Black Prince, it is carried out on the same principles which distinguish the series as a whole; the facts of social life being grouped round the prominent figure, and the movement of the time and general features of the age being accurately set forth.

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A Geography, by L. B. Lang (Rivingtons), gives a physical, political, and descriptive account of the British Empire, with maps. In a little more than two hundred pages we have a clear and, on the whole, extremely accurate description of England and its possessions; and space is found also for a short historic account of the latter. The book is well up to date, with some trifling omissions, and will form a useful handbook preliminary to, or together with, larger works.

Arnold's Greek Prose Composition, edited by Evelyn Abbott (Rivingtons), is easier than Mr. Sidgwick's "Prose Composition," as it is intended, indeed, for an earlier stage. The arrangement is particularly simple and clear, and the type excellent. Any one who works through this practical introduction to Greek prose will have made himself familiar with the most common constructions, and be enabled to pass on to the finer shades of meaning.

POETRY.

With a few notable exceptions, the poetical productions of the year are stamped with the influence of one or other of the leading contemporary masters. The swarm of imitators that has for years past followed Mr. Tennyson seems now to have given place to a school dominated by the genius of Mr. Rossetti and Mr. Swinburne.

Poems, by Oscar Wilde (David Bogue), is a prominent instance in point. With considerable fluency and some cleverness, the author always leaves the impression that he has nothing to give that has not already been given by stronger hands.

Dorothy: a country study in elegiac verse (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.), is in striking contrast to the foregoing. It is a simple narrative of country life treated in a thoroughly homely fashion, but always interesting from the freshness and wholesome feeling for nature which is invariably present. Though there is no trace of plagiarism, it recalls in a measure the work of A. H. Clough. It is published anonymously.

Songs of a Worker. By A. O'Shaughnessy (Chatto and Windus).—This posthumous volume, on which the author had been engaged for some eight years, is composed of original lyrics and of translations from modern French poetry. The former, though not of uniform merit, are marked by much of the tender grace which distinguished the poet's earlier volumes—"An Epic of Women," "Lays of France," and "Music and Moonlight." The melancholy tone which pervades them seems in harmony with the circumstances under which they appear. The literary career of Mr. O'Shaughnessy, if it had not altogether redeemed its youthful promise, might still have done so, and more, had it not been prematurely cut short by his lamented death last spring. The translations from recent French lyrists, such as M. Prudhomme and M. Coppée, are exceedingly clever.

Bible Tragedies, by Richard Hengist Horne (Newman and Co.), is a volume comprising three dramas, one of which ("Judas Iscariot") is a reprint, with slight alterations, of a play published in 1848. The other two, which are new, scarcely rise to the same level, though "John the Baptist" contains some admirable passages.

Pygmalion. By Thomas Woolner (Macmillan and Co.).—Mr. Woolner is already known, like Mr. D. G. Rossetti, as a worker in a double field

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His poem "My Beautiful Lady," published many years ago, revealed no mean poetical power. In the present case he seems to have chosen a peculiarly congenial subject. The earlier part of the book, which describes Pygmalion in his studies and the daily life of his mother and her maidens, is written in flowing and unaffected verse. The sculptor is at work on a statue of Hebe, for which Ianthe, one of his mother's maidens, has stood as model. Aphrodite, whose aid he has invoked, promises him,—

> "Your Hebe shall have life
> And immortality. For times to come
> Shall sing your story. Not the sweetest dream,
> As stretched you lay on shadowed forest bank,
> Has ever promised such a paradise
> As mine awaiting you."

The artist and his model have fallen in love with each other, though Pygmalion is scarcely conscious of it till asked by his friend Orsinus to sue on his behalf for Ianthe's hand. In attempting to comply with this request the truth comes out, and Pygmalion exclaims, "Oh, mother, I have found her! Hebe! she is come to life." In this fanciful manner Aphrodite's prediction is fulfilled. Mr. Woolner has handled his pretty subject *con amore*, in verse which, if not absolutely great, is, at all events, graceful and natural.

Amongst metrical translations, reference should be made to "The Georgics of Virgil," translated into English verse by James Rhoades (C. Kegan Paul and Co.); to "The Crowned Hippolytus" of Miss Mary F. Robinson (Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.); and Mr. A. C. Stephen's translation of Michael Lermontoff's poem, "The Demon" (Trübner and Co.), the subject of Herr Rubinstein's opera of the same name.

Ballads and Sonnets. By D. G. Rossetti (Ellis and White).—It will be remembered that Mr. Rossetti's first volume, which appeared ten years back, contained some fifty sonnets towards a "Sonnet-sequence," to be called the "House of Life," with the promise that the series should be completed at some future time. That promise is now fulfilled. The "House of Life" appears in its entirety as a collection of one hundred and one sonnets, which, though opinion is not altogether unanimous as to their merits, certainly constitute the most remarkable contribution to this kind of literature which the present generation has seen. Although their production must have extended over a good many years, there is little to distinguish the style of the later from that of the earlier sonnets. The Lyrics, thirteen in number, of which "Sunset Wings" is one of the prettiest, are hardly up to the general level of the poet's excellence. At the end of the book come several sonnets, including five to English poets, viz., Chatterton, Blake, Coleridge, Keats, and Shelley; one to the murdered Czar Alexander the Second, and several for pictures. Of the three ballads, "Rose Mary," "The White Ship," and "The King's Tragedy," the first is by far the most interesting, and is in every way a very remarkable and powerful poem.

In the domain of dramatic poetry two important works have appeared.

Savonarola: a tragedy by Alfred Austin (Macmillan and Co.), has been constructed, as the author informs us, with a view to scenic representation. Whether, if acted, it would be likely to prove a stage success is a question not easily answered; but there is no doubt it possesses very considerable merit

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as a poetical production. The first act concludes with the death of Lorenzo di Medici. The portrait of the great æsthete who refuses to the last to restore her liberties to Florence, and dies unshriven by Savonarola, is drawn with a powerful and sympathetic hand. The expulsion of the Medici, the conspiracy of Tornabuoni, the acts of the French King, and all the circumstances which combined to elevate the Prior of St. Mark's to the height of popularity, are as graphically described as his subsequent fall. The burning of the "Vanities" furnishes the opportunity for one of those humorous episodes with which the older dramatists delighted to relieve the gloom of their tragedies.

Mary Stuart. By Algernon C. Swinburne (Chatto and Windus), is described in a few dedicatory lines addressed to Victor Hugo, as the completion of the trilogy of which "Chastelard" and "Bothwell" formed the first and second parts. Taken as a whole, this must be looked upon as the most remarkable dramatic poem which has appeared for many years. Supposing each part to have been intended as a separate stage play, which is pretty obviously not the case, all would no doubt be open to the charge of incompleteness and lack of the necessary action. It is only when viewed as a whole that the unity of intention becomes duly clear, or that the power with which the plot is developed can be adequately appreciated. The words of Mary Beaton in the last act of "Chastelard," when the poet dies a victim to his passion for the Queen and to the jealous hatred of Darnley, form the key-note to the two succeeding parts. As Chastelard's head falls to the cry, "Thus perish the Queen's traitors," Mary Beaton, it will be recollected, exclaims,—

> "God do thus much to her
> For his sake only; yea, for pity's sake
> Do thus much with her."

And a herald is heard crying,—

> "Place for my lord of Bothwell next the Queen."

The second part of the trilogy deals mainly with the illicit loves of Bothwell and the Queen, and the tragic death of Darnley; and ends with Mary's expulsion from Scotland. She takes refuge in England, accompanied by Mary Beaton, whose words, forming the concluding line of the play—

> "But I will never leave you till you die,"

taken by the Queen as a protestation of fidelity, really embody the idea of vengeance for Chastelard's death.

"Mary Stuart" opens with the Queen a prisoner at Chartley, and the centre of Babington's conspiracy. Whether or not the characters and motives of the several conspirators are depicted with historical accuracy, they are certainly handled with great dramatic skill, great prominence being given to the strange fascination of Mary's beauty which Chastelard had predicted would lead so many men to death. When through the ministerial spies the plot is exploded, the conspirators arrested, and Mary has been brought to trial and condemned, Elizabeth, urged by the Ministers to sign the death-warrant, hesitates for a long time, chiefly from considerations little creditable to her. Indeed, the character of the English Queen as here depicted is utterly mean and contemptible. Knowing Mary to be a permanent source of danger to the throne, she is anxious to have her removed. Yet she

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hesitates to sign lest she should shake the popular belief in the inviolability of kings, and invites some one sufficiently devoted to her service and forgetful of his own honour to rid her of her rival by secret assassination. However, Mary Stuart's fate is decided by other agencies than considerations of statecraft. Mary Beaton has in her possession a letter written by her mistress some time back, full of "fierce infamies afire from hell," addressed to the "Virgin Queen." This letter had on second thoughts been given to her by the Queen, with orders to burn it, but had been retained by her as a possible weapon of vengeance. The soliloquy in which the *dame d'honneur* debates whether she will use it or not is one of the finest passages in the play. The opportunity is now before her for which she has been watching all these years since she saw—

> "Fall the most faithful head in all the world,
> Toward her most loving and of me most loved,
> By doom of hers that was so doomed of him
> He could not love me, nor his life at all,
> Nor his own soul, nor aught that all men love,
> Nor could fear death nor very God, or care
> If there were aught more merciful in heaven
> Than love on earth had been to him. Chastelard—
> I have not had the name upon my lips
> That stands for sign of love the truest in man
> Since first love made him sacrifice of men,
> This long sad score of years retributive
> Since it was cast out of her heart and mind
> Who made it mean a dead thing; nor, I think,
> Will she remember it before she die,
> More than in France the memories of old friends
> Are like to have yet forgotten; but for me
> Haply thou knowest, so death not all be death,
> If all these years I have not had in my mind
> Through all these chances this one thought in all,
> That I shall never leave her till she die."

Before deciding finally she tests the Queen's faithfulness by singing one of Chastelard's love songs:—

> "That very swan song of thy love
> My love that wast, my love that wouldst not be,
> Let God forget her now at last as I
> Remember. If she think but one soft thought,
> Cast one poor word upon thee, God thereby
> Shall surely bid me let her live; if none
> I shoot that letter home and sting her dead.
> God strengthen me to sing but these words through,
> Though I fall dumb at end for ever."

Here follows the beautiful *chansonette* from Chastelard, beginning,—

> "Après tant de jours après tant de pleurs
> Toyez secourable à mon âme en peine."

But the Queen, though she remembers the strain, has forgotten the singer,

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and her fate is sealed. The letter is sent to Davison, who at the close of an interview in which he vainly tries to persuade Elizabeth to sign the warrant on grounds of policy, finally clenches the matter by showing it to her. The drama has its faults, which have been freely criticised. Some of the speeches are too long and involved: that of Queen Elizabeth on being shown the letter would be inadmissible before any audience from its coarseness; but notwithstanding blemishes it must rank as a great achievement, the only recent English work worthy to rank with the masterpieces of Victor Hugo.

The following are the chief works of fiction published during the past year:—"Washington Square" and "The Portrait of a Lady," by Henry James, Junior; "John Inglesant," by J. H. Shorthouse; "The Private Secretary," by Grenville Murray; "Adam and Eve," by Mrs. Parr; "Clifford Grey," by W. M. Hardinge; "Kith and Kin," by Miss Fothergill; "Moths," by Ouida; "My Love" and "The Rebel of the Family," by Mrs. Lynn Lynton; "Ajala's Angel," by A. Trollope; "The Ten Years' Tenant," by J. Besant and W. Rice; "Sunrise," by Wm. Black; "A Romance of the Nineteenth Century," by W. H. Mallock.

ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

I. THE FINE ARTS.

Archæological Discoveries.—The year 1881 did not boast of anything in this field which could be compared with the extraordinary discoveries that rewarded in 1880 the excavations undertaken by the Prussian Government at Pergamos, but it was not without its share of comparatively modest results. The discovery of the tombs of the monarchs of the twenty-first dynasty at the Deir-el-Batiori was one of the most remarkable events in the history of Egyptian research. This mine of treasures had been carefully concealed by the Arabs, who occasionally sold some of the contents to travellers. The chief interest of the discovery consists in the confirmation which it brings to the accepted succession of the twenty-first dynasty; for the papyri and other inscriptions appear, it is said, to be ritualistic, and not of historical interest. In Greece, the excavations previously undertaken by the French at Delos were resumed, the chief find being two archaic statues of Artemis. The Archæological Society of Athens cleared at Epidaurus the most beautiful and perfectly preserved theatre in the world. It was built by Polyclitus to hold 30,000 spectators; and besides less important fragments a fine statue of Hygeia was found, to which the head and arms (below the elbow) only were wanting. It is reported to have been the work of Polyclitus himself, and is conjectured to have adorned the hyposcenium. The splendid theatre at Assos was under excavation also in the course of 1881, by the American Archæological Institute, but it had been used so extensively as a quarry by the Turks, that the excavators found nothing left beyond the outline, with here and there a slab in place, which gave a hint of its earlier character. This theatre was dug out of the slope of the Acropolis, the walls of which, in magnificent condition, showed in different places three different styles of building, representing three different periods—the so-called cyclopean, polygonal, and lastly and best preserved, the Macedonian. A small theatre was also discovered at Ægion; and some three hundred terra-cottas,

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many of which were works of great artistic value, were unearthed at Tanagra. In Italy an altar of remarkable beauty was found in the excavations carried on in the neighbourhood of Ostia. It was conjectured to be Græco-Roman of the second century, and was decorated with subjects illustrating the births of Romulus and Remus, sculptured in such high relief that some of the figures were almost detached from the ground. On one side is the Palatine, washed by the waters of the Velabrum, and the shepherd Faustulus looking down from the cliff upon the twin boys; on another, Rhea, Sylvia, and Mars, with a genius above drawing them together; while on the third cupids are figured playing with the helmet and arms of the god. This altar was the most important work discovered at Ostia for some time past, and was in a fine state of preservation. At Rome, the "Laurinium" or hall for vapour baths, built by Agrippa, together with the Pantheon, seven years before the completion of his therma, has been uncovered, during the progress of works by which the Pantheon itself is now completely disengaged from the buildings which disfigured it. From what has been brought to light of its remains, the "Laurinium" appears to have been a rectangular hall, 150 feet long, 70 feet wide, with sixteen niches for colossal statues, and a tribune back to back with the high altar of the Pantheon. The vault was supported by eight huge pillars, four of which were of fluted *pavonazetto*, four of Oriental granite; the pavement was inlaid with Oriental marbles, as were also the walls. The entablature is said to have been a marvellously fine piece of decoration, the frieze being especially beautiful. Acanthus leaves, with dolphins, tridents, and shells, are the leading motives of the design as shown on the various fragments which have been found. A discovery of no ordinary interest was also made by accident, for the military engineers who were digging the fortifications on the summit of Monte Mario laid bare an historical tomb—the tomb of that daughter of Fundanus whose death at the age of fifteen is touchingly recorded by Pliny in his Letters (5th book, 15th letter). A Greek mosaic of marvellous beauty was also disinterred in the track of the railway from Reggio to Villa S. Giovanni; it is rectangular in form, is executed in black and white, and shows in the centre a biga driven by a nude figure, holding the reins in the left hand and poising a trident in the right. Nor must our list be closed without allusion to the discoveries at Notabite, of which the Government at Malta have lately issued a report. The objects found consist of a series of five large floors of mosaic pavements; three mosaic pictures embedded in matrices of stone; the remains of three white Carrara marble statues—one of Greek origin, another representing a male figure wearing the ordinary Roman military cloak, the third a female covered with a garment resembling that worn by the Ceres Julia Augusta found at Gozo; besides these there were various fragments of Latin inscriptions on white marble slabs, and coins of Gordian, Aurelian, and Constantine, together with minor articles. In London, the excavations for building purposes on the premises of Messrs. Tyler, 2 Newgate Street, resulted in a rich find of Roman antiquities, amongst which occurred several coins of Claudius and Nero; three large leaden cylinders or *situlæ*, with designs in relief on the outer surfaces, each enclosing a perfect glass urn of considerable dimensions. Combs, *styli*, horns, and a bronze spur have also been found.

National Institutions.—The British Museum.—Most of the grant to the department of Greek and Roman antiquities was absorbed by the balance due for the Spinario purchased in 1880, but several purchases were made, of

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which the following were the most important:—Terra-cotta kylix, with polychrome design on a white ground, the fashioning of Pandora by Athene and Hephaistos (this cup is remarkable for its size and the beauty of the drawing, which is slightly archaic); a gold fibula of Etruscan workmanship, in very fine condition and of great beauty; a circular mural painting, in very fine condition, from Herculaneum, representing Glaucus and a sea-cow; four terra-cotta statuettes from Tanagra, very fine specimens. The collections were also enriched by the bequest of two bronze helmets, a pair of greaves, six gems, two gold rings, and two ornaments of gold from the late W. Burges, R.A.; and by various gifts, the chief of which was a stone figure of Hercules, twenty-one inches high, inscribed with the name of the artist, Diogenes, and of the dedicator, Sarapiodoros, son of Artemidorus, found in the palace of Sennacherib at Kouyunjik in excavations by Mr. Rassam—not very good sculpture, but interesting on account of the name of the artist. Other portions of the Burges bequest, in the shape of arms, armour, and illuminated MSS., found their place in the different collections of the Museum. Several cases were received from Mesopotamia containing inscribed tablets; in the cases received from Van, besides inscriptions, were several archaic ornaments in bronze, ivories, and two shields decorated with concentric rows of animals; and amongst a considerable collection of objects from Kouyunjik were an onyx patera, and the socket of a gate inscribed with the name of Sennacherib. The Print Room received some drawings by R. Wilson as the gift of Mr. Francis. Considerable progress has been made with the alterations; the bulk of the Etruscan sculptures and terra-cottas have been placed in the north-west corner room of the upper floor. The contents of the old Egyptian rooms were gradually transferred to the rooms destined to receive the Egyptian antiquities.

The South Kensington Museum.—An exhibition of objects of Iberian art was held in the museum in June. It was especially rich in embroidered robes of extraordinary splendour, and metal work of great beauty. Amongst the armour was a remarkable demi-suit of steel engraved with foliage, and trophies in silver and gold made for Philip II. There was much fine goldsmith's work, enamel, and jewellery; Moorish jars; statues carved in wood, coloured and dressed; ivories; illuminated MSS., &c.; and amongst the paintings a remarkable reredos from the Cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo. The retirement of Mr. Poynter from the post of Art Director took place this year, and was followed by the appointment of Mr. T. Armstrong as Art Director, coupled with that of Mr. Sparkes as Principal of the Training School.

The National Gallery.—The annual report of the Director, Mr. Burton, was issued in March, and contained the usual particulars as to the expenditure of the Government grant and of the trust funds. The practical results of the new regulations seem to have been satisfactory. During the first five weeks after the opening of the Gallery to the public after noon on the students' days (Thursdays and Fridays) nearly 2,000 persons were admitted, each of whom paid sixpence: these fees amounted to 48*l.* 13*s.* This increased attendance was considered encouraging by the Director, who assumed that the annual receipts from this source will cover the salaries of the extra attendants required. The number of visitors was, during the public days of 1880, 1,036,125, showing an increase of 322 on 1879. The "Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian," by B. Cotignola, formerly in the church of S. M. della Carmine at Pavia, bought by the late Sir W. Boxall from Signor Baslini at Milan,

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was purchased in London for 60*l.* during 1880 from Signor F. Sacchi. The trustees of the British Museum presented—"Portrait of a Man," attributed to Sir A. More; "Portrait of Anna Maria Schurmann," life-size, holding a book, by Jan Lievens; "A Hunting Scene," by J. Weenix; and "A Landscape," attributed to R. Wilson. The following pictures have also become part of the national collection through the gift of Mrs. Green (besides the three works already mentioned under 1880):—"A Portrait of a Man in an Attitude of Prayer," early Flemish of the fifteenth century, a half-length figure in black; "The Visit of the Virgin to Saint Elizabeth;" "Christ crowned with Thorns," a half-length figure, nearly life-size, wearing a crimson robe, otherwise naked, and relieved on a gold background; "Flight into Egypt," by J. Patinir; "The Virgin and Child," a work of the school of the Lower Rhine; "Christ appearing to the Virgin after His Resurrection, a triptych of the early Flemish school; "The Mocking of Christ," a crowded composition of the early German school; "The Crucifixion," German school of the sixteenth century; "The Virgin and Child and Saint Elisabeth," an example of early Flemish work of the fifteenth century. A picture by A. Canaletto, named "Ruins and Figures," which was bequeathed to the country in 1837 by Lieut.-Col. Olney, has recently been placed in Room X. It is one of several paintings lent in 1862 to the Department of Science and Art, and was originally numbered 135 in Trafalgar Square: it now bears the number 1,099.

The National Portrait Gallery.—By an intelligent alteration in the mode of lighting the interior of the National Portrait Gallery, the Office of Works succeeded in doubling the wall space available for hanging pictures and improved the look of the collection. The windows which used to look into the garden of the Horticultural Society have been covered over within the building, leaving the glass as before, and thus not affecting the architecture and the exterior. By this means, not only is the whole of the north side of the long gallery at Mr. Scharf's disposal for the reception of portraits, but the reflections of the windows which formerly glared from the opposite walls have been abolished. The roof has been pierced, and windows have been inserted throughout its length on both sides. A continuous lantern has in this way been constructed, not an inch of wall space is wasted, and the portraits will be displayed to greater advantage. From the published report of the Gallery we find that purchases have been made of portraits of John Gay, William Augustus Duke of Cumberland, Queen Catharine of Braganza, Admiral Hood, De Conyers Middleton, S. Lover, Sir R. Rainsford, C.T., and of fourteen other engraved portraits. Donations have also been received of portraits of Lord Clyde (pen-and-ink), W. M. Thackeray (bust as a boy of thirteen), Dr. S. Johnson (half-length terra-cotta by J. E. Boehm), Lord Bexley (half-length black and red chalk), and Mrs. Siddons (half-length white marble). Later in the year the Gallery was further enriched by the bequests of Lord Hatherley, which consisted of a whole-length life-size portrait of himself, painted by Mr. Richmond in 1872, and representing the late Lord High Chancellor standing in his robes, his left hand resting on the purse of office placed on a table beside him, and bearing his hat in his right; a portrait of the Duke of Kent, painted by Sir W. Beechey about 1820, a half-length figure in a military uniform, wearing the ribbon of the Garter; and a portrait of the Duke of Sussex, the present Queen's uncle, painted at Rome by Guy Head in 1798, also a half-length. Sir Theodore

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Martin has presented to the Gallery an interesting life-size portrait of Peg Woffington, by Arthur Pond, painted after the stroke of paralysis confined her to her bed. Another interesting addition to the Gallery is a portrait of R. B. Sheridan (in crayon), by J. Russell, R.A.; and the national collection has recently received a bust of John Rennie, the elder, the engineer, executed by Chantrey in 1818. Mr. Millais, R.A., has become a trustee of this Gallery.

Public Exhibitions of Art.—The Royal Academy.—The fine collection of drawings in pencil by Flaxman brought together from various sources was the chief feature of the Winter Exhibition of Old Masters again opened to the public by the Royal Academy. This exhibition was remarkably rich in paintings of the Dutch school, chiefly due to the liberality of the Queen and Mrs. Hope, but Italian and English masters were also represented. The famous "Adoration of the Magi," by Lucas van Leyden, was contributed from Buckingham Palace; Rembrandt was represented by his magnificent equestrian portrait of "Marshal Turenne," as well as by various other paintings of minor importance; two works by that rare master Wohlgemutts were sent from the Liverpool Institution; Mr. Henry Hutts lent a noble portrait by Holbein of "Sir Thomas More," and amongst other noted names must not be forgotten Teniers—"The Oil Mill;" "Worship of Bacchus;" "Soldiers smoking;" Paul Potter—"Stable Door," and "Landscape with Cows;" Metsu—"Portrait of a Gentleman in Black;" Terbury—"The Burgomaster;" A. Cuyp, Van Ostade, Van der Helst, Van der Meer, and others were also represented by excellent examples. From amongst the specimens of the Italian school must be cited "A Holy Family," by Fra Bartolommeo, attributed by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Beceafumi; fragments of a fresco attributed to Giotto; "Venus and Mars," together with other fine works of Paolo Veronese; two fine Moroni; Guereino's "Prodigal Son," perhaps the best picture he ever painted; an exceedingly remarkable "Pietà" bearing the name of Mantegna, and contributed by Sir William Abdy; a most attractive Bonifazio Veneziano, "The infant Moses brought to Pharaoh's palace;" two Raphaels—an early "Virgin and Child," and the "Madonna della casa Miolini," which, together with three fine portraits by Andrea del Sarto, were some of the numerous contributions of Lord Cowper. Of the French school, Poussin's "St. John in Patmos," and of the English—Hogarth's "Lady's last Stake;" portraits by Romney; portraits by Copley of George III.'s three daughters; portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds, including one of "Lady Melbourne and the Honourable Peniston Lamb," and of "Kitty Fisher" (a sketch lent by Lord Carysfort), were the most remarkable specimens. The spring exhibition of the Academy showed a slight diminution in the number of works exhibited as compared with 1880. The chief of the serious monumental works was undoubtedly M. Legros's "St. Jerome." Sir Frederick Leighton exhibited "Elisha raising the Son of the Shunammite"; his "Idyll"—two nymphs listening to the piping of an athletic youth in a finely designed landscape—was of its kind, in some respects, one of his best works. "Whispers," a group of two lovers, was somewhat over-sweet, but the colour of the sunset clouds against crimson flowers and the white marble of their seat was very fascinating; "Viola" and "Bianca" were refined studies of beauty such as the President's admirers love, his portrait of Mrs. Stephen Ralli was good, and his portrait of himself, dressed in the red gown of a D.C.L., a half-length destined for the Uffizi, was not only one of the finest portraits he

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has ever painted, but one of the finest which the present century of English portrait-painting can show. The serious, stately romance of M. Val Prinseps' "Indian landscape" was remarkable, and had a novel character of its own; his "Solomon" had fine qualities of tone and colour. Mr. Long's popular "Diana or Christ" was a decided improvement on his previous showy efforts; Mr. Poynter's "Helen" and portraits of Lord Wharncliffe and Mrs. Bell maintained his rank, and Mr. Watts sent five portraits, of which those of Sir Frederick Leighton and of Mr. Matthew Arnold were perhaps the most noteworthy. That of Mr. Arnold, somewhat coarse and markedly Semitic in aspect, was nevertheless a striking likeness. Mr. Alma Tadema was never seen to greater advantage than in his brilliant and noble "Sappho and Alcæus," one of his finest works, admirably designed, pure in colour and light, and handled with a finish and care which wore an air of spontaneity. Mr. Millais, in addition to his charming "Cinderella," contributed six portraits, of which the most noticeable were his sketch of "Lord Beaconsfield" and a remarkably fine full length of "Lord Wimborne." M. Van Haanen's "Two Washerwomen—Venice," admirably good, as far as it went, giving the actual peasant not the Madonnaesque aspect of Italian beauty—was an instructively different version of the same subject as treated by Mr. Fildes in his showy and clever portrait of a third young washerwoman called "A Venetian." Mr. Goodall's "Road to Mecca" was one of his best contributions, and amongst other works which demand notice we may mention Mr. J. Collier's "Last Voyage of Henry Hudson," purchased by the Academy with the Chantrey bequest; Mr. Herkomer's "Missing," inquirers for the lost crew of the Eurydice, a dramatic subject dramatically treated; Mr. F. Holl's "Home Again," the Guard's return, wearied and wounded, from the wars; Mr. Boughton's "Hester Prynne," which, in spite of certain mannerisms which seem to be growing on the painter, had a rare individuality of aspect. and his "Schevening"; Mr. H. Moore's "Scarborough Bay," which was quite up to his highest mark; Mr. Crowe's "Explosion of the Cashmere Gate at Delhi," and his very diverse work "Sandwiches," a group of "board-men" lunching on the steps of Trafalgar Square; Mr. Hook's three fresh studies of "Sea-coast;" Mr. Mark's droll "Episcopal Visitation;" Mr. Leslie's pretty group of children at play, called "Hen and Chickens," which showed delicate characterisation of girlish airs and ages. Mr. Rivière's most noticeable contribution was "Let Sleeping Dogs lie," but "A Roman Holiday," and "Envy, Hatred, and Malice," both gave evidence of his remarkable spirit and powers in painting all animal passions; nor must our list close without mention of Mr. Waterhouse's clever "Rival Roses;" Mr. Stone's attractively popular "Married for Love," and Mr. A. Hughes' "The Sailing Gun." Amongst the sculpture one of the best busts was that of "Carlyle" by Mr. Boehm, to which his bust of "Mr. Gladstone" stood second—very good in surface modelling, but wanting something of structure; there were some good points in the bronze bust of the President by Mr. Brock; Mr. Raggi's bust of Cardinal Newman, though extremely clever, was somewhat insufficient. Mr. Armstead exhibited a decorative panel, "The Obedience of Joshua," destined to be placed in the Guards' chapel, St. James's Park, as a companion to that which he contributed last year, and his diploma work, "The ever-reigning Queen;" in both these works, which were well designed, and treated with great interest and taste, something seemed wanting which increased science in the adjustment of the almost imperceptible differences of plane (which are all the

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sculptor has to work with in treating low relief) will give. In addition to the work by Mr. Hodgson already mentioned, the Academy purchased from the Chantrey fund "In a Moment of Peril," a large bronze equestrian group by Mr. Thomas Brock. Messrs. Briton, Rivière, and Walter Ouless were elected Royal Academicians; Mr. Thomas O. Barlow, Royal Academician engraver; Messrs. Frank Dicksee, figure painter; Hamo Thornycroft, sculptor; John Brett, marine painter; Andrew Gow, figure painter; and W. Burges, architect, were elected Associates; Mr. Burges died shortly after his election, and we have also to chronicle the deaths of W. Alfred Elmore, R.A., Solomon Hart, R.A., and W. Street, R.A., and the retirement of Mr. Redgrave.

The Grosvenor Gallery.—The chief works at the Winter Exhibition of this gallery were M. Burne Jones's designs for windows in Salisbury Cathedral, two decorative panels, a curious panel, "Cupid's Hunting Ground," modelled in low relief, afterwards gilt and coloured, and two designs from the Roman de la Rose; Mr. Walter Crane's decorative compositions, "The Zodiac" and "Night and Day;" and Mr. Alma Tadema's studies from the life—"Mars and Venus," and "Bacchus and Silenus." Mr. Millais sent an early design for a window, and Mr. Poynter a design for figures of "St. George," "Fortitude," and "Purity," intended for a mosaic in the House of Lords; there were also some good drawings by Mr. George Howard and Mr. Fulleylove, and in the foreign section MM. Haspignies, Mesgrigny, Cazin, and Yon were represented. The most startling and ambitious, if not the most successful work in the May gathering was "Charon's Boat," executed by the proprietor of the gallery himself; but Mr. Millais sent there his "Sweetest Eyes ever Seen;" Mr. Watts his grand bust called "The Wife of Pygmalion," and other works; Mr. Poynter, his study "Judith;" Mr. George Howard, some excellent landscapes; Mr. Holman Hunt, a curious and able portrait of Professor Owen; Mr. Herhomer, an excellent portrait of Mr. Ruskin; Mr. Hardy, an admirable study of a tiger called "Sleeping Beauty." Mr. Whistler, with a portrait of Miss Alexander, was in his best mood; "Blossoms" and "Forget-me-Nots" were two brilliant studies by Mr. Albert Moore—apparently slight, but full of learning; there were one or two good portraits by Mr. Richmond, who also contributed a well-designed and seriously intended work, "Behold the Bridegroom Cometh," which was, however, rather insufficient in execution. "Ave Cæsar! Saturnalia," a new version of his well-known Claudius by Mr. Alma Tadema, was, perhaps, the jewel of the whole collection, with which, indeed, we meant to close our list; but Mr. Holiday's "Breeze in St. George's Channel," Mr. Walter Crane's "Europe," "The Laidly Worm of Spindleston Heugh," and a fine drawing of "The Refectory—Rivaulx Abbey," should not be forgotten.

The Society of Painters in Water-colours.—Some first-rate drawings by that learned artist, Herr Menzel, whose amazing powers of characterisation and delineation were happily exemplified by a series of varied sketches, of which the best was "Lady at a Spinet." Two fine works by Mr. S. Palmer, "The Prospect," from "L'Allegro," and the "Eastern Gate;" Mr. Moore's "Light Breezes;" good drawings by Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Waite; some graceful and delicate little "bits" by Mr. Allingham; an excellent study, "Mending Nets," by Mr. A. D. Tripp, and Mr. A. W. Hunt's extremely delicate drawing, "Whitby—Fair Evening," were the most noteworthy works of the English members. A melancholy interest attached, at the Winter

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Exhibition, to a last contribution from the hand of Mr. Samuel Palmer, "Eventide." Again, we found a number of pretty drawings by Mrs. Allingham, and there were some ambitious, but rather unequal illustrations to the "Merchant of Venice," by Mr. Wallis. Other names, already mentioned, were worthily represented, but the chief feature of the exhibition was M. Alma Tadema's very personal rendering of "Pandora"—with deep interest she gazes on a sphinx-crowned coffer of greenish-bronze, which told in contrast to that wealth of auburn hair, crowned with violets, in which the painter delights. The Society is to be congratulated on the fact that this fine work is destined to form part of the collection of diploma pictures which is in course of formation. Professor Menzel was elected honorary member, and Messrs. Du Maurier and Pilsbury associate exhibitors during 1881, and the Society lost by death, Samuel Palmer, one of its ablest members.

Institute of Painters in Water-colours.—At the Spring Exhibition were some very attractive drawings amongst the landscapes by Mr. G. Hine. "Twilight, Midhurst," a solemn study of the shades of evening creeping over hills and woods beneath a sky rose-tinged with the serene flush of sunset; "Mount Harry, near Lewes," a silvery-grey effect of air on broad chalk downs, and "Seaford Bay and Cliff." Mr. Mugford, in "Breeze and Sunshine," gave a bright sketch of a boat on the sea-beach, her sails filled with a strong wind. Mr. Gregory, in his "Last Touches," treated the interior of an artist's studio; Mr. Fulleylove was at his best in a fine architectural study, "Roman Bath at Nîmes;" his larger romantic picture, "From—'For the Ring given to Venus,'" a subject suggested by Mr. Morris' "Earthly Paradise," although it showed a strong dash of sentiment, and much finer colour, was rather unequal in point of execution. In the Winter Exhibition, Mr. Fulleylove again showed to much advantage, his "Italian Garden," three drawings of "Cottages in Leicestershire," and "Stray Kitten" presenting very completely the various qualities of his talent. Amongst other works of interest were Mr. Gregory's "Greenhithe," "Calm on the Medway," and "On the Medway;" Mr. Wilson's "First Love"—a fat little girl making violent love to a fat little boy, who prefers his toy-boat to all her blandishments; and several excellent studies by the Hines—father and son.

The Dudley Gallery.—At the general exhibition in March, attention was attracted by some grave and beautiful drawings by the late Mr. J. C. Moore. Mr. Ruskin's "In the Pass of Killiecrankie;" Mr. Macdonald's "Interior in Mr. Ruskin's House;" Mr. Walter Crane's "To-morrow to Fresh Fields and Pastures New," and "Dian Hunted on a Day;" Mr. Goodwin's "The Atlantic at Rest;" Mr. H. Moore's "As the Tide Ebbs," and Mr. Davidson's "Moonlight on the Sea," were noteworthy marine studies. At the Black and White Exhibition in the summer, the most noteworthy contributions from English artists were the ghastly drawing of "St. Simeon Stylites," by the late Mr. Burges; Mr. Niven's "Three Nun Court" (etching): Mr. Murray's "Tower of London, on the Ramparts" (etching); Mr. Slocumbe's "Mountain Solitude;" and the late Mr. Samuel Palmer's "Early Morning" were excellent among the etchings.

The Burlington Fine Arts Club.—A numerous collection of mezzotint engravings was exhibited this year in the rooms of the Club, and a series of proofs of the "Liber Studiorum," representing various states of the prints entitled "Solway Moss" and "Ben Arthur," as engraved by J. Lupton, the former being the first work entrusted to him by Turner.

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The Fine Art Society exhibited a collection of pastels executed by Mr. Whistler, in Venice, and a remarkable series of works by Mr. Millais, R.A.

Legislation.—The following sums were voted by Parliament during the year 1881 in aid of Art:—In direct payments, prizes, &c., to encourage instruction in art in the United Kingdom, 76,800*l.*, as against 75,050*l.* in 1880. Of this, 69,120*l.* was for England and Wales, as against 65,519*l.* in 1880. In services common to both science and art (including training of science teachers, travelling expenses), 27,635*l.* This includes 6,325*l.* for training art teachers (National Art Training School, and Metropolitan School, Dublin); to salaries of Science and Art Department, 8,494*l.*; to the South Kensington Museum for administration, 41,780*l.*; to the Bethnal Green Museum for administration, 6,930*l.*; for the purchase and circulation of works of art, 24,561*l.*; to the Edinburgh Museum of Science for administration and purchases, 10,414*l.*; to the Dublin Museum, 6,463*l.* A grant of 300*l.* was voted to the Hibernian Academy, and 31,600*l.* for services common to the different divisions of the department. On account of the buildings at South Kensington, 22,141*l.*; at the National Gallery, 20,285*l.*; at the National Portrait Gallery, 2,849*l.*; National Gallery of Scotland, 2,100*l.*; and for the Science and Art Department Buildings, Ireland, 10,000*l.*

II. THE DRAMA.

It is for the successful revival of old, especially Shakespearian work, and for the free adaptation of foreign material that the year 1881 will be chiefly remembered. Although a fair amount of original work has made its appearance, some of which may pass muster even when judged by the strict canons of dramatic art, in the great proportion the colouring is too local or the construction too obviously faulty to afford hope of more than a restricted and temporary favour. Among the serious plays the most striking was Mr. Tennyson's tragedy, "The Cup," produced at the Lyceum in January, with Miss Terry and Mr. Irving in the principal parts. The story of Camma's tragic revenge for her husband's murder, found in outline in Plutarch, has already formed the basis both of a German and an Italian play, in the latter of which Ristori achieved one of her many triumphs. The piece was produced with much scenic splendour, and was superbly acted. As a poetical achievement it was worthy of its author; while it certainly exhibited a far greater dramatic power than the Laureate has hitherto revealed.

A large share of the credit for new work belongs to Mr. A. W. Pinero, who has this year produced three plays. "The Money Spinner," which was brought out at the St. James's in January, contains situations of high dramatic interest, which were made the most of by Mrs. Kendal, as the heroine, well supported by Miss Kate Phillips, as her lively sister. Mr. Hare won great applause by his humorous delineation of the character of "Baron" Croodle, a pompous old blackleg, whose mock dignity is worthy of Captain Costigan. Mr. Burnand's clever satirical comedy "The Colonel" appeared at the St. James's in February, and had an enormous run. The idea of the play has evidently been suggested by Mr. Du Maurier's skits on the æsthetic school in "Punch," the affectations of which are amusingly contrasted with the Philistine utterances of a Yankee Colonel admirably played by Mr. Coghlan. The other parts were efficiently filled by Miss Myra Holme, Miss Grahame, Miss Amy Roselle, and Mr. J. Fernandez.

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In May Madame Modjeska appeared at the Court Theatre, in a new Spanish drama, written specially for her by Mr. W. G. Wills, entitled "Juana." The piece is so gloomy in character that all the author's popularity, aided by the admirable acting of Madame Modjeska, and the more than efficient support of Miss Ward, Mr. Forbes Robertson, and Mr. Wilson Barrett, failed to save it from very decided failure. Scarcely more successful was Mr. Byron's comedy "Punch," produced at the Vaudeville in the end of May. It was well acted by Messrs. James, Farren, and Lestocq, the Misses Larkin, Kate Bishop, and Emily Richards, and the first performance was well received; yet it by no means met with the good fortune which generally attends the author's efforts.

Mr. Carton entered auspiciously on his management of the Folly in July, by affording Mr. Pinero an opportunity of exhibiting his versatile talents as an author in a new comedy of intrigue, entitled "Imprudence." This play is as purely humorous as his "Money Spinner" is emotional. The skilful working up of very slender material which distinguishes it is a feature we are accustomed to associate more with the French stage than with our own. It was afterwards transported to the Standard and then to the Imperial, and met with well-merited success.

The third work by this dramatist, "The Squire," was not brought out till quite the close of the year at the St. James's, but its success seemed to promise a prolonged run. The plot is founded more or less on Mr. Thomas Hardy's novel, "Far from the Madding Crowd;" a debt which was said to be insufficiently acknowledged, and gave rise to a complaint on the part of the author. Next to Mr. Pinero the most important contributor of original work has been Mr. G. Sims, whose sensational drama "The Lights o' London" appeared at the Princess's in September. The plot presents the concatenation of improbable events usual in plays of the kind, but it is developed with more than usual skill. Messrs. Wilson Barrett, and E. S. Millard, with Miss Eastlake, sustained the principal parts, and the unmistakable popularity achieved on the first performance was maintained through the rest of the year. The same writer's comedy, "The Half-way House," produced at the Vaudeville early in October, was also among the successes of the year, which it outlasted in its run. Misses A. Murray and Kate Phillips, Mrs. Canning, and Messrs. Thorne, Farren, Grahame, and Lestocq, the last-named affording especial amusement in the humorous part of a broker's man, were an efficient cast.

In November a new historical play by Mr. W. L. Raleigh, "Queen and Cardinal," was produced at the Haymarket, Mrs. Scott Siddons playing the part of Anne Boleyn. It was dull, and achieved but a poor success.

Importations from abroad have been not less numerous than usual, and as a rule the popularity they have achieved has been encouraging. Emile Angier's "Diane," in which the title *rôle* was once played by Rachel, was produced at the Park Theatre under the name of "Clemency." Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables" was tortured into a four-act melodrama at the Surrey; and "Michael Strogoff," the Russian spectacular drama which achieved such remarkable success in Paris, was brought out at the Adelphi in March with great splendour, and supported by an excellent company, the part of the hero falling to Mr. Warner. Mr. Byron, the adapter, has skilfully turned the laugh in favour of his own country by making a French war correspondent the butt of ridicule in the place of his English comrade.

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"Tom Pinch," a stage version of certain incidents in "Martin Chuzzlewit," by Messrs. Dilley and Clifton, brought out at the Vaudeville in March, found a most amusing Pecksniff in Mr. Farren. "Jeanne, Jeannette, and Jeanneton," a comic opera by Messrs. Clairville and Delacour, the music by M. Lacome, and the English version by Mr. R. Reece, was produced at the Alhambra in March, with an admirable ballet; and later in the year the same theatre revived in a brilliant manner "The Black Crook," a fresh version of the well-known French spectacular piece "La Biche au Bois." "Le Supplice d'un Homme" was skilfully moulded into a three-act farce by Mr. G. Sims, and produced at the Royalty in May, under the title "The Member for Slocum." At the Criterion, which has a well-established reputation for skilful and well-chosen adaptations, Mr. Mortimer's version of M. Sardou's play, "La Papilonne," came out under the name of "Butterfly Fever," and with Mr. Wyndham and Miss Eastlake in the principal parts, kept up the character of the house. Another play of M. Sardou's, "Les Vieux Garçons," brought out at the Haymarket under the title of "Reclaimed," lost its best feature, the sparkling French dialogue, by translation.

The reopening of the Court Theatre late in September, under the management of Mr. Clare, assisted by the stage experience of Mr. John Clayton, brought forward a fairly satisfactory version of Battu and Desvigne's play "L'Honneur de la Maison," by Mr. Barrymore. The cast, comprising Miss Carlotta Addison, Miss Measor, Messrs. Clayton, Henry Neville, and Arthur Cecil, was decidedly efficient, and the *mise-en-scène* excellent.

In October the new Comedy Theatre in Panton Street was opened with *éclat* under Mr. Henderson's management. The choice of the "Mascotte" as the opening piece was, as the result proved, singularly happy. The piece is adapted from the French of Chivot and Daru, with tuneful music by Audran, the composer of "Olivette," and aided by the graceful acting of Maud Cameron and the fun of Lionel Brough, won and retained popular favour throughout the remainder of the year. The success of Messrs. Sullivan's and Gilbert's operetta "Patience" was still more striking. After a good run at the Opera Comique it was transported to Mr. D'Oyley Carte's New Savoy Theatre, where it still continues to attract crowded audiences.

There have been some very satisfactory revivals, especially of Shakespearian work. At the Princess's in January, Mr. Booth, the American tragedian, alternated with Mr. Forrester the parts of Othello and Iago. His interpretation of the latter character especially was careful and studied, while Mr. Forrester's Othello rose at times to great excellence. The trying and rarely played "King Lear" afforded the American an opportunity of still further enhancing his reputation. His conception of the part showed true genius and created great enthusiasm, but with the exceptions of Kent and the Fool, well played by Messrs. Ryder and Charles respectively, the other parts were not particularly well filled. Shylock and Petruchio, in greatly abridged versions of the respective plays, were also included in Mr. Booth's repertory at this theatre. On May 2 he joined Mr. Irving at the Lyceum, playing Othello to the English actor's Iago. The anticipations aroused by the conjunction of these two stars were not disappointed. The scenery and *mise-en-scène* were beyond reproach, and Miss Terry as Desdemona and Mr. Terris as Cassio, contributed largely to one of the most remarkable presentments of the tragedy which has been seen of late years.

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The impersonation of Juliet given by Madame Modjeska at the Court Theatre in April, though it met with some adverse criticism, was tender and graceful. Mr. Forbes Robertson was an impassioned Romeo, and Mr. Wilson Barrett gave due vivacity to the part of Mercutio. Another revival, which was heartily received at the Haymarket in February, was that of "Masks and Faces," with costumes specially designed by the Hon. L. Wingfield. "Othello" and "Macbeth" were both given at Sadler's Wells with Messrs. Warner and Herman Vezin and Mr. Crowe. "London Assurance" at the Imperial, "The Belle's Stratagem" at the Lyceum, "Love's Sacrifice" at the Olympic, with Miss Wallace in the chief part, and the "Colleen Bawn" at the Standard, Mr. Boucicault reappearing in the character associated with some of his greatest triumphs, were also among the old favourites whose return was welcomed. Mr. Albery's "Two Roses," with Mr. Irving in his original part of Digby Grant, scarcely belongs to this year's revivals, as it did not appear at the Lyceum till after Christmas; but its reception seemed to promise an excellent run.

The London stage has again been honoured by visits from abroad. Mdlle. Sarah Bernhardt appeared at the Gaiety in the middle of June in "La Dame aux Camélias" for a short series of performances, which served mainly to confirm the opinion formed by those best qualified to judge that great as was the loss sustained by the Théâtre Français through the defection of this great actress it was scarcely so serious as her own. At the end of the month she made way for the Renaissance Company, who commenced a short series of performances of Opera Comique with Lecocq's "Le Petit Duc," in which Mdlle. Granier won great applause. In addition to Mr. Booth, a second tragedian of eminence came to us from America. Mr. McCullough appeared towards the end of April at Drury Lane, as Virginius in Mr. Sheridan Knowles' play, one of Macready's most famous impersonations. The part was not ill-chosen, as it showed the actor in his strongest point, the admirable delivery of declamatory passages.

On Monday, May 30, Drury Lane opened its portals to the famous company of the Ducal Theatre of Saxe Meiningen, who made their *début* in a German version of Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar" before a public on the tip-toe of expectation. Unfortunately the visit of the Comedie Française was still fresh in the memory of London playgoers. Comparison was inevitable, and this test could scarcely be borne by the German troupe. In point of scenic display, propriety of dress, and command of all the technicalities which go to compose perfect stage arrangement, they fully justified their renown. The actors played as a rule well together, and the management of the crowd evoked a chorus of admiration. But the company included only one first-rate actor, Herr Barnay, who played Mark Antony, the rest seldom rising above respectable mediocrity. "Twelfth Night" was on the whole a more satisfactory performance. Schiller's "Robbers" and "William Tell," in both of which the dramatic falls far short of the literary excellence, were followed by the "Winter's Tale." Wolff's musical drama, "Preciosa," with orchestral accompaniments and choruses by Weber, was not the least interesting performance of the series; while a German version of Molière's "Malade Imaginaire" exhibited at its weakest a company which will be remembered for many creditable achievements.

The obituary of the year includes some well-known and respected names. Mrs. Bateman, lessee and manageress of Sadler's Wells, died on January 13,

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and Mr. E. A. Sothern on the 20th. The career of the latter, commenced in America, was at first a failure, but he lived it down, and will be associated in the memory of English audiences with at least two admirable impersonations, Lord Dundreary and David Garrick. Mr. William Belford, a prominent member of the Phelps and Greenwood Company, well known for his acting in Shakespearian plays, died in June; and Samuel Emery, the original Dan'l Peggotty in "Little Em'ly," and the Party by the name of Johnson in the "Lancashire Lass," in July.

III. MUSIC.

The season at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, which opened on April 19, was on the whole brilliant, though the management is still somewhat open to the reproach of want of enterprise as regards the production of new works. The cast was even more than usually strong, comprising, besides the great names of Mesdames Patti, Albani, Sembrich, and Trebelli, a fair number of new-comers. Among these, Mdlle. de Reszké, who appeared as Aïda, gained credit for dramatic feeling and good *mezza-voce* singing. "The Huguenots" introduced an excellent soprano, Mdme. Fursch-Madier as Valentine. Both vocally and dramatically this lady was recognised as the most promising of aspirants to the *rôles* which Mdlle. Titiens was accustomed to fill.

As Rhadames in "Aïda," M. Vergnet, a pleasing light tenor, sang better than he acted; while another new tenor, Herr Labatt, who played Lohengrin, arrived from Germany with high reputation, which he did not altogether justify. The most successful of the new tenors was Signor Mierzwinsky, who made his first appearance as Arnold in "Guillaume Tell." His voice is good when not forced, and he made a decidedly favourable impression, which he subsequently improved as Raoul, and still more as Robert le Diable. Signor Sante Athos has a fine baritone voice, even throughout the compass, but without striking power. His *méthode* is artistic, and his acting finished.

The most generally interesting event of the season was the revival, after an absence of many years, of Mozart's beautiful "Seraglio," with Italian recitatives in place of the original dialogue. The exceptional vocal powers of Mdme. Sembrich, who played Costanza, enabled her to overcome with ease the great difficulties of compass and execution which have hitherto been an obstacle to the production of this opera. Osmino was more than competently represented by M. Gailhard, and Biondina by Mdlle. Valleria, while the remaining parts were sufficiently well sustained not to mar the *ensemble*. Another revival, that of Hérold's "Pré aux Clercs," though admirably done by Mdme. Albani as Isabella, and M. Soulacroix, a new-comer, as Mergy, suggested doubts whether the work is not more at home at the Opera Comique than on the Italian boards. Time did not admit of the production of Boïto's "Mefistofele," which had been conditionally promised; but Rubinstein's "Il Demonio," founded on a poem by Lermontoff, was very successfully brought out in June. The cast was remarkably strong, comprising Mdme. Albani, Mdme. Trebelli, Signor Marini, and M. Lassalle in the principal parts; and owing, no doubt, in a measure to the personal supervision of Herr Rubinstein, who conducted it, the performance was of unusual excellence. Its reception was very favourable, though how much of its

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ceptionally wild and diabolical, even for this master, founded on a scene in Nicholas Lenau's "Faust" not less fantastic in conception; a *capriccio* for orchestra by Grädener (Op. 4), and Brahms' Tragic Overture (also played at the Crystal Palace). English music was represented by Mr. Cowen's symphony in C minor, and a psalm by Mr. Villiers Stanford, a well-written composition, though the fugue movement drags a little. What attracted the chief interest of all, however, was the fine performance of Beethoven's colossal Mass in D, the difficulties of which, both orchestral and choral, are so serious that not more than three or four performances of it have taken place within the memory of the present generation. One of these was by the Sacred Harmonic Society, about ten years ago, and another by Mr. Barnby, the latter with the reduced pitch. The soloists on the present occasion were Mdlle. Pyk, Miss Orridge, Mr. Shakespeare, and Herr Henschel, and the mass was repeated at an extra concert with the same cast. In October two more Richter concerts were given, at one of which a pianoforte concerto, written and played by the youthful composer Mr. Eugene d'Albert, was enthusiastically welcomed.

The efficient, if somewhat too conservative Philharmonic Society, under the leadership of Mr. Cusins, has this year yielded in a measure to the popular thirst for novelty. An evidence of awakening enterprise was the production at the second concert on March 10, for the first time in this country as an entire work, of Berlioz's vocal symphony "Romeo and Juliet." The work was repeated at the fourth concert, and its reception, as well as that of the "Waverley" overture of the same master, played at the first concert, is a striking instance of the meteoric fame to which Berlioz has suddenly attained.

This was the jubilee year of another famous society, which has long loved to tread in the old paths of its constitution. The transfer of the Sacred Harmonic Concerts from Exeter to St. James's Hall has been accompanied by a somewhat radical reform in the *personnel* of the chorus. Sir M. Costa, who has led for thirty-four years, still retains the *bâton*, and amid the criticisms which have been lavished on the repetition of hackneyed works, it is only fair to remember that this society has been, through a great part of its existence, almost the only medium by which the public could gain an accurate idea of the great masters in the domain of sacred music. In February, at the second concert, Mr. Sullivan conducted a good performance of his sacred cantata "The Martyr of Antioch," which still fully retains its hold on the public. In March Handel's Coronation Anthem, "The King shall rejoice," afforded great delight to the lovers of his music, as did also a singularly fine performance of "Samson" on April 8, with Annie Marriott, Patey, Maas, F. King, and Bridson. The season closed with Benedict's "St. Cecilia," at which the veteran composer, who conducted, was received with warm acclamation. Oratorios have also been admirably given at the Royal Albert Hall under the able conductorship of Mr. Barnby. Mr. Ganz still further increased the popularity of his orchestral concerts by the performance this year of Glück's "Orfeo," which, even with the disadvantage of separation from scenic surroundings, deeply interested the audience. Madame Patey gave a superb interpretation of the part associated with the last appearances of Viardot, and Miss Elliott sang the music of Eurydice well. The Bach Choir, under Mr. Otto Goldschmidt, has not relaxed its efforts to popularise the music of the master whose name it has adopted; but though the Mass

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in B minor, which called the society into existence, does undoubtedly grow in public favour with each hearing, the cantata "Ich hatte viel Bekümmerniss," which was also given this year, was generally voted somewhat heavy.

Mr. Sims Reeves gave a series of "Farewell" Concerts at the Albert Hall in May, with the assistance of Madame Christine Nilsson, Madame Trebelli, and other leading vocalists. The series was unfortunately interrupted by a surgical operation which Mr. Reeves had to undergo, but his singing in the concerts at which he was able to appear was of such excellence as to evoke a general expression of hope that he may reconsider his intention of retiring.

Perhaps no stronger evidence can be found of the growth of musical taste generally, than the rapid development of suburban societies. The Hampstead Choral Society, under Mr. Coenen, now only in its fourth season, has produced with credit a large number of high-class works. The concerts of the Borough of Hackney Choral Association, under Mr. Prout, and those of the Highbury Philharmonic, under Dr. Bridge, have each attained to a much more than local reputation. Turning to the provinces attention is at once riveted on Manchester, where, to say nothing of other high-class performances, Mr. Hallé's concerts have reached their twenty-fourth series. To the skill and enterprise of this great musician is due the production this year of Berlioz's "Enfance du Christ," a work exhibiting all the versatility of the composer's genius, and bidding fair to rival in public favour the "Damnation de Faust." Other important novelties, if the term be applicable, were a serenade by Mozart for strings, oboes, horns, bassoons, and trumpets, written in celebration of the marriage of Eliz. Haffner, in 1776, and a nocturne by the same master for four groups of strings with two horns each, also written in 1776, neither of which had been previously heard in England. The serenade and "L'Enfance du Christ" were afterwards repeated by Mr. Hallé at St. James's Hall.

Three musical festivals took place this year. The first, held at Worcester in September, was, musically speaking, highly successful. The chief solo parts were confided to Mesdames Albani and Patey, and Messrs. Lloyd, Maas, King, and Henschel; the band was led by M. Sainton, and the chorus, consisting of the united choirs of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, reinforced by a portion of the famous Leeds festival choir, was of rare excellence. Included in the programme were Mr. A. C. Mackenzie's cantata, "The Bride," a work of great promise written for the occasion, and Mr. Caldicott's sacred cantata, "The Widow of Nain," also a most creditable production, very well received. Finally, Cherubini's superb Mass in D minor, scarcely better known than Beethoven's in D, was given in consummate style in the Cathedral, and created a profound impression. The twentieth of the famous Norwich Festivals was held in October, Signor Randegger succeeding Sir J. Benedict as conductor. Mesdames Albani and Patey, and Messrs. Lloyd and Santley were the leading soloists; the band was carefully picked and led by Mr. Carrodus, and the chorus, though far inferior in power to that at Worcester, was well trained. The programme comprised four new works written for the occasion, to which would have been added a fifth, had not Sir J. Benedict been prevented by time from completing his cantata "Graziella." The four in question were "St. Ursula," a cantata by Mr. Cowen, which marked somewhat of a departure from his previous style; Mr. Goring Thomas's Choral Ode "The Sun Worshippers;" Mr. Walter Macfarren's

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overture to "Henry V.," and a tuneful orchestral work by Mr. Barnett, "The Harvest Festival," described in accordance with recent nomenclature as a "symphonic poem." The new Town Hall at Huddersfield was opened in October with the ceremony of a musical festival under the leadership of Mr. Hallé, which was so successful as to warrant the hope that it may become periodical, and take a permanent place among kindred institutions. A festival of village choirs at Oswestry, under the guidance of Mr. Henry Leslie, marks the commencement of what may, under such excellent supervision, ripen into a medium of good musical education.

No new vocalist of exceptional brilliancy has appeared at any of the concerts; but, on the other hand, the year has been a gala one for lovers of the pianoforte. Besides Herr Rubinstein, Madame Schumann, and Dr. Von Bülow, a galaxy of talent not often witnessed in one year, Mme. Sophia Martin, a favourite pupil of Liszt, appeared among us, and though some of her interpretations were called in question, revealed a power which none could dispute. A *soirée* at Willis's Rooms on July 1, at which she played with Herr Rubinstein works for piano *à quatre mains*, and for two pianos, was an event to dwell in the recollection of all present. Herr Carl Heymann, a refined artist, appeared at the Crystal Palace and Musical Union Concerts, and Herr Ernst Loewenberg, one of Rubinstein's pupils, at those under Mr. Ganz. Mr. G. F. Hatton, a son of the well-known composer, and a pupil of Von Bülow, played with but moderate ability Weber's Concertstück at the Richter Concert of June 13. Among violinists, Herr Jean Becker reappeared at the Monday Popular Concerts in January, after a long absence, and M. Marsick, the celebrated Belgian *virtuoso*, achieved a brilliant success at the Crystal Palace, where, in April, two new players came before the public. These were M. Tivadar Nachèz, an Hungarian, who exhibited all the peculiarities to be expected from his nationality and training, and Herr Waldemar Mayer, a pupil of Joachim. Neither attained to more than a *succès d'estime*.

The obituary of the year includes the well-known Belgian organist and composer, M. Lemmens, who, after his marriage with Miss Sherrington, settled for years in England, but returned some time since to his native country, and died at Malines in January; Henri Vieuxtemps, also a Belgian, who, though incapacitated some time back by a paralytic stroke, will be remembered as a violinist and composer of eminence, whose death took place at Algiers in June; G. W. Martin, once renowned as a choral conductor, but of more enduring fame as a very beautiful glee writer; and Mr. C. H. Jackson, Professor of Harmony and Composition at the Royal Academy of Music, whose death in September cut short a promising career.

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SCIENCE OF THE YEAR 1880–81.

International Electrical Exhibition.—One of the most important scientific events of the year 1881 was the very interesting and admirably managed Exhibition of Electrical Appliances at Paris.

The first thing seen in approaching the Palais de l'Industrie, where the Paris Exhibition was held, was the Siemens' Electrical Tramway. A railway of this kind had already been laid down and worked by Messrs. Siemens and Halske at Berlin. The carriage is like an ordinary tramcar, the wheels of which are set in motion by a dynamo-electric machine placed between them and below the floor. This machine is actuated by an electric current produced by another stationary dynamo machine, and conveyed to the first one through the insulated rails. In the Paris railway the current was conveyed through an insulated tube overhead, on which ran a small wheel communicating by a wire with the carriage.

Of course the various systems of electric lighting were fully represented at the Paris Exhibition; among the arc lights were shown the Brush, the Crompton, the Serrin, the Jablochkoff, the Jamise, and the Werdermann; while Swan, Edison, Maxim, and Lane-Fox exhibited the incandescent lamps called by their names. The part of the exhibition which attracted the greatest number of visitors consisted of the four rooms fitted up with telephones, which were connected by wires with the Opera House, more than a mile distant. To these rooms the public were admitted in parties, and each visitor, on putting a telephone to his ear, heard the music being performed at the opera. One of the greatest specimens of electrical mechanism was the meteorograph of M. Van Rysselbughe, exhibited by the Royal Observatory of Brussels. By this ingenious instrument indications of various meteorological conditions can be recorded, not only at the place of observation, but at one or more distant stations. The instrument at Paris registered one after the other, and at intervals of every ten minutes, the state at Brussels of the temperature, the humidity of the atmosphere, the water in the rain-gauge, the direction of the wind, the height of the barometer, and velocity of the wind.

From a scientific and purely theoretical point of view, one of the most interesting objects in the Exhibition was the very complete collection of apparatus exhibited by Dr. C. A. Bjerknes, of Christiania, which was intended to illustrate the fundamental phenomena of electricity and magnetism by the analogous ones of hydrodynamics. Starting from the well-known experiment that if a tuning-fork be struck and held near to a light object it attracts it, Dr. Bjerknes has succeeded, by causing vibrations to take place in water, in producing similar results to those of magnetic attraction and repulsion. Thus he induces a couple of tambours to vibrate by the alternate compression and expansion of the air in a cylinder attached to them; when these tambours are placed in water and free to move, it is found that when the pulsations are of the same kind, that is, when both contract and expand simultaneously, they will attract each other; but when the phases are of opposite kinds there is repulsion. By another ingenious arrangement for recording the vibrations (if the expression may be used) of two drums pulsating concordantly, Dr. Bjerknes obtains a figure exactly like that produced

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by iron filings in a field of two similar magnetic poles; if the pulsations are discordant, it is like the figure with two opposite poles.

The Exhibition also contained the recently improved form of secondary battery, which early in the year attracted much attention, as a possible means of effectively storing electricity. About twenty years ago M. Gaston Planté first introduced his voltaic cell to public notice, consisting of two sheets of lead, separated by two strips of canvas, then rolled up and immersed in a battery-jar containing dilute sulphuric acid. It is charged by being connected with an ordinary battery, and the oxygen liberated attacks one of the lead plates, forming peroxide of lead, while hydrogen is given off at the other. If now the two sheets are connected a current will be produced by the oxygen leaving the plate where it has accumulated and oxidizing the other plate. This secondary current, which is small at first, gains strength each time the operation is repeated, until in course of time the surfaces of the sheets are charged, the one being covered with a thick layer of peroxide of lead, the other being reduced to a spongy mass. When the lead plates are in this state the secondary battery will store up a considerable amount of energy, which it will give up again in the form of an electric current, less a certain percentage. By a great improvement introduced by M. Faure into the Planté battery, the electricity is stored in a much more economical manner, and the capacity of the Faure cell is said to be four times that of a Planté cell of the same size; this improvement consists in coating the leaden sheets with a layer of minium or red lead, and in separating them by strips of india-rubber. By this contrivance the necessity of putting the cell for some time in connection with the battery, in order to oxidize the surface of the plate, is obviated, and the Faure accumulator will store a large quantity of electricity of great intensity for a considerable time. The first of these secondary batteries seen in this country was sent on May 9 by M. Faure to Sir W. Thomson at Glasgow. It consisted of four cells, placed in a wooden box, measuring about a cubic foot and weighing some 75 lbs.; it was charged in Paris from an ordinary Grove battery (though it might have been charged more economically from a Gramme or Siemens machine), and when it arrived in Glasgow was found to give out energy to the extent of an hour's work of one horse-power, or 2,000,000 foot-pounds. Possibly the advantage to be derived from the use of the Faure battery in its present form has been overestimated, but there can be no doubt that it affords a promise of our being able to deal with electrical energy in a highly effective and economical manner.

Advantage was taken of the presence in Paris of many eminent physicists by holding, in immediate connection with the Exhibition, an International Congress of Electricians, when many of the most remarkable phenomena of electricity were discussed, some disputed points settled, and common systems of measurement and standards arranged to be adopted in all civilised countries. Among these the most important was the fixing of the international unit of electrical resistance, and it says much for the scientific men of our own country that the Congress agreed to adopt the system of units as adopted here under the advice of the committee of the British Association. A further outcome of the deliberations of the Congress was the recommendation to appoint three international commissions; the first to determine the standard of electrical resistance; the second to arrange for a general system of observations of atmospheric electricity, and of observations of earth-currents, and to

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investigate the practicability of transmitting autographically the indications of meteorological instruments by means of electric wires; the third to fix a standard of luminous intensity to be used in measurement of electric lights. It is understood that the French Government has adopted this recommendation, and has invited the Governments of other countries to appoint delegates to these three commissions, which it is intended will hold their meetings in the early part of the present year.

International Medical Congress.—Another scientific congress of more than ordinary interest was the seventh meeting of the International Medical Congress, held in London at the beginning of August; it was attended by the most distinguished medical men of this and other countries of Europe, as well as by some from America. The congress was opened by a presidential address from Sir James Paget. In addition to papers and discussions on various medical subjects, lectures on some of the most important topics in medicine and surgery were delivered. Professor Virchow of Berlin gave an address on "The Value of Pathological Experiments," and Professor Huxley lectured on "The Connection of the Biological Sciences with Medicine." In the pathological section of this congress, the germ theory of disease, which may almost be said to have revolutionised the practice of medicine and surgery during the last few years, was submitted to an exhaustive discussion, abundantly proving that this remarkable theory is firmly established in the faith of scientific pathologists. The most important of all the communications bearing on the subject was the account given by M. Pasteur of his recent vaccination experiments. M. Pasteur has discovered that by proper treatment the special poison of chicken cholera may be obtained in a weakened or attenuated form, and that by inoculating fowls with this attenuated virus, which only causes slight local mischief, the birds are completely protected for a certain time from the active and dangerous phase of the disease, and are able to resist it for a considerable period. He attributes the cause of the attenuation of the virus to the action of the oxygen of the air, for when the poison-germs are developed in the presence of this gas the fluid containing them loses much of its virulence. By exposing the virus of splenetic fever or *charbon* freely to the air at a temperature of about 108°, Professor Pasteur found that it quickly becomes less active, and in a few weeks dies altogether. Sheep vaccinated with this comparatively inactive lymph were found to be protected from the purer and more virulent poison. Judging from the result of these experiments we may entertain the hope that by some special cultivation of every disease-virus an attenuated poison may be obtained, which, if inoculated, will protect from the virulent form of the disease as completely as efficient vaccination protects from small-pox.

Meeting of the British Association.—Fifty-one years ago, on September 27, 1831, the first meeting of the British Association was held at York; and on August 29, 1881, Sir John Lubbock, the President of the year, delivered his inaugural address to the jubilee meeting of the Association in the same city. Naturally the circumstances and surroundings led this the latest president, the last of a roll of the most eminent scientific names of the century, to review the progress of science during the half-century of eventful years which have elapsed since Sir David Brewster, Professor Phillips, and Mr. Vernon Harcourt so successfully organised the constitution of the Association. Commencing with biology, as being the subject with which he is himself most intimately associated, Sir John Lubbock alluded to Mr. Darwin's

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work on "The Origin of Species" and the theory of natural selection, as stated by him and Mr. Wallace simultaneously, as having modified or almost revolutionised the opinion of naturalists during the last twenty years. Powerfully supported as the views of Darwin have been by Huxley, Hooker, and Herbert Spencer in this country, and by Haeckel and Müller on the Continent, they have been still further elucidated by the studies and discoveries of Von Baer, Kowalevsky, and Balfour in embryology, and there is probably now no naturalist of any note who has not given in his adhesion to at all events the main lines of the Darwinian hypothesis. As regards descriptive zoology and botany, the great advance which our knowledge has made may be gathered from the fact that while up to 1831 the total number of animals described was not more than 70,000, the number now amounts probably to 320,000. Again, Morris's "Catalogue of British Fossils," published in 1843, contained 5,300 species; that now in preparation by Mr. Etheridge enumerates 16,000.

In geography, the President pointed to the theories of Sir A. Ramsay as to the formation of lake-basins, to the researches of Agassiz, Forbes, and Tyndall on the structure and motion of glaciers, and to the work of Darwin on coral islands, as having had most important effects in influencing and modifying the views of physical geographers. By the voyages of the "Porcupine" and the "Challenger," a number of facts have been brought to our knowledge which throw much light on the conditions of existence at great depths in the ocean, and on the causes which tend to form and produce changes in the bed of the sea. All these discoveries have a bearing on the history of the earth as elucidated by geology.

Astronomical discovery has been especially fruitful since 1831; at that date only four minor planets were known, now the number on the roll has reached 220. In 1845, Neptune, the outermost of the known planets, was discovered simultaneously and independently by Adams and Leverrier, and the solar system has been further enriched by the discovery of an inner ring to Saturn, the satellites to Mars, and additional satellites to Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune. The spectroscopic researches of Kirchhoff and Bunsen, of Angström, Thalén, Janssen, Lockyer, and Huggins, have greatly increased our knowledge of the constitution of the sun and stars.

The progress of our knowledge of the physical laws of nature has not been less marked and rapid. It was in 1831 that Faraday, the prince of pure experimentalists, announced his discoveries of voltaic induction and magneto-electricity, which, with the previous discoveries of Ampère and Oersted, rendered possible the telegraph of Wheatstone and the telephone of Bell, and has enabled so many inventors to solve the problem of electric lighting. In mathematical physics, the great law of the conservation of energy has been worked out, and the ability to convert one form of energy into another has been demonstrated by Clerk-Maxwell, Helmholtz, and others. The determination of the mechanical equivalent of heat by Mayer and Joule, the liquefaction of oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen by Raoul Pictet, and Cailletet, are also marks in the path of progress along which physical science has advanced during the last half-century.

The engineers have been equally busy in mechanical science. Siemens has brought out his regenerative furnace, Nasmyth his steam-hammer, Bessemer his steel converter. Since the first meeting of the British Association, railways have enveloped both continents with a network of iron, and the

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bridges and tunnels which they have rendered necessary are among the most wonderful triumphs of mechanical engineering.

Space entirely fails us to give more than the above faint outline of the President's address. Both it and the papers read to the various sections, and the opening addresses of the presidents of the various sections, were illustrations, if such were needed, of Sir John Lubbock's own proposition, "The true test of the civilisation of a nation must be measured by its progress in science;" and hold out hopes that at the end of another fifty years his successor in the chair will have to record a series of discoveries even more unexpected and more brilliant than those which he had to commemorate on this occasion.

Astronomy.

Probably the most striking feature of the astronomical science of the year 1881 is the number of comets whose appearance is recorded. The discovery of no less than seven of these wandering bodies, two of which were large enough to form objects of admiration in our northern sky, renders the name of the comet year especially applicable. We must go back many years to find the record of the simultaneous appearance of two comets both visible to the naked eye.

The first of these was discovered at Rochester, near New York, by Mr. Lewis Swift, on May 1, in the constellation Andromeda, and is known as comet *a* 1881; it presented no features calling for special remark. The great comet 1881 *b* was first detected by Mr. Tebbutt at Windsor, near Sydney, New South Wales, on May 22, and was telegraphed from Buenos Ayres on June 1 by Dr. Gould, but it was not until June 23 that its northward passage brought it into view in these latitudes. Its splendid appearance in our night sky during June and July will live in the memory of everyone who ever regards the celestial vault. And on July 18, before its glory had very materially diminished, Mr. Schäberle, of Ann Arbor Observatory, announced his discovery of another (then telescopic) comet, which speedily became a bright and conspicuous object in the northern sky; affording, with comet *b*, the very infrequent spectacle of the simultaneous visibility of two large comets to the naked eye. This was speedily followed by the return of the well-known comet of short period, Encke's, which revisits us every 3·3 years. A little later, *i.e.*, on September 21, an American amateur astronomer, Mr. Barnard, of Nashville, Tennessee, discovered the fifth of these objects, known as *e*. On October 4, Mr. Denning, the well-known observer of meteoric showers at Bristol, picked up a sixth bright telescopic comet, which has been designated as *f*. This is interesting as being one of comparatively short period, viz., 8 years and 4 months. Finally, on November 17, Mr. Wendell, of Harvard College, U.S., discovered the seventh of these strange bodies. It has been called *g*, and its elements bear some resemblance to those of a comet which appeared in 1792. From none of these bodies has much fresh information been obtained as to their physical structure, but their spectra have given unmistakable proof of the existence of carbon; and the polarisation of their light of the fact that, at least in one case, the greater part of it was reflected, and did not proceed from a self-luminous body.

Mr. G. H. Darwin has continued his remarkable investigations into the tidal evolution of the moon, the results of which seem to indicate that the friction of the tides is lengthening the terrestrial day, and that the moon is

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getting further and further from us. Thus in the distant future we must look for a gradually lengthening day and month, the day, however, lengthening the faster, so that ultimately their duration will be equal. Then we shall evidently always show the same face to the moon, as she now always shows the same face to us. If, though, both day and month are lengthening, in old time both must have been shorter than they now are; in fact, some 50,000,000 years ago, Darwin believes that the moon must have been whirled round the earth in from two to four hours, this being also the time occupied in our diurnal rotation. Prior to this he supposes that the moon had its origin in a rupture of the earth. As a strange illustration of a portion of this theory we may note that the inner satellite of the planet Mars revolves round that planet in 7h. 38m., while Mars himself takes 24h. 37m. 23s. to complete one rotation. Hence his day is more than three times as long as one of his months! We may add that, in pursuance of his researches into the lunar disturbance of gravity, Mr. Darwin has erected a pendulum of very peculiar construction in the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge, and that the movements of this pendulum are absolutely incessant and inexplicably irregular.

Only one new minor planet has been added to the list of these small bodies during the year. It was discovered by the astronomer Palisa, of Pola, on February 23.

Physics.

Further investigations with the photophone seem to show that the effects produced by this remarkable instrument are really due to the action of the radiation of the less refrangible rays of the spectrum. It will be recollected that this instrument was the result of the discovery by Messrs. Graham Bell and Sumner Tainter that the rapid intermittent incidence of rays of light on discs of hard substances produces sonorous vibrations. This discovery naturally excited much attention, and it was suspected by many—especially by the President of the Royal Society and Professor Tyndall—that the effect produced was one due to heat, and not to light at all. M. Mercadier, of Paris, was the first to show that the effects are confined to the red and ultra-red rays of the spectrum, and Mr. Preece has confirmed this theory by a careful and elaborate inquiry into the cause of the phenomena. He has shown that ebonite and india-rubber, things opaque to the light rays, are remarkably diathermanous, or transparent to the heat rays, and that therefore heat rays can act through screens of these materials. Captain Abney, by taking a photograph of the ultra-red of the spectrum transmitted through ebonite, has obtained additional evidence that this substance is almost perfectly transparent to heat, while it is absolutely impervious to light. Dr. Tyndall has used the radiophone (as the instrument must now be called) to throw additional light on his views on the influence of the degraded heat rays on absorbent vapours.

Reasoning on the relative influence of temperature and of pressure in the melting and boiling points of different substances, Dr. Carnelley came to the conclusion that, as to convert a gas into a liquid the temperature must be below a certain point, so to convert a solid into a liquid the pressure must be above a certain point. If this conclusion were correct it follows that it might be possible to have solid ice at temperatures far above the ordinary melting-point. Experimenting in this direction, Dr. Carnelley has succeeded, by

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maintaining the superincumbent pressure below the tension of aqueous vapour at the freezing-point of water, in obtaining solid ice at so high a temperature that it was impossible to touch it without burning oneself. When the ice was kept at such a temperature for any length of time it sublimed away without any previous melting. Other substances treated in the same way exhibited similar phenomena; mercuric chloride, under a pressure less than that of 420 mm. of the barometric column, behaved in the same way, but on letting in the pressure the substance at once liquefied.

These experiments of Dr. Carnelley naturally excited much interest, and were repeated by various observers in different forms, but with the same results. It has, however, been suggested by Professor Stokes that the thermometer which measures the temperature of the ice is not really in contact with the latter, but is protected from it by a film of heated vapour which prevents the ice from touching the glass except at a few isolated points.

Chemistry.

No positive advance has been made in establishing an accepted truth in the hotly debated theory as to the compound nature of the elements. Mr. Norman Lockyer, pursuing his investigations in solar physics by means of the spectroscope, claims to have found that many of the metals give, under different conditions of temperature, spectra of so different a character as to be irreconcilable with the theory of these substances being simple bodies. On the other hand, Mr. Dewar disputes not only the correctness of Mr. Lockyer's observations, but also the truth of the inferences he deduces from them. Physicists, as might be expected, are generally inclined to adopt Lockyer's views, whereas chemists are slower in giving in their adhesion to them: among the latter, however, there are many who, though not willing to go so far as to accept the compound nature of the elementary bodies, are yet compelled to admit that the elements under varying circumstances of pressure or heat exhibit phenomena of a very different character. A theoretical line of investigation depending on historical evidence, and turning mainly on the classification of the numerical values of chemical symbols, adopted by the late Sir B. Brodie, and upheld among others by Dr. Armstrong, certainly seems to corroborate Lockyer's arguments.

The spectroscope has also been applied with effect in researches in another department of chemistry. Two years ago an account was given of Captain Abney's successful attempts to photograph the extreme red end of the spectrum; pursuing his investigations in this direction he has during the last year further applied the discovery, and has in conjunction with Colonel Festing carried out some remarkable researches on the absorption spectra of several organic compounds in the infra-red region of the spectrum. The results of these researches will, it is expected, be of great importance in organic chemistry. From the account of their investigations by the two officers it appears that each organic radical has its own definite absorption in the infra-red, and that such a radical can be detected in a more complex body, the initial absorption being traced to hydrogen; in other words, the spectroscope is a means of conducting qualitative organic analysis. In all probability hydrocarbons exist also in the solar atmosphere, as it has been almost definitely ascertained that the absorption-bands and lines due to those hydrocarbons cannot be caused by absorption in our own atmosphere.

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Geology.

In geological phenomena an unusual opportunity has been given for the study of earthquakes in Central Europe; and a suggestion has been made that they may be due, in some cases, to great variations in the pressure of the atmosphere. When we remember that on an acre of land the weight of the superincumbent air is 40,120 tons with the barometer at 29½ inches; and that a fall of an inch, such as occurred in the October hurricane, suddenly diminished the pressure on every acre in Great Britain by 1,360 tons, it is obvious that compressed gases would exert increased force in disturbing the soil. In collieries a low barometer is, from this cause, a source of danger; and Mr. Baldwin Latham has found that the springs in the chalk districts increase their flow when the barometer falls, so that the millers are able to foretell the coming of rain from the augmentation of the stream. The elasticity of the crust of the earth has been curiously demonstrated by a committee of the British Association, which has been investigating the subject of "earth tides." Their experiments, made with a pendulum at Cambridge, seem to have shown that the solid crust of the earth is in a condition of perpetual movement, and that it probably undergoes a slight periodical disturbance which may be faintly parallel to that of the ocean tides.

For some years past the Geological Survey of Scotland has been engaged in the detailed investigation of the carboniferous rock between the Silurian hills which form the southern barrier of the Scotch lowlands and the English border. In the course of these investigations a complete collection of the rocks and fossils has been gathered from every available stratum, and on submitting this collection to detailed analysis, a discovery of extraordinary palæontological value has been made. From one particular zone of shale on the banks of the river Esk, an immense number of new organisms belonging to the carboniferous system has been exhumed by the survey.

The more important treasures from these shales of Eskdale and Liddesdale consist of the remains of fishes, crustaceans, and scorpions, in an excellent state of preservation. Out of twenty-eight species of ganoid fishes discovered in this district no fewer than twenty have been pronounced by Dr. Traquair to be absolutely new, and several new species of crustaceans have also been brought to light. One of the most singular features of this recent find is the abundance of the remains of scorpions in the lower carboniferous rocks of the Scottish border. A comparison of the palæozoic form with the living scorpion seems to show that they differ in no essential respect, so far at least as regards external organs; whence it is deduced that the scorpion has remained with hardly any change since carboniferous times. Another interesting feature is the discovery that some curious specimens previously known as forms of cycads, are not in reality plants, but comb-like organs belonging to fossil scorpions.

Geographical Discovery.

Numerous expeditions have been fitted out, and are still engaged in exploring in different parts of the world, but hitherto they have succeeded generally in confirming previous discoveries, or in correcting the minor errors of previous explorers. It is not yet settled whether the great affluent of the Congo, which Stanley observed in his descent of that river, is identical with

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the Uelle or Welle of Dr. Schweinfurth, which he saw rolling in a full stream to the west through the Niam-Niam country. In Thibet, the sources and course of the upper tributaries of the Brahmapootra and the Irawaddy have still to be discovered. A big lake is said to exist to the west of Nyassa, and it still remains to be settled whether the waters of this lake drain into the Zambesi, or through the Lualaba into the Congo.

Africa.—On the east, since Mr. Thomson and Mr. Stewart established a route between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, the different missionary and trading parties appear to be satisfied with settling themselves firmly in the positions they have won. It seems, however, to be plain that the water route from the coast to the Central African lakes will be found to be the most feasible and advantageous for opening up the country to the benefits of civilisation and commerce. Ascending the Zambesi from its mouth, and reaching Lake Nyassa by the river Shiré, there are only 47 miles of portage, due to rapids and cataracts, and 150 more miles of land travelling from the north of the lake brings the traveller to the south end of Tanganyika.

On the west coast Mr. H. M. Stanley has been engaged in founding a number of trading stations along the Congo. Where the falls of the river cause water carriage to be impossible he has had to make roads; but when these roads are completed he will be able to transport the steam launches in sections, and launch them on the navigable part of the river. Vivi, below the Yellala Falls, was selected as the first station, and he has now succeeded in making a practicable road for some 50 miles beyond; but there still remain about 150 miles of cataracts which obstruct the navigation of the river, before his boats can arrive at the great open reach which has received the name of Stanley Pool.

Further northward the French African Exploring Expedition on the Ogowé, under the leadership of M. de Brazza, leaving Franceville on the Upper Ogowé, traversed the country of the Létéké, and arrived at the river Alima, which the same explorer had discovered in his previous exploration of this district in conjunction with Dr. Ballay. Travelling westward, M. de Brazza struck the upper course of the Lefini, which he descended to the Congo, entering the latter river a little below Stanley Pool. Here, by the favour of the chief, Maskoko, De Brazza founded a station at Ntamo, on the southern bank of the river, and intended to be the starting-point of the steam-vessels which are to be placed on the Upper Congo. At the instance of M. de Quatrefages, it was resolved by the Geographical Society of Paris to call this station Brazzaville, in honour of its founder. Having hoisted the French flag, and leaving the station in charge of three of his men, M. de Brazza started on his return journey, following the banks of the Congo, and by the middle of November he arrived at Mr. Stanley's advanced post, then about 25 miles above Vivi, whence he regained the Gaboon and Ogowé by sea.

A practicable route, nearly the whole of which is by water, has been opened to the Upper Congo. From Franceville, on the Passa, to the Atlantic is about 435 miles of navigable river. The distance to the station on the Alima by land is only 45 miles, and the country is almost practicable for laden waggons without any previous labour being expended on it. From the station on the Alima steam-vessels would be able to descend that river, and reach the Congo at a point above its falls. It will thus seem that De Brazza's route, if all be true that is stated of it, holds out much greater prospect of success as a commercial route to Central Africa than the one now being

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organised by Stanley. Owing to various causes, but chiefly to the smallness of De Brazza's company, in which are only two Europeans, the total cost of the French expedition has up to the present been 1,800*l*., while Stanley has already expended more than 80,000*l*.

In the Tombo Mountains, east of St. Salvador, the principal town south of the Congo, Mr. Comber, of the Baptist Missionary Society, discovered a magnificent cataract, to which he has given the name of the Arthington Falls. The river Brije rushes over a steep escarpment in a grand perpendicular fall of about 150 feet, and then continues to leap and tumble for 250 feet more over a steep broken incline, making the cataract altogether about 400 feet in height. In a subsequent attempt of the missionaries to make their way to Stanley Pool, Mr. Comber was treacherously shot down by the natives of Makuta: fortunately the wound was not fatal, and Mr. Hartland, his companion, succeeded in bringing him back to St. Salvador, and soon after he set out again for the Congo. Messrs. Crudgington and Bentley, of the same mission, succeeded in reaching Stanley Pool from Vivi by the north bank of the Congo. Crossing the river just below the pool, they got as far as M. de Brazza's station above Ntamo, but notwithstanding the endeavours of the French sergeant in charge of the station, the inhabitants persisted in regarding them as enemies, as they were not Frenchmen, and they had to return to Vivi.

Mr. McCall, in charge of the Livingstone Mission Expedition on the Congo, also made his way along the river as far as Manyanga on the north bank, 135 miles below Stanley Pool. Owing to their want of knowledge of the country, the party met with great difficulties; they had to cross the river three times to avoid the rapids, and once their canoes were all swamped. Mr. McCall, however, did not succeed in reaching Stanley Pool; he was recalled to the Lower Congo in consequence of the death of Mr. McKergow, the missionary in charge of the station there. Here he was attacked with acute inflammation of the liver, partly the result of his previous journeys in South Africa; and being invalided home, he died at Madeira on November 25, 1881, at the early age of thirty-one.

In another part of the great continent Dr. Junker, a native of Moscow, is exploring the Niam-Niam territory. He left Egypt for the Upper Nile in December 1879, and seems to have followed very much in the footsteps of his friend Dr. Schweinfurth. The last news of him was dated September 1, 1880, and he had then traversed the whole of the country forming the basin of the White Nile, and was only a few days' journey from the Welle, the mystery of which river it is to be hoped he has found the means of clearing up.

One of the boldest geographical enterprises ever undertaken has very recently been brought to a successful termination. Dr. Matteucci, a well-known traveller in Abyssinia and the Upper Nile region, determined to traverse the African continent at nearly its broadest part, from the southern end of the Red Sea to the Gulf of Guinea. In this expedition he was associated with two other Italian gentlemen, Prince Giovanni Borghese and Lieutenant Massari, a naval officer of great scientific attainments. They left Suakin, on the Red Sea, on March 4, 1880, and travelled by way of Khartoum, on the Nile, to El Obeidh, the capital of Kordofan. On reaching El Fasher, the capital of Darfur, they met a number of pilgrims on their way to Mecca from Bornu, and even from Timbuktu. Negotiations for a safe-

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conduct from the Sultan of Wadai kept them at El Fasher for a long time, and it was not until October 1880 that Dr. Matteucci and Lieutenant Massari succeeded in reaching Abeshr, the capital of Wadai, Prince Borghese having previously returned to Italy from Darfur. Nothing was heard further of them until the end of July, when a telegram was received at Rome announcing their safe arrival on the Atlantic coast. After leaving Abeshr, the travellers spent some time at Lake Fittri, and then passing through Northern Baghirmi and round the southern end of Lake Chad, they reached Kuka, the capital of Bornu, having occupied two months on the journey. From Bornu they travelled to Kano in Haussa, and thence by way of Zariga and Bida to Egga on the Niger, which was reached on June 8. Here they were met by Mr. Mackintosh, the agent of the United African Company, and forwarded by him in the Company's steam launch to Akassa at the mouth of the Niger, whence they embarked for Liverpool. Unfortunately, the success of this grand enterprise was marred by the sad death of its leader. Shattered in health when he reached the Mersey on August 5, Dr. Matteucci only lived to get as far as London, where he died on August 8, when only twenty-nine years old.

Dr. Oscar Lenz, whose progress from Morocco to the centre of Africa as far as Fum-el-Hossan, the residence of the chief of the Kabyle tribe of Maribda, was traced in the previous year's summary, has continued his explorations. On May 7 he wrote from Tenduf, in the northern Hamada, that he had fallen in with a caravan on its way across the southern portion of the Sahara to Timbuktu. This town, so often mentioned, but so seldom visited by Europeans, he reached on July 1, and enjoyed during his stay there of twenty days the hospitality of the chief. Timbuktu, according to Dr. Lenz's account, has greatly fallen from the condition of prosperity it formerly enjoyed, owing to its being the great centre of traffic for this part of Africa; the incessant hostilities of the Tuareg and Fullani tribes have much reduced the trade and industry for which the town was once so noted. From Timbuktu the traveller proceeded westward by a hitherto unexplored track to Senegambia, and on November 2 he reached Medina, a French station on the Senegal. Descending that river to St. Louis, he took ship for Bordeaux, where he arrived safely.

In Central Asia, around the Pamir or Roof of the World, our knowledge is being gradually extended and fixed by both English and Russian travellers. In 1879, Dr. Regel, a son of the eminent botanist and director of the Botanical Gardens of St. Petersburg, set out on an expedition to explore the district of Kuldja; and though prevented by the suspicions of the Chinese from carrying out fully his intentions, he succeeded in penetrating to Turfan, a town situated between China Proper and Dzungaria, which since 1605, when the Jesuit missionary Goez stayed there a short time, appears not to have been visited by a European, Mr. Delmar Morgan not having penetrated further eastward than the town of Kuldja.

On the west the campaign in Afghanistan gave British officers the opportunity of enlarging considerably our knowledge of the geography of the country to the south of the Hindu Kush range. Thanks to their exertions, from 25,000 to 30,000 square miles of country, previously only known in its general features, were surveyed, with sufficient correctness to enable us to extend our maps with accuracy to the banks of the Oxus, and to connect them with the Russian surveys of Central Asia. At the same time Colonel Tanner succeeded

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in partially exploring Kafiristan, a triangular tract of country wedged in between the Hindu Kush Mountains and the highlands of Cashmere, but much remains still to be done in this district. Tradition asserts that the Kafirs are the descendants of Macedonian soldiers left behind 2,000 years ago by Alexander the Great on his celebrated invasion of India, but this belief has never been entertained by scientific geographers. The religion of the Kafirs is neither Hindu, Mahomedan, nor Buddhist, but completely pagan; they appear to have a low though rude state of civilisation, as they dwell in houses and have laws of marriage. From some relics of this people discovered by Colonel Tanner at Jalalabad, it would seem that they formerly occupied the northern part of Afghanistan, and now they live in constant hostility with its present Mahomedan rulers.

The trade routes between Burmah and the Yünnan province of China, practically closed since the barbarous murder of Mr. Margary in 1875, have been reopened for traffic. In the autumn of 1880, Messrs. Soltau and Stevenson, of the Chinese Inland Mission stationed at Bhâmo, determined to accompany the second caravan of Chinese merchants after the reopening of the route; after having overcome the preliminary difficulties with the wild tribes in the neighbourhood of Bhâmo, they succeeded in arriving at Kiuchêng in Yünnan. Here the caravan route practically ends, as the goods are transferred to other animals and taken into China Proper, while the caravan returns to Burmah. Messrs. Soltau and Stevenson first struck westward to Yünnan-fu, the capital of the province; there turning northward they entered Szechuen by the Hêng River, which brought them into the Yang-tsekiang, 1,756 miles from its mouth.

The Arctic Regions.—Mr. Leigh Smith's discovery of a navigable route to Franz-Josef Land, and of the coast of that country trending westward and then northward, will, in all probability, open a new era in the history of Polar exploration. Mr. Smith's expedition, the expense of which was borne entirely by himself, left Peterhead towards the middle of June 1880, in the steam-yacht "Eira," which he had caused to be built and fitted up expressly for ice-navigation. Frustrated by the state of the ice in his attempts to reach Jan Mayen Island and then to round the northern point of Spitzbergen, Mr. Smith tried working to the north on a more eastern meridian. On August 14 the "Eira" anchored to a floe attached to a small island in De Bruyen Sound, on the south coast of Franz-Josef Land. The remainder of the month was occupied in exploring the coast to the westward, and on August 24 the ship reached its furthest position in 80° 19′ N. and 44° 52′ E. Thence the land was seen trending north-west, and from the great size of the icebergs and the extent of glacier, there can be no doubt that Franz-Josef Island is of vast extent, possibly almost continental in its proportions. On September 1 the the head of the "Eira" was turned homewards, and after an attempt to reach from the eastward Wiche's Island (discovered in 1617, and not seen again until 1864), she returned by way of Hammerfest and Bodö to Lerwick, which was reached on October 11, and Peterhead on the day following.

Last year Mr. Leigh Smith again started on a voyage of Arctic discovery in the same steam yacht. He sailed from Peterhead in the third week in June 1881, with the intention of constructing a house and refuge t some suitable position in Franz-Josef Land, whence he would try to plore as far to the north as possible. The "Eira" was last seen by the rwegian schooner "Pröven" off the Matyushin shore on the west coast

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of Novaya Zemlya on July 8. She was then going northwards, and her non-return has given rise to the gravest anxiety. As Mr. Leigh Smith had the full intention of returning to England in the autumn, he had made no preparation for passing the winter in the ice. He is not provisioned for a second winter, and therefore unless he can break out from the ice by August, or at latest September, his only chance of rescue will be from succour being brought to him from home. The Council of the Royal Geographical Society have applied to the Admiralty for aid in fitting out an expedition to search for and relieve the "Eira;" it is also understood that the "Willem Barentz" will make a fifth voyage to the Barentz Sea, and that Sir Henry Gore Booth intends to undertake a similar voyage in a small sailing vessel. Both will of course keep a diligent look-out for retreating parties, and all the Norwegian schooners which visit those regions will be requested to do the same. We may therefore feel assured that all that human ingenuity and foresight can accomplish will be set in motion for the rescue of the intrepid explorer and his gallant companions.

The Dutch exploring schooner "Willem Barentz" made her third scientific voyage to the North Polar regions in 1880, under the command of Captain von Brockhuysen. Unfortunately she struck on a reef off Cross Island, on the north coast of Novaya Zemlya, and was disabled from continuing her voyage. Undeterred by this failure, the promotors of Arctic exploration in the Netherlands last year despatched the same little vessel on her fourth voyage to the Polar regions. On June 20, the "Willem Barentz" was at Vardö, to which port she had put back, having failed to reach Spitzbergen from the pack ice being this summer very low. Captain Brockhuysen's intention then was to try the Kara Sea in the direction of the mouths of the Ob and Yenisei, and early in September to steer a course towards Franz-Josef Land.

The United States' revenue cutter "Thomas Corwin," under the command of Captain Hooper, was again sent in search of Mr. Gordon Bennett's missing expedition in the "Jeannette," and succeeded in reaching Wrangel Land. As this country is believed to have previously been seen only at a distance, Captain Hooper planted there the stars and stripes, and formally took possession of it in the name of the United States. In the autumn the "Thomas Corwin" returned to San Francisco, not having obtained any intelligence of the "Jeannette." Another expedition was fitted out by the United States' Government, and sent under the command of Lieutenant R. M. Berry in search of Mr. Bennett's missing vessel; it sailed on June 16 from San Francisco in the "Rodgers," a full-rigged barque of 420 tons, which had been heavily sheathed with 3-inch oak planking, and otherwise specially strengthened for ice-navigation. The route laid down for the "Rodgers" was through Behring Strait along the Siberian coast to Cape Szerdze Kamen; thence northward to Herald Island, and to the southern shore of Wrangel Land, which she reached on the evening of August 25. Here Captain Berry ascended a mountain 2,500 feet high, from which he saw open water all round; Wrangel Land is therefore an island, and it is estimated to be about sixty miles long.

At length, on December 20, the unexpected but welcome news was received in London by telegraph of the arrival of a portion of the crew of the "Jeannette" at the north of the Lena. According to the message received from Mr. Melville, chief engineer, the "Jeannette" was caught and crushed by the ice on June 23, a short distance east of the most easterly of the New Siberian

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Islands. The survivors left in their boats fifty miles from the mouth of the Lena, but they lost sight of each other during a violent gale and intense fog. Boat No. 3, under the command of Mr. Melville, reached the eastern mouth of the Lena on September 29, and some days afterwards boat No. 1, having on board two sailors, turned up, with the information that Lieutenant De Long, Dr. Ambler, and a dozen other survivors had landed at the northern mouth of the Lena, where they had been left in a most distressing state, many having limbs frozen. The Russian authorities seem to have done all in their power to relieve the sufferers, and an expedition was at once sent from Bolonenga to make diligent search for the unfortunates in danger of death.

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PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1881.

JANUARY.

1. The Employers' Liability Act came into operation. In many cases of railroads—the London and North Western excepted—and large employers of labour in the manufacturing districts, the masters and men by mutual consent contracted themselves out of the Act, and continued their former relations.

— In Berlin large crowds, chiefly recruited by students, assembled in the Unter den Linden and principal streets, and made anti-Jewish demonstrations. Cafés to which Jewish customers resorted were attacked, in some cases wrecked, and in all the Jews found in them turned into the streets and mobbed. The police were either passive or helpless.

— The match of Gale, the pedestrian, against time—2,500 miles in 1,000 hours—brought to a close. The walk, which took place at Lillie Bridge, Brompton, began on November 20, 1880. At four o'clock Gale had accomplished 2,405½ miles and fifty yards only, thus losing the wager.

— All prisoners for debt in Scotland liberated in accordance with Dr. Cameron's Act, coming into effect with the new year.

— The approximate value of vessels of all nationalities, with their cargoes, lost during the year 1880, was no less than 68,327,000*l*., including British property 47,495,000*l*. The grand total number of wrecks reported was 1,680, which, compared with the total at the end of 1879, shows a decrease of eight. British-owned ships numbered 913, and those of all flags wrecked on the coasts of the British Isles were 480. The registered tonnage aggregated upwards of 900,000 tons, inclusive of 160 steam vessels mostly owned in the United Kingdom. About 4,000 lives were lost, and about 200 vessels were lost through collision. During the week 34 British and foreign wrecks, of which 14 were British, were reported, the estimated value being 3,100,000*l*., including British 1,800,000*l*.

3. According to an authoritative announcement, the worth of each hundred pounds of tithe rent-charge for the year 1881 stated to amount to 107*l*. 2*s*. 10½*d*., the lowest figure reached for many years, and showing as compared with 1880 a falling off of near 2·15*l*. per cent.

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— A students' meeting, which was largely attended, held at Berlin, to discuss the best means of extending the anti-Jewish agitation. Deputations from the universities of Göttingen, Leipzig, Kiel, Rostock, and Halle were present, and the anti-Jewish petition to Prince Bismarck was signed by nearly 3,000 students. The anti-Jewish agitator, Dr. Henrici, a professor, dismissed by the Government from the school in which he taught.

4. Lord Stanley of Alderley, whilst the guest of Mrs. Macnamara, at Ennistymon House, "boycotted." The Macnamaras, an old Irish family, were popular among the people by whom they are surrounded, but Lord Stanley of Alderley, although not an Irish landlord, had been guilty of expressing his views on the Irish question in the London Press, and comparing Irish assassins to Thugs. For this he was denounced at a public indignation meeting and a land meeting, and threatened with hooting if he dare venture in public in Ennistymon. Threatening letters also were sent to the "big house," and tradesmen were "advised" not to supply the family so long as a person obnoxious to the all-powerful League remained under the roof.

5. The War Office authorities issued a circular to officers commanding volunteer corps both in the metropolis and the provinces, advising them to take precautions against any attack being made on their armouries. In cases where the headquarters or armouries were insufficiently protected the locks were removed from the rifles, especially in the northern manufacturing towns. Rumours of possible Fenian attacks have reached the Government.

— Early this morning the *Indian Chief*, 1,257, Captain Fraser, was wrecked on the Long Sand, with the loss of her master and sixteen of her crew. The mate, second mate, and nine seamen were rescued by the Ramsgate lifeboat. During the day the crew remained on board, although the sea was breaking over them with tremendous violence. Towards the evening the hull had sunk considerably in the sand, and as the tide rose the crew had to take to the rigging. Sixteen, including the captain, settled themselves in the mizen-top; the rest found refuge on the foremast. During the night the wind increased, and the cold was intense. About two o'clock in the morning the mainmast was unshipped, and carried with it the mizen and the sixteen unfortunate men who were clinging to it. During the seven or eight hours which succeeded these poor fellows were driven about amongst the floating spars, and most of them met death by concussion with pieces of broken timber. The only one amongst them who survives, and who had his collar-bone broken by a stroke from a drifting spar, gives a harrowing account of the way in which he saw his companions, one after another, perish around him. At length, as morning broke, he managed to crawl to the vessel, which, owing to the falling tide, was again emerging from the water, and with great difficulty he eventually got into the fore-rigging. At about nine o'clock the lifeboat, which had been out the whole night, in tow by the steam-tug, approached the wreck, and in about an hour's time, between the breaking of successive seas, the eleven survivors, after a weary watch of twenty-five hours, were taken on board. One—the captain's brother and second mate—was so exhausted that he was obliged to be dragged into the lifeboat, and shortly after he expired.

7. The Lord Mayor presided at a meeting at the Mansion House, at which resolutions were passed in reference to the smoke and fog nuisance of

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London, and approving of a proposal of the Joint Committee of the National Health and Kyrle Societies to hold an exhibition of the various smokeless coals and other fuels, and of various appliances applicable to household and manufacturing purposes for the reduction of smoke, and to test the same, in order to demonstrate for public information the means practically available to secure that object. Dean Stanley, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, and Sir Ughtred J. Kay-Shuttleworth were among the speakers.

8. The Report of the Registrar of Trades' Unions issued showing that there existed 174 societies in England, 33 in Scotland, and 28 in Ireland. Amongst the most numerous and wealthy were :—

	Annal Income.	No. of Members.
Boiler-makers and Shipbuilders, Newcastle	£46,796	17,400
Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants	8,725	11,516
Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union	13,837	15,500
Durham Miners' Association	26,032	35,000
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners	39,855	17,034
Amalgamated Society of Tailors	17,517	12,375
National Agricultural Labourers' Union	9,332	20,000
Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, &c.	4,466	9,977

— The new University Boat-house at Oxford, lately erected from designs by Mr. J. O. Scott on the Berkshire side of the river below "Saunders' Bridge," which was within a fortnight of completion, burnt to the ground, together with some thirty or forty eight-oared and other boats belonging to the University and the colleges, which had already been housed there. The contractors (Messrs. Silver, of Reading) were insured for 1,500*l.*; but the building had cost about 2,500*l.*, inclusive of the concrete foundations, which are uninjured. The Oxford University Boat Club, however, was responsible for the boats, which cost from 1,500*l.* to 2,000*l.* Most of the racing eights for the summer races were destroyed; but fortunately the majority of the "torpid" boats, and the practice boats for the University crew, were housed elsewhere. There is little doubt that the fire was due to the carelessness of the workmen in leaving a lighted brazier in the building.

— At Berlin the scarcely finished buildings of the General Staff, filled with all the most important and precious maps, &c., of the German army, were discovered to be on fire. By the extraordinary energies of the firemen the most valuable plans and maps were saved. The Crown Prince and Count Moltke were present, and continued messages were despatched to the Emperor reporting on the progress of the fire.

10. The following summary of statistics relating to the American Church in 1880 published: Bishops and bishops-elect, 66—increase, 5: other clergy, 3,369—increase, 111; parishes, 2,936—increase, 5; missions, 1,155; candidates for orders, 431—increase, 62; ordinations, deacons, 136—increase, 32; priests, 96—increase, 12; baptisms, 47,963—increase, 2,487; confirmations, 25,903—decrease, 1,453; communicants, 345,841—increase, 20,846; marriages, 12,163—increase, 1,162; burials, 22,518—decrease, 479; Sunday-school teachers, 34,041—increase, 41; Sunday-school scholars, 299,070—increase, 16,082; contributions, $7,013,762·86—increase, $430,783·18.

11. The annual report, issued by Captain Shaw, C.B., Chief of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, upon the fires occurring in London during

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year 1880. The number of calls to fires received by the brigade, involving the turning out of men, horses, and engines, was 2,194, of which 162 resulted in serious damage. This total shows an increase over that of 1879 of 153, and over the average of the last ten years an excess of 224. The number of persons seriously endangered by fire was 160, of whom 33 lost their lives, while to firemen there were 411 accidents, three of which resulted in death. The immense amount of 94,000 tons, or, in round numbers, 21,000,000 gallons of water, was used by the fire-engines. Although there was a large augmentation in the total number of fires, the proportion of serious to slight losses, 162 to 1,709, was decidedly favourable.

12. Over 40,000 hands connected with the Lancashire coal-fields estimated to be out on strike in consequence of the demand of the Colliery owners that the men should contract themselves out of the Employers' Liability, and accept in lieu of it a system of insurance. At the Miners' National Conference, the matter was discussed, and it was resolved to memorialise Government on the subject.

— Mr. W. Shaw and eighteen other Irish members presented a memorial to Mr. Gladstone stating their conviction that "no measure which does not provide for giving effect to the principles of fixity of tenure, fair rents, free sale, and offer facilities for the creation of a peasant proprietary, would operate as a satisfactory settlement of the Irish Land question.

13. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from 3 per cent., to which rate it had been raised on December 9 last, to 3½ per cent. No great pressure was felt, the proportion of the reserve to the liabilities being over 40 per cent. The total amount of bullion 24,126,989*l.*, and the reserve 12,578,294*l.*

— Mr. Shaw, M.P., one time leader of the Irish Home Rule party, notified to Mr. Parnell, the actual leader, his own secession and that of about fifteen other members of Parliament from the party.

— After a winter of remarkable mildness, the cold weather suddenly set in without warning, the thermometer falling to 11°, or twenty-one degrees frost. The minimum readings were 4° at Nottingham, 8° at York, 10° at Yarmouth, &c. Even in the Scilly Islands "hard frost at night" was reported.

14. An attempt, attributed to a Fenian origin, made to blow up the Infantry Barracks, Salford, in which large quantities of arms were supposed to be stored. The explosion was caused by dynamite, and blew to pieces the butcher's store-house, which adjoined the armourer's shed. A woman and child who were passing through the street were much injured, the latter so severely that he shortly afterwards died.

— The annual Mass for Napoleon III. was solemnised in Paris at the Church of St. Augustine. Prince Murat was the only kinsman present, and the newspaper claiming to be Prince Napoleon's organ had condemned the demonstration. M. Rouher, M. de Cassagnac, and many other leading Bonapartists were present, but the rank and file was scantier than usual. A woman selling violets was arrested for crying *Vive l'Empereur!*

15. After four days the arguments concluded in the appeal on behalf of the Rev. T. Pelham Dale and Rev. R. W. Enraght, from a decision of the Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and Justices Field and Manisty, refusing to

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discharge Lord Penzance's inhibition. The Lords Justices of Appeal at once dismissed the appeals on every point of law with costs, except as to a defect with regard to the writs, which should have been reported to the Court of Queen's Bench. On this ground, therefore, the appellants were discharged from custody.

— The remodelled regulations for primary schools in France issued forbidding corporal punishment, and providing that the wish of the father shall always be consulted as to participation in religious instruction; that children shall not be sent to church for catechism or service except out of class hours; that the teacher shall not be bound to take them or watch over them there; that Sundays and Thursdays shall be holidays; and that punishments shall consist of bad marks, reprimand, partial privation of recreation, detention after school hours, and temporary exclusion, not exceeding two days.

17. Accounts of the extreme severity of the weather received from all parts of Europe: At Paris the thermometer there at seven showed 20° (Fahrenheit) of frost. Reports from the Rhine stated that all the floating bridges had been removed and the traffic stopped on account of the pack ice. Other German rivers were also blocked. Access to the port of Copenhagen, except for steamers, was closed by the ice. Paris mails of Friday had not arrived in Madrid on Monday owing to the inundations. Large tracts of country in the province of Cordova were under water through the overflowing of the Guadalquiver and the Jenil. At Nimes more snow had fallen than had been known for ten years, and wolves from the Cévennes were prowling about the Department of the Gard. The Channel Squadron was detained at Lisbon by bad weather. Serious inundations arose in the provinces of Galicia and Castile. The Douro, Pisuerga, Ebro, and Erlanza, overflowing their banks, stopped communication in several districts.

— The Southpool and West Lancashire Banking Company, established in 1875, suspended payment. The bank had branches in Southport, Liverpool, Ormskirk, St. Helen's, and elsewhere; its nominal capital was 500,000*l.*, of which 380,000*l.* had been subscribed, and one half called up. Advances amounting to upwards of 100,000*l.* had been advanced without the knowledge of directors, and upon securities which proved valueless. The total loss to the shareholders was estimated at 200,000*l.*

18. The frost which set in on the 12th lasted without intermission and with increasing severity throughout the week. On the 13th the temperature in London reached 17° F., and on the 14th it fell to 10°—the lowest ever observed. At Brockley and Wimbledon 23° of frost, and at Highgate 21°, were recorded. On Saturday the *minima* reported included 4° at Nottingham, 8 at York, 10 at Yarmouth, 11 in London, Cambridge, and Parsonstown, 13 at Shields, 14 at Oxford, and 15 to 20 on the Scotch coast. The extraordinary reading of 2° below zero was reported from Chester. On Sunday, at the Humane Society's station, Hyde Park, the lowest point was 12; Brockley, 0 (the first time zero has ever been recorded at this station; Highgate, 12; Wimbledon, 10; and Sonning (Berks), 4. A report in the *Times* gives to Darlington 10° below zero. According to Mr. Glaisher, since 1838 there had been only two days so cold as the 15th—viz. January 8, 1841, when the mean was 12·8°; and January 4, 1867, mean 13·2°. On the 17th there was some fog, followed by a slight rise in the temperature, and on the following day a little fine snow fell; but on this day London and its vicinity

were visited by a storm more severe than any known since the winter of 1854–55. Snow fell during the whole day, and was accompanied by a perfect hurricane of wind. In many places the drift was dangerously deep, and trade and locomotion alike were completely paralysed. The Thames was covered with masses of moving ice, and the river traffic was not resumed for several days. In the suburbs many of the shops remained unopened. Throughout the length and breadth of the land the storm raged with terrific force, and incalculable mischief was done in many parts of the country, but more especially in the neighbourhood of London and in the southern counties. The snow continued to fall almost without intermission during the following day, but, luckily, a frost succeeding instead of a rapid thaw, the dangers of the latter were in some degree averted. Heavy traffic in the streets and on the roads was altogether suspended, and the few cabmen who plied had to protect their eyes with veils and spectacles. The Post Office announced that the communication between London and the country was almost altogether suspended. In the estuary of the Thames a hundred barges were sunk; the pier at Woolwich was wholly carried away by the ice floes, which were driven along the river at a furious pace. The two judges who left London to open the Assizes at Maidstone were, after seven hours' travelling, snowed up at Shoreham, 22 miles from town..

19. The midland and southern counties of England visited by a snowstorm unparalleled for many years. All the railways were blocked, and in many instances trains were kept out for twenty-four hours. In London the traffic in the streets was wholly suspended for the day; but by great efforts on the part of the vestries locomotion was partially restored in the main thoroughfares before the night of the second day. Many of the theatres were closed, either from the inability of the performers to reach their destinations or from want of audiences. The east wind which accompanied the storm drove back the Thames so much that more than four feet of water above high-water mark were registered in the London district. Bermondsey, Lambeth, and other low-lying districts on the south bank were consequently inundated, and terrible suffering and distress ensued.

— The marriage ceremony between Mr. Leopold de Rothschild and Mdlle. Marie Perugia celebrated at the Central Synagogue, in the presence of the Prince of Wales—the first occasion on which a member of the royal family had assisted at a Jewish service. Between the ark and the reading desk stood the bridal canopy or *chupsa*, supported by four poles, and supposed to represent the bridegroom's chamber. The ceremony began with the ordinary afternoon service, the responses sung by the boyish voices of the choir. The Psalms were chanted in Hebrew; the prayer for the royal family was said in English. At twenty-five minutes after two the bridal processions entered the synagogue, the bride's advancing by the right aisle, the bridegroom's by the left. As the bride passed into the synagogue the ladies in the front rows cast in front of her basketfuls of white flowers. The bride and bridegroom advanced to the canopy, the bride still on the bridegroom's right. The bridegroom had on his shoulders a silken scarf, in the borders of which was woven a thread of blue. It was marked in his initials in gold, united by a true lover's knot, and had been presented to him by his bride. This *Talith*, or scarf of prayer, is always given by the bride to her bridegroom, and is accompanied, among the most orthodox, by the gift of a shroud, to serve the same purpose of grim reminder as the coffin at the Egyptian feast. The Rev. A. L. Green

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the celebrant of the marriage, took up his position beneath the canopy, and as the bridal processions advanced the choir burst out into "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord; we bless you from the house of the Lord." Then began the first part of the marriage ceremony which represents the ancient betrothal. The priest addressed in English the two who had come before him to be united, his words taking the form of a prayer. The priest gave the bridegroom and then the bride the wine of the sanctification to drink, and the choir sang, invoking blessings on the fortunate pair and praising God "who sanctifieth his people Israel by the ceremony of the nuptial canopy and the rite of wedlock." The bridegroom placed the ring upon his bride's finger, and said in a loud voice, in Hebrew and English, "Behold, thou art consecrated to me with this ring, according to the law of Moses and Israel." Then the second part of the ceremony, the marriage proper, began. The marriage contract was read in Chaldaic, and the following abstract in English of the contract was also recited by Mr. Green:

"On the fourth day of the week, the 19th day of the month Shevat, in the year 5641 A.M., corresponding to the 19th of January, 1881, the holy covenant of marriage was entered into, in London, between the bridegroom, Leopold de Rothschild, and his bride, Marie Perugia. The said bridegroom made the following declaration to his bride: 'Be thou my wife according to the law of Moses and Israel. I faithfully promise that I will be a true husband unto thee. I will honour and cherish thee; I will work for thee; I will protect and support thee, and will provide all that is necessary for thy due sustenance, even as it beseemeth a Jewish husband to do. I also take upon myself all such further obligations for thy maintenance during thy lifetime as are prescribed by our religious statute.' And the said bride has plighted her troth unto him, in affection and in sincerity, and has thus taken upon herself the fulfilment of all the duties incumbent upon a Jewish wife. This covenant of marriage was duly executed and witnessed this day, according to the usage of Israel."

The seven blessings were said, and a prayer was offered up that in Jerusalem and in the cities of Judah there might speedily be heard again "the voice of joy and the voice of song; the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride." The priest next placed upon the floor a wine-glass, which the bridegroom, setting his heel firmly on it, splintered into fragments. It is said that the singular custom of shattering a glass at every marriage means that the union should be as hard to dissolve as the fragments are hard to piece together; but the true explanation seems to be that, like the gift of the shroud, it is meant to warn the bridegroom in the hour of his exaltation that a Nemesis may crush his happiness as completely as he breaks the fragile vessel. The Hallelujah Chorus was sung, and the ceremony was over. The bride and bridegroom ascended the steps of the reading-desk to sign the marriage contract, the witnesses to which were the Prince of Wales and Baron Alphonse de Rothschild.

20. The minutes published of the proceedings of the Council of Judges, which was held Nov. 27, 1880, to consider whether the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and of Chief Baron of the Exchequer should be filled up, showing certain divergence of views amongst the judges. The whole Bench was present, to the number of twenty-five, the Lord Chancellor in the chair. Upon a resolution being proposed by the President to the effect that the three Common Law Divisions should be consolidated, Mr. Justice Lopes

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moved as an amendment that it was not desirable that the judges should proceed to vote until they had before them the entire scheme for the management of the business of the High Court, but this was lost on a division by 16 to 7. The Judges who voted for the amendment were Lord Justice Brett and Justices Hannen, Hawkins, Manisty, Denman, Lopes, and Stephen. Sir Robert Phillimore and Mr. Justice Grove did not vote. The original resolution was then carried by 18 to 7. The majority included all who voted in the majority on the amendment, and Lord Justice Brett and Sir R. Phillimore besides. In the minority Mr. Justice Grove replaced Lord Justice Brett. Upon a division being taken on the resolution for the abolition of the office of Chief Baron, it was carried by 20 to 5, the minority consisting of Justices Hannen, Denman, Manisty, Stephen, and Watkin Williams. A division on the resolution for the abolition of the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas gave exactly the same result.

— Mr. Frank Dicksee, painter, and Mr. Hamo Thorneycroft elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

24. General Skobeleff thus announced the capture of Geok Tepe, the Turcoman stronghold:—"To-day, after nine hours' sanguinary fighting, all the fortified positions of the enemy at Geok Tepe and Denzil Tepe were stormed by our troops. The enemy were routed along the whole line, and were pursued and cut down for a distance of fifteen versts. Our victory is complete. We captured a quantity of arms, cannon, ammunition and provisions. Our loss is being ascertained; that of the enemy is enormous. The troops fought truly heroically."

— The population of Prussia, as ascertained at the census taken on the 1st of December last, amounted to 27,260,331. In 1875 it numbered 25,742,404, an increase in five years of nearly 6 per cent.

26. In their annual and practically final report the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland state that they have now accomplished the task imposed upon them by the Irish Church Act, so far as it is possible without further legislation. They review their proceedings in detail, and note some interesting facts respecting the life incomes commuted and the commutation money paid, including 12 per cent. bonus in the case of ecclesiastical persons. The amount depended, of course, on the age of the holder. The net annual value of the Archbishopric of Armagh was 10,225*l.*, commutation money, 88,442*l.*; Bishopric of Derry, annual value 6,847*l.*, commutation 111,867*l.*; Archbishopric of Dublin, 8,845*l.*, commutation 93,045*l.*; Bishopric of Cork, 2,485*l.*, commutation 18,500*l.* The most valuable benefice was that of Clogherney, 1,563*l.* per annum, commutation 19,124*l.*; whilst the least valuable benefice was Balscadden, in the diocese of Dublin, which was worth only 4*l.* a year, and was commuted for 47*l.* Examples are given of the values of vicar-generalships and registrarships, which were held by laymen, and the sum for which they were commuted. The smallest income stated was that of the vicar-general of the dioceses of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, which was only 37*l.*, and the largest the registrarship of the province of Dublin, which was 1,015*l.* The others generally averaged about 400*l.* All commutation moneys were calculated at 3½ per cent., and the average of the lives of all the clergy at 10·9 years' purchase. The total number of ecclesiastical persons who commuted up to the end of 1874 was 2,282, their net incomes being 589,665*l.*, and the com-

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mutation money 7,546,005*l.* The number of lay commutants was 2,857, their net incomes being 33,060*l.*, and the commutation paid 454,700*l.* The total aid under the compensation clauses, including all heads, was 11,343,703*l.* The sales of all the property vested in the Commissioners by the act realised 9,794,790*l.*, of which a sum of 3,362,648*l.* was received in cash. The Commissioners have now no actual balance in the nature of a surplus, but have instead an annual income, partly permanent, partly terminable, of 574,219*l.*

27. Switzerland visited by an alarming earthquake, felt chiefly at Berne and Muensingen, but also at Thun, Basle, Solothurn, Zurich, Bienne, Oberhofen, and Aarberg. The principal shock occurred at 2.20 in the afternoon, Berne mean time. A slight shock was observed at three o'clock the same day, and another equally slight at six the following morning. The chimes in the church clocks were made to strike and the bells to toll, books were thrown from their shelves and pictures detached from the walls, while in Berne the Zeitzlocken tower was split, and more than 100 chimneys were thrown down. This was the twenty-fourth earthquake recorded in Switzerland since November 1879. The shock of an earthquake was felt at 5 p.m. three days previously at Bologna, Florence, Venice, Padua, Ferrara, &c.

— Prince Leopold presided at the first meeting of the Kyrle Society, which was held in the Kensington Town Hall, London. There was a large attendance, including the Princess Louise and Sir Frederick Leighton. Prince Leopold made an earnest appeal to all, in order that a love of beautiful things might be diffused among the poor. Amongst the objects of the society were the preservation of open spaces, the laying out of open spaces as gardens for the public, the formation of choirs to give concerts to the poor, decorations by mural painting, and the gifts of flowers. The objects of the society were warmly approved.

— Mr. John Brett, Mr. Andrew Gow, painters, and Mr. William Burges, architect, elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

28. At Leigh, in Lancashire, after a mass meeting of upwards of 20,000 miners, the mob proceeded to Atherton collieries, where a desperate riot took place. The hussars and infantry and a body of police were present, with the deputy chief constable of the county. As the mob was gradually working its way up the road leading to the pit the police charged them, amidst a shower of stones. The troopers simultaneously came on to the field and drove many of the rioters into the hands of the police. Some of the mob took refuge in the outhouses of adjoining cottages, from which they were evicted, and one man taken prisoner. In this charge two constables were severely injured. The mob was still defiant, and ultimately became so reckless that the Riot Act was read and the hussars charged the crowd, driving them in all directions. For about two hours large numbers of the malcontents remained in the neighbourhood, but gradually dispersed, the troopers and infantry assisting to escort the men working at the pits to their homes. The avowed object of the men was to fetch out those working in the collieries.

— Ridley College, Cambridge, intended for training graduates in parochial work, opened. The Vice-Chancellor, who presided, explained the need of some such institution in view of the abolition of resident fellowships, and religious tests for heads of colleges. The cost of the building was 10,000*l.*

29. The Court of Appeal in Paris was the scene of a most curious and remarkable spectacle. Six months previously a young man named Didier

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had been arrested for an offence in the Champs Elysées, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. His friends, considering him innocent, advised him to appeal, and engaged Maître Reitlinger as his counsel, who at once demanded that his client should be submitted to medical examination; and the court appointed for that purpose Drs. Mottet and Mesnet, two well-known specialists in mental diseases, under whose surveillance the young man was placed for three months in the Hôpital Saint Antoine. At the end of that period the doctors made a report, in which they remarked: "Didier suffers from a most remarkable nervous affection. He lives in a state of constant somnambulism, the attacks of which can be provoked at will. The numerous doctors who have watched him at the hospital have proved that he is entirely destitute of any will of his own, and submits to all injunctions in the most automatic manner." The prisoner, who was about 22, appeared in court, accompanied by his counsel and the doctors. His appearance aroused great curiosity, and all eyes were turned on him as he tottered rather than walked to the bar. Maître Reitlinger having addressed the court in his defence, the judges were about to withdraw to consider their verdict, when the doctors offered to confirm the statements made in their report by practical experiments on the spot. The bench consented, and then occurred the following painful scene. Doctor Mottet, followed by the magistrates and the prisoner, retired into a side room. Here, by the usual means of rapid passes of the hands before his eyes, and a strong, fixed gaze, the unhappy "subject" was mesmerised. Didier was then left in charge of two of the Municipal Guards on service, the doctors and the judges returned to the court, and the door of the room was shut. Dr. Mottet now called the prisoner by his name. The next second a fearful noise was heard. It came from the sick young man. A few minutes before a touch of the finger would have almost knocked him over, so feeble and emaciated was he. Now, under the influence of magnetism, he was like a raging lion. Upsetting the guards who held him by the wrists, he rushed at the door, broke it open, and, knocking down everybody in his path, ran up to Dr. Mottet. Here he suddenly stopped, and, fixing his eyes on his mesmeriser, trembled from head to foot in a manner terrible to see. Shrieks of horror ran through the court. The doctor then set to work. "Undress yourself," said he to the prisoner. In a few seconds Didier stripped himself of nearly all his garments. "Dress yourself again," said the doctor, and again the prisoner obeyed with the same lightning rapidity. The experiment appeared conclusive. In the issue, the Court, considering the prisoner was not responsible for his acts, quashed the verdict of the Lower Court, and the unhappy man was discharged.

31. Precautions against Fenian surprises taken wherever Government stores and arms were kept. Manchester kept in a state of alarm by rumours of plots. Armed police and extra police sent to Salford. The powder magazine connected with the headquarters of the Essex Rifles at Epping, removed, persons suspected to be Fenians having been seen in the neighbourhood.

— Floods succeeded the frost abroad as at home. In France the Eure and the Loire overflowed their banks, and the lower quarters of Chartres, Nogent le Rotrou, and Chateaudun were flooded. Fields and villages were completely submerged, houses destroyed, and the losses enormous. At Laigle the gendarmes were obliged to carry food to the inhabitants on horseback. Brionne and the neighbouring parishes were submerged, and from

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the Château at Launay the surrounding country looked like a large sea, dotted over here and there with the roofs of houses and the tops of trees. Evreux was completely inundated, there being quite 3 feet of water in the streets.—Great damage was caused by inundations throughout Spain. A telegram from Seville stated that one half of the town was under water through the overflowing of the Guadalquiver, which had risen 29 ft.—Poti, anciently Phasis, the Russian town and habour in the Black Sea, was also submerged for an entire week, even in the highest parts, the position of the inhabitants, about 4,000 in number, rendered most deplorable. Tremendous rains fell in California, doing much damage; the fall in some places reached 8 in. in twenty-four hours. A land slide near Santa Cruz killed eight Chinese woodcutters, and Camp Capitole, in the neighbourhood, was washed into the sea, only four houses escaping.

FEBRUARY.

5. The annual report of the Trustees of the Peabody Donation Fund issued, from which it appeared that at the close of 1880 the half-million given and bequeathed by Mr. Peabody had, by the addition of rent and interest, risen to 750,697*l.* 3*s.* Of this amount there had been spent 594,197*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*, leaving in the hands of the trustees 156,499*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* The trustees have provided for the artisans and labourers of London 2,355 separate dwellings, occupied by 9,899 persons, and hope that before the end of this year they will have provided for another 3,500 individuals. The death-rate in the Peabody Buildings last year was 19·71 per 1,000, which is about 2·49 below the London rate. The average rent of the dwellings was 4*s.* 4½*d.* per week.

10. In both Houses of Parliament addresses to the Crown were moved, praying that the offices of Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer should not be abolished. In the House of Lords the resolution was withdrawn, and in the Commons it was defeated by 168 to 100 votes.

— The following story of a supposed plot to blow up Windsor Castle gave rise to considerable excitement. Two strangers, supposed to be Irish, called at the cottage of Mrs. Blay, in Lammas-avenue, Windsor, and asked which was the east or south side of the cavalry barracks. She said that she could not tell them, and one of them then asked, "Will you allow me to leave this in your washhouse till we can call for it?" and placed upon the ground a bag containing something like a 4½-gallon cask. He added that she must not be inquisitive or interfere with the bag. She refused, and they then asked if she knew where they could find an empty house to stay in till it got dark, as they were strangers there. After asking for some matches, which they did not obtain, both left the cottage, one of the strangers carrying away the cask on his shoulder, under his cape. The police and the military were informed of the incident, and every effort was made to trace the men, but nothing has since been heard of their movements. The Queen was not at Windsor but at Osborne, but she was expected to return a few days subsequently.

— At the Leeds Assizes, Miss Wilmot, the nurse charged with attempt-

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ing to poison Mrs. Booth, the wife of a Sheffield surgeon, acquitted. A number of medical men were examined, who described Mrs. Booth when they were called in as being insensible and suffering from poisoning by opium or morphia. The stomach pump was used, and the contents brought up were subsequently analysed, when morphia was found. Mr. Waddy summed up the evidence on behalf of the Crown. He remarked that there could be no doubt that poison had been administered to Mrs. Booth, and argued that it was given by the prisoner for the purpose of obtaining plunder by her death. Mr. Digby Seymour, on behalf of the prisoner, pointed out that there was a total absence of anything like adequate motive for the terrible criminality imputed to his client. The jury found the prisoner guilty of administering morphia to Mrs. Booth, but that there was not sufficient evidence to show with what intent. The judge said this amounted to a verdict of not guilty, and the prisoner was discharged.

— A meeting convened by the Highland Society of London, held in the Scottish Corporation Hall, to protest against the proposed alterations in the tartans worn by the Highland regiments. Petitions to the Queen and Secretary of State for War were unanimously agreed to and extensively signed.

11. About half-past eight o'clock Lieutenant Percy Roper, Royal Engineers, attached to the School of Military Engineering at Chatham, was found lying dead at the bottom of the staircase leading to his quarters, at Brompton Barracks, having been shot with a revolver. The weapon turned out to be a six-chambered revolver, and was lying some distance from the body, with only one chamber discharged, the others being loaded with ball cartridges. It was supposed the young officer, who had been in the corps only a little over two years, has been murdered by some one whose original object was plunder. The deceased had left the officers' mess in company with another officer between eight and nine in the evening, which was earlier than his custom, as he had a letter to write, stating that he should join them next week, as he had been granted two months' leave of absence. The officer who left the mess with the deceased went to an entertainment in the barracks, and asked Lieutenant Roper to accompany him, but the lieutenant replied that he could not accompany him, as he wanted to write a letter, but that he would join him later on in the evening. This, however, he did not do. When he left the mess he was in excellent spirits. He had just completed his course of instruction at the School of Military Engineering most successfully, and would have left Chatham in a few days. When he was found upon the landing he was in an unconscious state, and lived for about forty minutes, but never regained consciousness, and could not explain what has since remained a great mystery. A poker, which belonged to deceased, was found near him. After repeated adjournments and close investigation, a verdict of wilful murder against some one unknown returned; but in spite of the large rewards offered no clue to the murderer was obtained.

12. The marriage of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts with Mr. W. Ashmead-Bartlett celebrated at Christ Church, Mayfair, on Saturday morning. The ceremony was treated as strictly private, none but the nearest relatives and a few confidential friends being present on the occasion. The bridegroom, accompanied by Mr. Lacaita as his best man, arrived at the church precisely at half-past eleven, and was shortly afterwards followed by the

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aroness Burdett-Coutts, who, on her arrival, was received by Sir Francis urdett, her cousin and nearest male relative, and her three bridesmaids, the isses Burdett, daughters of Sir Francis, and Miss Maria Keppel, daughter Admiral the Hon. Sir Henry and Lady Keppel. Mr. Bartlett had obtained e royal licence to assume the name of Burdett-Coutts, and in compliance ith the will of the Duchess of St. Albans he subsequently had to apply r permission to use the name of Coutts separately, but it was the general ish of the Baroness and her family that her husband should at once assume er name, carrying with it the family title Burdett.

13. A meeting to protest against the Irish Coercion Bill held in Hyde 'ark. Processions from various districts of London assembled with bands nd flags in Trafalgar Square, and then marched together to the park, where ix platforms were provided. Three resolutions were submitted to the crowd t each, but they were all moved *en bloc*, and were remarkable for their revity. They were: "That we condemn coercion for Ireland;" "That he arrest of Mr. Davitt is mean, cruel, and unjust;" "That we censure the onduct of the Speaker and the Government in suppressing freedom of debate." The speakers included Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., Mr. Justin M'Carthy, M.P., Mr. Redmond, M.P., and the Rev. J. Nelson, M.P. There was no indication of opposition from the vast crowd, whose numbers were variously estimated at from fifteen to fifty thousand. The whole of the proceedings in the park did not occupy more than an hour, and at their conclusion copies of the Coercion Bill were burned amidst the execrations of the crowd, and very general groans for Mr. Gladstone and his Government. Cheers were given for Mr. Parnell and other prominent members of the Land League.

— The United States census issued, thus classifying the population :— Males, 25,520,582; females, 24,632,294. Native-born, 43,475,506; foreign-born, 6,677,360. Whites, 43,404,877; coloured, 6,577,151. The remaining 170,838, composed of Indians not in tribal relations and under Government care, Chinese, and other Asiatics, and the Chinese estimated at 105,363. Since the previous decennial census the proportion of coloured people to whites and the excess of males over females had slightly increased, and the proportion of foreign-born slightly decreased.

14. The Corporation of the City of London presented Sir Frederick Roberts with the freedom of the City and a sword of honour in recognition of his services in Afghanistan, and in the evening gave a grand banquet.

15. Brigham Young, son of the Mormon prophet, indicted for bigamy before the Federal Court at Salt Lake City, at the instance of his first wife.

— A very destructive fire broke out at the Victoria Docks, Plaistow, and there seems, unfortunately, reason to believe that it was the work of an incendiary, and attributed by some to Fenian agency. It broke out on board the barque *Ascalon*, which had lately arrived from Shanghai, with a cargo, which was stowed aft, and consisted of straw braid, cotton, and silk. The telegraph ship *Thames* was close by, but she was removed in time. The flames, however, spread into neighbouring sheds, inflicting a loss estimated at half a million sterling. The scene after the fire was remarkable.

16. According to the annual report of the President of Harvard College there were at the close of the past year 360 colleges and universities in existence in the United States, of which nearly 200 are not more than thirty years old, and only twenty date from the last century. The chief and most

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rapid increase of colleges has been in the West, where it is accompanied by the spread of gratuitous education.

18. At Munich, while the students of the Academy of Painters were holding their annual masked festival known as the Künstler-Kneipe, a frightful accident occurred which is thus described by an eyewitness: "On the occasion of this festival no ladies are admitted, and the artists go in every conceivable costume, from that of the Spanish grandee to that of the most hideous-looking beggar. At about 12 p.m., just as the Feste was at its height, I (who was in the American 'Block Hut') heard shouts of fire and shrieks for help. There was a small opening into the street from our hut, and a crowd of shrieking people came surging in. We, however, joined together, and forced them out into the great hall, where a terrible scene confronted us. Amid a mass of panic-stricken people, rushing in all directions, and wildly dashing through the crowd, were five or six students completely enveloped in flames. One of the most terribly burnt came shrieking along, one mass of flame, and endeavoured to get into our hut. We succeeded in throwing him down just at the door, and, after pouring all the water we had on him, threw a blanket over him, and at last extinguished the flames. He was so terribly burnt as to be unrecognisable. As I assisted to get him into a sitting posture, his flesh seemed to peel off in my hand. We gave him some whisky, which revived him a little, and he was then carried to the hospital. Altogether seventeen persons were burnt, of whom twelve of those most seriously injured were at once taken to the hospital, where eight subsequently died. What made it still more terrible was that most of those burnt were dressed in an Esquimaux costume made of flax, and fastened to a skin-tight canvas covering with a sort of pitch, which melted with the flames and stuck the tighter to them. It was horrible to see their frantic efforts to rid themselves of their fiery robe, but, of course, without success. The origin of the fire was in the Esquimaux hut, where three of the students were sitting together in a small cave at the back selling herrings. One of them reached out to get some money, and put his arm in the flame of a candle that was standing on a barrel. His coat of flax was at once in flames. The cave being so small his companions could not escape, and so were at once on fire also. They rushed madly through the hall, and in that manner communicated the flames to the others."

— Lord Dunraven's resolution in favour of opening the National Museum and Galleries on Sundays defeated in the House of Lords by 41 to 34.

23. The Lord Mayor presided at a meeting held at the Mansion House, at which Lord Aberdare moved, and Sir Stafford Northcote seconded, a resolution approving of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching. The object of the society was to induce London to emulate the example of many provincial towns and provide means for the encouragement of secondary education.

— Mr. Gladstone on returning from dining with the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House met with a serious accident. Alighting from his carriage at the garden entrance to his house in Downing Street, and springing quickly on to the stone steps, his foot slipped on a piece of ice; he fell backwards, and striking the back of his head violently against the edge of the kerb cut his scalp, crosswise for two or three inches, to the bone. Otherwise

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unaffected by the accident, he was immediately on his feet again, and, bleeding profusely from the wound, walked into the house. Dr. Blake speedily arrived, and dressed the wound. Later on it was thought desirable that Mr. Gladstone should be seen by Dr. Andrew Clark, and when that gentleman arrived in the middle of the night he found the patient calm, cheerful, and free from the smallest evidence of constitutional disturbance, and his recovery though slow was unchecked by any relapse or unfavourable symptoms.

24. A grace proposed in the Senate House of Cambridge University granting to women admission to the honour examinations. A very large number of non-resident fellows came up, and the matter was keenly discussed both in the Senate House and in the public press. The right was conceded by 398 to 32.

25. A terrible lynching case occurred at Springfield, Tennessee. Some months previously, nine negroes had murdered with horrible barbarity a farmer named Lagrade, plunder being their object. All were caught and confined in Springfield gaol. One week afterwards a mob took two of them from the prison and lynched them, at the same time lynching another murderer confined there. Another prisoner, after confessing the crime, died in prison. The trial was held at Springfield, and after hearing the Judge's charge was adjourned for the day, and the Sheriff started with the prisoners in his charge to the prison. A mob met him at the door and captured the prisoners. They then took possession of the court-house and hanged five of them to the verandah at the court-house door. Two other negroes, who had turned State evidence, were pursued during the night and killed. Thus ten murders avenged that of Lagrade.

26. The vacancy for East Cumberland, occasioned by the death of Sir Richard Musgrave, filled by Mr. George Howard (Liberal), who obtained 3,071 votes against 3,041 given to his opponent Mr. James Lowther (Conservative).

27. The St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum at Scranton, Pennsylvania, burnt down. The Sisters of Charity had in their charge 40 children under 12 years, who were locked in their dormitories when the fire was discovered. A Sister unlocked the girls' dormitory, liberating 23 girls, who all escaped; but on going to open the boys' dormitory, a stranger on the stairs refused to allow her to pass, because of the danger, saying that all had escaped. Afterwards, on the firemen breaking in the door, they found 17 boys suffocated by the smoke. They had crawled under their cots. They were all dead. Only two of them had been touched by the fire.

— The marriage of the prospective heir to the German crown celebrated with great pomp in the Royal Schloss at Berlin. The bridegroom was Frederick William Victor Albert, eldest son of the Crown Prince of Prussia and of Germany, grandson of the German Emperor and of Queen Victoria, nephew in the fifth degree of Frederick the Great, and twenty-fifth lineal descendant of the adventurous Conrad, *cadet* of Hohenzollern.

— A great demonstration made in Paris, in celebration of Victor Hugo having entered his eightieth year. M. Jules Ferry, attended by the chief functionaries of his department, waited upon M. Hugo, and begged the poet's acceptance, as an offering from the Government of the French Republic, of a superb vase from the Sèvres factory. The Comédie Française presented to

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him an immense wreath of white roses, on which were emblazoned the names of the pieces he had brought out there. Literature, trade, and commerce sent multifarious deputations, which assembled at eleven o'clock in the avenues adjoining the Place de l'Etoile, and comprised almost every well-known personage in Paris.

MARCH.

3. At the Vatican an unknown Cardinal appeared in the Loggia of Raphael among the many persons gathered there on the occasion of the anniversary of Leo XIII.'s coronation. For a few moments he was supposed to be a foreign Cardinal whose appearance was unknown to the officials, and some ladies present are said to have kissed his hand and received the Benediction from him. It was, however, soon noticed that he wore a moustache, and that some of the accessories in his dress were incomplete, and on his being then questioned, it was found that the supposed Cardinal was a poor madman who had on several occasions presented himself at the Vatican asking to be presented to the Pope.

5. At one o'clock in the afternoon a violent earthquake in about seven seconds nearly destroyed the town of Casamicciola, in the Island of Ischia, and reduced this flourishing and celebrated bathing establishment and town to little more than a heap of ruins. One hundred and twenty bodies were dug out of the ruins. Lower Casamicciola was less injured, but in the Upper Town there was not a house remaining. From amidst the heap of ruins the tower of the church, with the clock standing at five minutes past one, stood firm. In many directions the streets were impassable from the yawning chasms, some of which were two feet wide, and the majority of the survivors were forced to sleep for several nights in the open air. On the previous day shocks of earthquakes had been felt in Switzerland, at Agram, and in the Puy de Dôme.

6. At Nice, a balloon with three passengers was unexpectedly carried out to sea, and in spite of all attempts to stop its flight, the travellers would have been drowned had they not fallen in with an Italian ship, which rescued them after they had been four hours on the water.

7. The House of Lords delivered judgment in the action brought by Sir Rowland Hill and other residents at Hampstead against the managers of the Metropolitan Asylums for damages on account of a nuisance arising from the Hampstead Small-pox Hospital. Their lordships decided that the managers had no statutory authority to do anything which might be a nuisance to the plaintiffs without their consent. The judgment of the lower Courts in favour of the plaintiffs was therefore to be affirmed, with costs.

8. The House of Lords sitting as a Committee of Privileges declared that William John Manners, a son of the late Lord Huntingtower by his public English marriage with Miss Katharine Camilla Burke, had made out his claim to the Earldoms of Dysart and Barony of Huntingtower, created by Charles I. A counter petition had been made on behalf of Albert Edwin Tollemache, who claimed to be the only legitimate son of an irregular Scotch marriage which had been previously contracted by Lord Huntingtower with Elizabeth Ackford, his mother's lady's-maid, and much evidence was heard on both sides.

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9. In Paris, Les Magasins du Printemps, in the Place du Havre, near the Western Railway Station, a colossal linendrapery establishment, nearly burnt to the ground. The fire appeared to have lain hidden in the lower *magasins* all night, and when it declared itself the whole building was soon enveloped in flames. The *employés* sleeping in the establishment, both men and women, had to escape in their night-dresses. The steam and hand fire-engines were soon on the spot. Only part of the outward walls were left standing. One fireman was burnt, and another man was injured.

11. The House of Lords, sitting as a final Court of Appeal, gave an elaborate judgment on the "Tichborne Case." The Court of Queen's Bench, in 1874, had found Thomas Castro, *alias* Arthur Orton, *alias* Sir Roger C. Doughty Tichborne, guilty of perjury, and sentenced him to two terms of penal servitude, each of seven years—one offence being in his affidavit in the Court of Chancery, sworn in 1868, and the other in his evidence given in the Court of Common Pleas, in 1871. The counsel for the appellant urged a variety of points to show that both offences being included in one indictment and having a common object, the sentence for both should be concurrent. These objections were all overruled, and the two terms were pronounced to be consecutive.

12. In the channel, the Ducal liner, *Duke of Buccleuch*, 3,058 tons, bound for Calcutta, came into collision with the *Benin*, which was returning from Liberia with a cargo of 1,800 tons of West African produce. The accident occurred in broad daylight, and in an unusually smooth sea. The vessels had seen each other several miles apart, and the *Benin* had held her course under the impression that the new rules forbade her to change it. She sank in a few minutes after the blow, but not before the crew had reached the deck of the *Buccleuch*. The second officer of the *Buccleuch* was in charge at the time of the accident, and his defence was that the *Benin* was trying to cross his bows. The value of the property destroyed was about 230,000*l*.

— The vacancy at Coventry, caused by the death of Sir H. M. Jackson (Liberal), resulted in the election of a former Conservative member, Mr. H. W. Eaton, obtaining 4,011 votes against 3,568 given to Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth (Liberal).

— An Encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII. reminding the Episcopate of the bitter warfare carried on in many countries against the Church, whose salutary action the State desired to banish from the public life of the people, and complaining bitterly that this criminal conspiracy had been chiefly prejudicial to the Roman Pontiff, to whom, despoiled of his legitimate rights, had been left, as if in mockery, nothing more than the mere semblance of regal majesty. In the very centre of Catholic truth the sanctity of religion was outraged, the dignity of the Holy See was turned into contempt, and while many Catholic churches were closed or desecrated, the temples of heterodoxy, wherein the worst doctrines were taught with impunity, had multiplied. Laws injurious to the Church and the Catholic populations were sanctioned, and, regardless of that right of teaching with which the Roman Pontiff was invested, he was prohibited from any share in the education of youth beyond what was subject to the rude surveillance of civil legislation.

13. The Czar Alexander assassinated in the streets of St. Petersburg. About one o'clock, the Emperor, accompanied by his brother, the Grand-Duke Michael, was being driven in a closed carriage from the Winter Palace.

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He had reached the Catherine Canal, near the Stable-bridge, and close to the wall of the garden attached to the Michael Palace, when an explosion took place just behind the carriage, wounding the horses, one of the six Cossacks forming the escort, and killing a Moujick standing near. The carriage, somewhat shattered, was immediately brought to a standstill, and the Emperor, apparently thus far uninjured, stepped out before his brother in the road. After he had alighted from his carriage an officer ran towards him, and asked whether he was hurt. His Majesty replied very calmly, "Thank God! I am untouched. Don't disturb yourself. I must see after the wounded." A number of soldiers of the escort and civilians who had happened to be passing at the time were lying on the ground wounded. The Emperor ordered that all attention should be paid to the injured, and especially to a Cossack who had sustained serious hurts, and then, turning round, he saw the assassin a few paces from him, surrounded by a crowd of people. A soldier of the Preobrajenski Regiment of the Guard held him fast by the arms. He had in one hand a revolver and in the other a dagger. The Emperor approached the assassin with the utmost coolness and ordered him to be removed. His Majesty turned to walk home, but he had only gone a few steps when another young man threw something at his feet. A tremendous explosion followed, which was heard all over the city. As soon as the smoke had cleared away, the Emperor was seen to be lying on the ground in a pool of blood. Many other wounded persons were lying near him. The assassin himself fell to the ground, but was unhurt. He was immediately surrounded by a furious crowd, from whom the police had some difficulty in protecting him. The Emperor, who was quite unconscious, was placed on the sleigh of the Chief of Police, who took him in his arms, resting the head, which was covered with blood, on his breast. The Emperor's helmet was carried away by the explosion, and was not afterwards to be found. The Imperial carriage being smashed to pieces by this second explosion, the wounded Colonel took the Emperor into his sledge, and drove him to the Winter Palace. Drs. Botkin, Golvin, and two others were at once summoned, and they stated in a bulletin published about three o'clock that both his Majesty's legs were broken below the knees, the lower part of the body was severely injured, and the left eye forced from its socket. They therefore added that there was no hope. The Grand-Duke Michael, fortunately, was not hurt. The physicians having declared the Emperor's condition hopeless, the whole Imperial Family immediately gathered at the Winter Palace. The Emperor's chaplain was soon called, and from his hands his Imperial Majesty took the last Communion, and quietly expired shortly afterwards, at about a quarter to four. The Imperial Standard over the Palace was then lowered half-mast before a vast, silent, and anxiously inquiring crowd. All hats were removed, and general sorrow seemed to prevail. While driving up to the Palace the Grand-Duke Czarewitch was cheered by the masses. Streams of people moved up and down the streets, passing from one to the other the official bulletins. A Council of State was immediately summoned. All restaurants and places of amusement were closed, and even the outgoing trains on the various lines stopped. Rousakoff, the youth who threw the first bomb at the Emperor's carriage, was arrested by a soldier after the explosion. For the last two years he had been a student at the Mining Academy. The criminal who threw the second bomb was not taken. Rousakoff confessed to having thrown the first bomb, but denied any knowledge of the person who threw the second. On the following night a Cossack, and

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a person who declined to give his name, died in the hospital from injuries received by the explosion. Altogether twenty persons were injured. One account said the man who died without giving his name was apparently gravely implicated, even if he did not actually throw the second bomb, and died from the effects of poison he had taken.

15. Casamicciola visited at midnight by another earthquake, moving in a north-westerly direction; several of the remaining houses and buildings fell, and at sea the swell was so great that those who had taken refuge in boats were forced to put back to shore.

16. At about half-past eleven at night a woman passing down George Street noticed a large parcel on the side of one of the windows of the Mansion House, and, thinking it strange that it should have been left there, stood watching for some minutes, to see if anybody came to remove it. She then called a night-watchman, and he returned with her, and on taking up the parcel it was noticed to be on fire. He at once tore away the lighted part, and then conveyed the packet to the police station, where it was opened, and found to consist of a flat wooden box strongly bound with iron hoops, with a round hole in the centre, whence a fuse protruded. In the box were 40 lbs. of coarse blasting powder, part of an old carpet bag, and other things. No clue was obtained to the authors of this obvious attempt to blow up the Mansion House, which was attributed on the one hand to Fenian terrorism and on the other to anger of some of the Lord Mayor's Irish constituents in Lambeth, in consequence of the vote he had given in support of the Irish Coercion Bill in Parliament.

— On the same night a deliberate attempt was made near Wolverhampton to upset the London and North-Western express from London. A sleeper and two chairs had been placed upon the rails and tightly wedged down. The force of the collision, though great enough to partially cut the sleeper, did not throw the train off the line, and no fatal results ensued.

— A Parliamentary return issued showing that in the thirty dioceses into which England and Wales are divided there are 11,118 resident incumbents, and 1,509 non-residents, 385 curates-in-charge, and 4,888 assistant-curates. Of the sole-charge curates one received a stipend of 20*l.*, one of 30*l.*, three of 40*l.*, thirty-two of 80*l.*, seventy-eight of 100*l.*, twenty-two of 200*l.*, and one in each case of 250*l.*, 279*l.*, 290*l.*, and 300*l.* Of the assistant-curates two got board and lodging, four 10*l.* a year, twenty-three 20*l.*, fifteen 30*l.*, twenty-nine 40*l.*, ninety 50*l.*, four hundred and thirty-nine 100*l.*, 1,014 receive 120*l.*, 1,109 get 150*l.*, one hundred and sixty-two 200*l.*, thirteen 250*l.*, and two 300*l.*, whilst six receive 1*l.* per week.

18. In reply to a deputation of ladies and gentlemen, who urged the President of the Local Government Board to nominate *ex-officio* lady members of Boards of Guardians, Mr. Dodson declined for the time to establish a new precedent for his department.

— According to a Parliamentary Paper the total cost of the General Election of 1880, as shown in the official returns made by the various candidates, was 1,737,300*l.*, exclusive of 24 Irish seats. The outlay by 480 Conservative candidates was 951,000*l.*, and that by 488 Liberals was 771,540*l.* The average cost of success to the Conservatives was 1,884*l.* per seat, and to the Liberals 1,545*l.*, whilst of the defeated candidates, the former spent on an average 2,064*l.* per head, and the latter 1,663*l.* In the English and Welsh

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counties the expenditure was 455,015*l.* by the Conservatives, and 303,735*l.* by the Liberals; in the boroughs 346,010*l.* and 335,690*l.* respectively. In Scotland the Conservatives spent 48,410*l.* and the Liberals 35,825*l.*

19. The body of the late Czar transferred from its temporary resting-place in the Imperial Chapel of the Winter Palace to the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, to lie in state for a fortnight.

— Rev. S. F. Green, Rector of Miles Platting, Manchester, apprehended by a Sheriff's officer, and lodged in Lancaster Gaol.

20. A sermon preached at St. Peter's, Cornhill, by the Rev. H. Pahtahquahong Chase, hereditary chief of the Ojibway tribe, president of the Grand Council of Indians, and the Colonial Society's missionary at Munceytown, Canada. In early life Mr. Chase was employed in the Indian department of the Canadian government, and his conversion to Christianity took place after his appointment. After some years of useful life as a civilian, he was ordained, and since 1863 has been employed as a missionary.

21. After the death of Lord John Thynne, Sub-dean of Westminster, a controversy sprung up with regard to Ashburnham House, in Little Dean's-yard, which his lordship had occupied for so many years as his prebendal residence. By the Public Schools Act it was provided that the building should be handed over to the Governing Body of Westminster School; but the Dean and Chapter issued a statement in which they say that the house is built on the site and with the materials of an earlier edifice, once occupied by the Dean during the brief period in the reign of Henry VIII. when the Bishop of Westminster resided at the Deanery. The present building is said to have been erected by Inigo Jones. It was occupied by the Cotton Library, and later by Fynes Clinton. It was inhabited as a prebendal house by various Canons of Westminster, among others by Dr. Bell, founder of the Lancastrian system, and by Dean Milman, as rector of St. Margaret's. It was rumoured that this house, with its historical associations and its architectural decorations, were for the first time threatened with destruction, and that there was an intention to occupy for the purposes of the school not only the site of the house, but also the garden, including the clearly defined space of the ancient refectory, more than once used in the middle ages as the House of Commons, extending parallel to the wall of the south cloister. The Dean and Chapter being advised that the legal right conferred on the Governing Body in respect of the garden did not reach to the cloister wall, opposed all intrusion. An additional cloister proposed by Sir Gilbert Scott in Abingdon-street was abandoned on the score of expense, and the site of the ancient refectory was the only space still left. To preserve if possible this historical monument and its associations, an individual member of the chapter (presumed to be Dean Stanley) offered to give 4000*l.* (the exact equivalent of the sum fixed by the Act as the price of the property) in addition to the sum returned by the Chapter to the Governing Body of Westminster School, on condition of their relinquishing their rights under the Act to Ashburnham House and the site of the ancient refectory. On the other hand, the Head Master (Dr. Scott) put out a counter-statement, in which he said that though, as part of the original foundation of Queen Elizabeth, the school should, in equity, have shared in the increased value of the Chapter property, no such benefit resulted; on the contrary, that very increase was prejudicial to the interests of the school, as it made still more difficult the acquisition of additional space.

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The Public Schools Commissioners, in 1864, made various recommendations to the Dean and Chapter for the improvement and sustenance of the school. When the Public Schools Bill was being prepared, the Chapter, instead of giving effect to any one of these requirements, rebuilt, as a canonical residence on a larger scale, the house which the Commissioners recommended should be pulled down; they provided no additional site or building, and would have made in their compact with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners a provision for the future totally inadequate to the maintenance of the school.

— Dr. Julius Oppert, the distinguished writer on Assyrian Archæology, elected a member of the French Academy in the place of the late M. Mariette, the Egyptologist.

— The Opera House at Nice totally destroyed. Soon after the commencement of the performance of *Lucia de Lammermoor*, a gas explosion took place, setting fire to the scenery, and though the theatre was at once plunged in darkness by the cutting off of the gas, it was immediately lighted up by the conflagration. A frightful struggle ensued among the audience to reach the doors; those in the galleries, which were chiefly filled, being cut off from chances of escape by the staircases catching fire. Happily there were not more than 150 people present, the boxes and stalls being untenanted. Sixty-two lives, however, were lost, amongst them four English, employed in the theatre. Strakosch, the *impresario*, was slightly hurt, and Signora Dorcadio, the *prima donna*, had to escape in the costume in which she was singing.

24. At a Court held at Windsor, the Queen conferred upon the Earl of Fife the honour of Knighthood, and invested him with the insignia of the Order of the Thistle. Subsequently the Queen held a private investiture of the Order of the Bath, when a large number of officers who had distinguished themselves in the Afghanistan campaign received their respective decorations.

25. "The Nation's Drink Bill for 1880" was thus composed :—

			1880	1879
Beer consumed	905,088,978 gals.,	at 1*s.* 6*d.*	£67,881,673	£73,557,609
British spirits	28,457,486 ,,	at 20*s.* 0*d.*	28,457,486	27,936,650
Foreign spirits	8,477,512 ,,	at 24*s.* 0*d.*	10,173,014	11,449,021
Wine	15,852,335 ,,	at 18*s.* 0*d.*	14,267,102	13,440,583
British do. (est.)	15,000,000 ,,	at 2*s.* 0*d.*	1,750,000	1,750,000
			£122,279,275	£128,143,863

In 1860 the amount expended in the same way was 86,897,693*l.* from which point it rose steadily until 1876, when it reached the enormous total of 147,288,760*l.*, since which there has been a steady reduction.

— Intelligence reached this country that the attempt of the French Legitimist adventurer, Le Marquis de Ray, to colonise New Ireland, in the Eastern Archipelago, had collapsed. The colonists who had sailed in the previous year under circumstances which had attracted much attention and suspicion, eventually reached Noumea, where they arrived nearly starved.

— According to a return published in the *Golos* of St. Petersburg, the Russian Naval Budget for the ten years 1870–80 had absorbed 298,920,910 roubles, of which, however, only 72,000,000 roubles or one-twenty-sixth part had been devoted to ship-building. For this sum Russia had obtained an ironclad, *Peter the Great*, two Popofkeas, three frigates, eight clippers (corvettes), four cruisers, purchased in America, four Imperial yachts, including the turbot-shaped

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Livadia, four schooners, nine gunboats, and 117 torpedo boats, of which only two, however, were adapted for harbour or coast service.

26. Charles I., King of Roumania, vested with his new kingly title by the united action of the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies and the Council of Deputies, to the general surprise of the *corps diplomatique* and the world generally.

27. The funeral of the late Czar took place at St. Petersburg. At half-past ten o'clock the clergy took their places at the foot of the coffin. All around were ranged ladies of honour, members of the Council of the Empire, Ministers, Senators, functionaries of the Court, &c. On the right of the catafalque were placed the members of the *corps diplomatique* and their consorts, including the Earl of Dufferin (British Ambassador), the Ambassadress, their eldest daughter, and the Secretaries of the Embassy.

28. The prosecution for alleged libel, brought by Mr. Edward Levy Lawson, editor and part proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, against Mr. Labouchere, M.P., editor and proprietor of *Truth*, and part proprietor of the *Daily News*, which lasted an entire week before Lord Coleridge in the Queen's Bench, came to a close. The jury, after deliberating for an hour and a half, said there was no hope of their agreeing. There were, it is said, seven for Mr. Lawson and five for Mr. Labouchere. They were accordingly discharged without arriving at any verdict. It was a prosecution by Mr. Lawson for an alleged libel in Mr. Labouchere's paper *Truth*, imputing to the former cowardly conduct in respect of an assault on Mr. Labouchere, and a refusal of a challenge from him, and also discreditable conduct in the management of the *Daily Telegraph*, both with reference to its political articles and to certain advertisements. Mr. Labouchere, in conducting his own case, adduced extracts from articles that appeared in the *Telegraph* on Christmas Days and Good Fridays. These extracts were brought forward in support of Mr. Labouchere's contention that it is a disgrace to journalism for a paper edited and owned by Hebrews to insert these articles on Christianity. Evidence was further tendered showing that the advertisements referring to "baby farming," patent medicines, &c., were inserted at a higher rate than that charged for ordinary advertisements. And as regarded the other part of the alleged libel, that Mr. Lawson had "bespattered Mr. Gladstone with slavish adulation" when he was in power, "in the hope of currying favour and obtaining some sort of social currency;" but that, no sooner were the Liberals out of office, than Mr. Lawson "commenced to attack him in a vein of mendacious and scurrilous vilification." On this part of the case Mr. Labouchere cited extracts from the *Daily Telegraph* written some time ago in terms of the highest praise of Mr. Gladstone and of the opposite kind of Mr. Disraeli. Other articles of a recent date were also cited in which the characters were reversed. Sir Hardinge Giffard first argued that the political articles did not exceed the bounds and limits of fair and honest criticism, and that there was no evidence that he had any personal object in view. He then contended, on Mr. Lawson's behalf, that he was not responsible for the insertion of these advertisements. Mr. Lawson did not, he said, deny that he might have heard some talk about them, and that at some time or other it was brought to his knowledge that the *Times* would not take them, and that in consequence of these circumstances they were discontinued in the *Daily Telegraph*. In dealing with the high charges made for these advertisements, he suggested a consideration which he said perhaps would not present itself

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to many persons' minds, but which might, nevertheless, have been the true motive for the extra charge—namely, that it was made with a view to handicap these advertisements, and so to discourage advertisers, and eventually lead to their exclusion from the paper. He was aware that some people would not take that view, but possibly some of the jury might.

29. Exeter Hall, which had been purchased by the Young Men's Christian Association at a cost of 25,000*l.*, and re-arranged and decorated at an equal cost, re-opened by the Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., president, in the presence of a large company. The day chosen was the fiftieth anniversary of its original foundation. During the interval Exeter Hall had been chiefly used as the place where the various religious and philanthropic societies of London held their public meetings, and the Sacred Harmonic Society gave its oratorios.

30. The statistics of Irish emigration during the year 1880 issued. They showed the number of emigrants leaving Irish ports in that year to have been 95,857, as compared with 47,364 in the year 1879. All with the exception of 340 were natives of Ireland. The province of Leinster furnished, 16,169; Munster, 30,654; Ulster, 28,122; and Connaught, 20,519, the proportion of emigrants to the population being in the order given, rising from 12 per cent. in Leinster to 24 per cent. in Connaught. Since May 1, 1851, to December 30, 1880, 2,637,187 emigrants (1,406,476 males and 1,230,711 females) had quitted Ireland. Of the native emigrants of 1880 nearly 86 per cent. went to foreign countries or to colonies, and about 14 per cent. came to Great Britain, the United States absorbing no less than 74,636 of the total number.

— A competitive trial of the three systems of electric lighting commenced in the London streets. The Thames Embankment was left to the Jablochkoff light, and its place as third competitor subsequently assigned to the Lontin system; Ludgate Circus and Blackfriars Bridge were lighted by the Brush light, and London Bridge and the space before the Mansion House by the Siemen process. The estimate for a year's lighting almost equal areas was stated to be by the Brush system, 1,410*l.*; by the Siemen, 3,720*l.*; and by the Lontin, 2,930*l.*, inclusive of the charges of installation.

— Johann Most, editor of the *Freiheit*, a German newspaper published in London, charged at Bow Street Police Court with printing and publishing a wicked, malicious, and scandalous libel concerning the late Emperor Alexander II. of Russia, with intent to incite to murder. The article was headed "At Last!" and commencing with a quotation from the works of C. Beck:—

> Seize these, seize those, and hold them fast;
> But one will reach thee still at last;

then continued, "Triumph, triumph! The word of the poet is fulfilled. One of the most horrible tyrants of Europe, whose destruction has been long sworn, and before whose withering and revengeful breath countless heroes and heroines of the Russian people sank into the grave or the prison, the Emperor of Russia, is no more." In similar violent terms the article proceeded to describe the assassination, and the name of Roussakof is described by the writer as "one to be treated with reverence"; "long-forfeited heads tremble, from Constantinople to Washington," the "heroic deed" of assassinating the Emperor extolled, and the necessity of such "Brutus-like actions" being more frequently performed strongly insisted on. It proposed that March 13 should be a workman's holiday all over the world.

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APRIL.

1. According to the twenty-third report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, it appeared that during the last forty years the total number of benefices that had been augmented and endowed amount to about 4,700, the grants consisting partly of annual payments charged upon the Common Fund; partly of capital sums expended in the provision or improvement of parsonage houses or in the purchase of property; and partly of land, tithes, &c., annexed to the benefices, which amount in all to about 620,500*l.* per annum in perpetuity, or, in capital value, to a sum of 18,615,000*l.* The benefactions by private donors amount in round numbers to 3,750,000*l.*, and are equivalent to a permanent increase in endowments of 125,000*l.* per annum; whilst a sum of 20,000*l.* per annum had been contributed to meet the Commissioners' grants for curates in mining districts.

3. The decennial census taken throughout the United Kingdom by above thirty thousand enumerators.

— A severe earthquake devastated the island of Chio, in the Ægean Sea. Nearly the whole of the town of Chio, and many of the adjacent villages, were destroyed. Out of a total population of 71,491, it was ascertained subsequently that 3,612 had been killed and 1,306 wounded. The shock was also felt at Syra and Smyrna. Fresh shocks occurred at Chio the following day, and the inhabitants took refuge on board the steamers in the harbour. The island of Chio, Scio, or Skio is situated in the Ægean Sea, separated from the coast of Anatolia by a channel not more than seven miles where narrowest, and about fifty-three miles west of Smyrna.

4. Lanhydrock House, near Bodmin, the seat of Lord Robartes, almost entirely destroyed by fire. The conflagration originated in the kitchen, and, owing to a high wind, the greater part of the mansion in a few hours became a prey to the flames. The house was built early in the seventeenth century, and was remarkable for being ornamented throughout by a series of figures pendant from the ceilings or attached to the cornices representing Scriptural events. One series, showing the Creation, occupied the whole length of a gallery over 100 feet in length. The walls were hung with a collection of pictures by the first masters, most of which were consumed.

5. According to a despatch to the *Cologne Gazette*, the Grand-Duke Nicholas Constantinovitch, the eldest son of the Grand-Duke Constantine (eldest brother of the late Emperor Alexander II.), arrested by a captain and two lieutenants in the small village of Sablino, situate on the railroad to Moscow, and immediately afterward interned in a castle of his father near St. Petersburg. The Grand-Duke, whose name was mentioned some years ago in connection with a diamond theft, was under suspicion of being concerned in political intrigues in favour of his father. A Vienna telegram described a violent scene which took place between the Emperor and the Grand-Duke Constantine, caused by the arrest.

— The House of Lords sitting as a Court of Final Appeal, gave judgment in the long-standing case of "Martin *v.* Mackonochie," The original sentence in the suit was pronounced by the late Dean of Arches, Sir Robert Phillimore, December, 1874. It was a sentence of suspension for six weeks

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against the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, incumbent of St. Alban's, Holborn, for having practised certain observances in the celebration of Holy Communion declared to be unlawful, with a monition not to continue such practices in future. In March, 1878, Lord Penzance, who had succeeded to the post of Dean of Arches, issued a fresh monition, founded on the former one, on affidavits of a persistence in similar practices, and on notice to the defendant and non-appearance, he afterwards passed the sentence of suspension for three years *ab officio et a beneficio*. Two Judges of the Queen's Bench Division—the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mellor—thought this an excess of jurisdiction and a ground for prohibition; a third Judge, Mr. Justice Lush, dissenting. And from that judgment both Lord Penzance and the promoter of the suit appealed. The Court of Appeal reversed the decision of the Queen's Bench Division, this being the effect of the judgments delivered by Lord Coleridge and the Lords Justices James and Thesiger, while Lords Justices Brett and Cotton were of an opposite opinion. Thus, taking the Queen's Bench and the Appeal Court together, the Judges were equally divided in opinion—four against four. The House of Lords, however, consisting of the Lord Chancellor, Earl Cairns, Lord Blackburn, and Lord Watson, were unanimous in deciding against Mr. Mackonochie.

Thus the suspension of Mr. Mackonochie *ab officio et beneficio* for the space of three years was held good. The matters from which he was admonished to abstain were wearing "vestments," causing the *Agnus Dei* to be sung during the reception of the elements by the communicants, making the sign of the cross to the congregation, and kissing the Prayer-book.

8. Although the first inter-University Boat Race was rowed in 1829, and only thirty-eight contests had taken place, this year was celebrated as the first jubilee of the institution, and a dinner was held to which all University champion oars were invited. Contrary to the custom which has prevailed for many years, the Oxford and Cambridge boat race was rowed on Friday instead of Saturday. The result of the race was a triumph for the Oxford crew, who won by three lengths, and who rowed over the course from Putney to Mortlake in twenty-one minutes and fifty-two seconds, being twenty-nine seconds more than the time occupied traversing the same course last year, when Oxford won by four lengths. Oxford having won the toss, chose the Middlesex side, and took the water soon after 8·30 A.M. The oars struck the water together in a perfectly level start, and the boats started as steadily and quietly as if for an ordinary trial instead of for the race. For the first mile it was difficult to say that either boat had an advantage. Oxford was a few feet ahead, and was rowing a stroke a minute faster than Light Blue. Both crews rowed with great deliberation, at 36 and 37 strokes a minute respectively. Most of the faults which had been apparent in practice disappeared, and the rowing was excellent on both sides. On starting for the Shoot the boats were virtually even. Oxford quickened somewhat, and on getting fairly over went a quarter of a length ahead, an advantage which they slightly improved as they passed the Soap Works; and, gaining still more by the Light Blue coxswain having taken his boat too far on, passed under Hammersmith Bridge three-quarters of a length ahead. Cambridge stroke now put on a spurt; and here, if ever, it was that the station was in favour of the Light Blue pulling the race out of the fire. They did not prove equal to the occasion. The boat rolled heavily at every stroke, and the crew all got short and jerky. The boat seemed, indeed, to travel more slowly than

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it had done with the slower stroke. As soon as this conspicuous failure of their attempt to spurt was seen, it was clear that the race was over, and from this point the Light Blue coxswain, who had hitherto steered fairly well, did much to impede the progress of the boat by pulling her head first on one side and then on the other. Light Blue stroke spurted again and again, but Oxford gradually increased the lead. At the upper end of Chiswick Eyot they were more than clear; half a mile further they were a length in advance and went under Barnes Bridge nearly, if not quite, three lengths ahead. Cambridge put on another gallant spurt at this point, but Oxford had now the race well in hand, and won by nearly four lengths. The race was a slow one—21 minutes and 51 seconds; but there was very little tide. The water was at no time rough enough to inconvenience the crews to any serious extent. For the first mile and a half Cambridge were as good as their opponents; but after that their style told against them, and Oxford had the race in hand. The crews were:—

OXFORD.	st.	lb.	CAMBRIDGE.	st.	lb.
1. R. H. J. Poole, Brasenose	10	11	1. C. Gridley, Third Trinity	10	7
2. R. A. Pinckey, Exeter	11	3	2. H. Sandford, Lady Margaret	11	10½
3. A. R. Paterson, Trinity	12	7	3. J. A. Watson-Taylor, Magdalen	12	3½
4. E. Buck, Hertford	11	11	4. P. W. Atkin, Jesus	11	13
5. R. Kindersley, Exeter	13	3	5. E. Lambert, Pembroke	12	4½
6. D. E. Brown, Hertford	12	7	6. A. M. Hutchinson, Jesus	11	13
7. J. H. T. Wharton, Magdalen	11	0	7. C. W. Moore, Christ's	11	9
L. R. West, New Inn Hall (stroke)	11	0½	E. C. Brooksbank, Trinity Hall (stroke)	11	8
E. H. Lyon, Hertford (cox.)	7	0	H. Woodhouse, Trinity Hall (cox.)	7	2

9. A general order issued by the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief announcing the changes in the organisation, titles and uniform of the regiments of the infantry of the line and militia, which having been approved, were to come into effect on July 1, 1881. The infantry of the line and militia would thenceforward be organised in territorial regiments, each of four battalions for England, Scotland, and Wales, and five battalions for Ireland; the first and second of these being line battalions, and the remainder militia. These regiments would bear a territorial designation corresponding to the localities with which they were connected. All distinctions, mottoes, badges, or devices borne by either of the line battalions of a territorial regiment were in future to be borne by both battalions. Battalions which had not hitherto borne a special device would adopt a national badge—English regiments, a rose; Scotch, a thistle; Irish, a shamrock; Welsh, a dragon. The 72nd, 73rd, 75th, and 91st would be added to those already wearing the kilt. All other Scotch regiments wearing trews and the Highland jacket.

— Late at night a band of brigands, supposed to be Greeks, surrounded the house of Mr. Suter, at the village of Cassandra, near Varna, and succeeded in carrying off Mr. Suter, his wife, child, and four servants. Mrs. Suter was subsequently released, but for Mr. Suter a ransom of 15,000*l.* is demanded, in addition to a safe-conduct from the authorities during the negotiations. Mr. Suter, son of the British ex-consul at Varna, was manager for an English company of the mines at Opomelia, near Mount Athos.

10. The trial of the Russian regicides in St. Petersburg, after lasting three days, concluded. The women as well as the men were described as

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ill-favoured, except Sheliaboff, who was a fine man, and the only one among the prisoners who conducted his own defence. The evidence added little to what was already known. The prisoners confessed and explained their share in the execution of the plot, and, as a consequence, many of the witnesses were dispensed with. Sheliaboff expressed his disappointment at finding that members of the Senate, and not men of his own class, constituted the Court to try him. On the second day of the trial the experts explained the composition and manufacture of the bombs; but they were corrected by the prisoner Keebaltchitch, who showed the process more accurately. A police officer described his apprehension of the woman Peroffskaya, by leaping into her droschky as she was driving along one of the principal thoroughfares several days after the murder. At midnight the Court withdrew, having put the indictment in the form of twenty-six questions. After three hours' absence they returned, having answered in the affirmative all the questions respecting the prisoners except two, Michaeloff and Helfmann. The Attorney-General then called for sentence. Risakoff's advocate pleaded against the death penalty being pronounced on his client, who is not yet twenty years old. The Attorney-General replied, and the Court again withdrew, and at half-past six it pronounced all the accused guilty, and sentenced them to death by hanging. The announcement was received quite calmly by the prisoners, none of them showing, in their faces, the slightest change. The sentence was then sent to the Czar for confirmation, an effort being made on behalf of Jesse Helfmann, no woman having been hanged in Russia for 130 years.

— In the course of excavations at Dürkheim, in the Palatinate, the workmen came upon an enormous iron chest containing the celebrated treasure of the Abbey of Limburg, which disappeared after the siege of the abbey in 1504. It contained a large number of vases and other objects of gold and silver, of precious stones, and a host of coins of the fifteenth century. There were also a number of articles for worship, dating from the commencement of the abbey, which was constructed by Conrad the Salic, and his wife, Queen Gisela, and opened in 1030.

— Mrs. Reville, the wife of a butcher, murdered at Slough. During the absence of her husband, someone entered the room where she was sitting, and inflicted several frightful wounds upon her head and neck with a chopper. The unfortunate woman was quite dead when discovered by a neighbour. It was surmised that Mrs. Reville was sitting at her desk in a room adjoining the shop, making up the accounts, when some person must have taken the chopper out of the shop and cut her head nearly off. A note was found by her side in a disguised handwriting. At the inquest Mr. Reville gave evidence that he left his wife writing when he quitted home between seven and eight o'clock. A boy named Payne, an assistant in the shop, was examined, and declared that he knew nothing of the murder. A blood stain on his shirt, he said, was caused when he was killing sheep. Payne was subsequently arrested and committed on the capital charge, but when brought up for trial he was acquitted without any hesitation by the jury.

12. A terrible fire destroyed the whole of the commercial centre of the city of Buonaventura in the State of Columbia. Strong winds were blowing, house after house caught, and soon struggles to save property became struggles for life itself. Seven persons are known to have been cut off by the flames, and perished. After the first few hours all attempts to check

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the flames were abandoned, and the fire practically burnt itself out, the panic-stricken population only saving what little they could remove.

— The Lords Justices of Appeal refused the writ of *habeas corpus* applied for with a view to discharge from custody Rev. S. F. Green, rector of St. John's, Miles Platting, detained in Lancaster gaol for offences against the Church Service Regulation Act.

— Mrs. Fletcher, a professed medium, after a trial lasting many days, found guilty of conspiracy with her husband "Colonel" Fletcher of obtaining jewellery and lace to the value of 10,000*l.* by false pretences of Mrs. Hart-Davies, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour. The question turned upon whether the so-called spiritualist manifestations of the plaintiff's mother were the result of fraud, and the jury decided in this sense.

14. The Founder's medal of the Royal Geographical Society awarded to Major Serpa Pinto, the Portuguese explorer of Central Africa; the Grotian's medal to Mr. Benjamin Leigh Smith, the Arctic traveller, for his discoveries in Franz-Josef's Land off the coast of Spitzbergen in his yacht *Eira*.

15. The five persons condemned to death for the assassination of the late Emperor of Russia hanged at St. Petersburg. The prisoners were conveyed in carts from the prison to the scene of the execution, all riding with their backs towards the horses, dressed in black garments and flat caps, with a black board on their breast, bearing the inscription in white letters, "Assassin of the Czar." The procession was escorted through the city by several sotnias of Cossacks and a detachment of the Pavlovsky Regiment, and at the place of execution two companies of each regiment of Guards, numbering between 4,000 and 5,000 men, were on duty. Soon after the procession started, one of the condemned, Michailoff, it is said, commenced addressing the crowd, but was silenced by the beat of drums. After the judgment of the Court had been read by the secretary, five priests ascended the scaffold to offer the last religious consolations to the prisoners, according to the rites of the Russo-Greek Church. In a quarter of an hour the hangman's task was completed. After half an hour Dr. Prentence and two civil officials certified that death had taken place. Each of the bodies was then placed in a deal coffin, and removed under escort in a large cart provided for the purpose. The scaffold was promptly cleared away. Large numbers of people assembled as in the same place when Molodetsky was hanged, but not in such large crowds as on the occasion of Solovieff's execution. In one of the accounts of the execution at St. Petersburg of the Czar's assassins, it was stated that in the case of Michailoff, the rope broke twice with the weight of his body before the hangman completed his task.

— About two o'clock in the morning the venerable tower of St. John's, Chester, suddenly fell. An immense crack, which had extended from the summit to the base for years past, had, after the rigour of the past winter, opened more widely, and the whole tower had given such signs of insecurity that the authorities of the church had taken steps to repair it. These precautions, however, came too late, for on the north side the tower was then evidently giving way, and was pronounced unsafe by the builder engaged in the work. In the tower was a peal of eight bells, the most melodious in the city, and these remain suspended in the belfry. Fortunately no lives were lost, and the body of the church has not suffered except to a slight extent,

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the tower being isolated from it. The most serious loss is the entire destruc tion of a very massive and beautiful Early English porch and gateway. Half of the tower was left standing in a very precarious state.

18. Colonel Malcolmson, who had held a command in the Afghan campaign, and brought before a court-martial on the charges of misbehaviour and cowardice, honourably acquitted. It was alleged against him that in the retreat from Maiwand, having outmarched the remainder of the force, he openly advised the abandonment of the guns and gun-carriages which were laden with wounded; and that he spread reports calculated to spread alarm and despondency. Generals Burrows and Nuttall, who were the chief witnesses for the prosecution, were subjected to a severe cross-examination; and the court, having sat for ten days, came to a decision, after hearing two or three only of the witnesses, for the defence.

— At the Brighton Volunteer Review, 25,000 men of all arms, chiefly belonging to the Metropolitan Rifle Corps, engaged in a sham fight. A British army of 10,000 was supposed to be marching to Brighton along the Lewes road, when on reaching Falmer it learned that the enemy, nearly 15,000 strong, had landed at Brighton, and established themselves in a strong position between Newmarket Hill and Bevendean. The invaders, though they resisted stoutly, were ultimately forced to fall bsck.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales paid a visit to Norwich for the purpose of opening the National Fisheries Exhibition. The show was divided into six classes, as follows:—1. Pisciculture and shell-fish culture. 2. Models, trawling gear, drifting gear, canvas and ropes, and inland fishing-tackle. 3. Life-saving apparatus, lamps, fog-horns, signalling, architectural plans for fish markets, fish-curing establishments, fish vans, and fishermen's clothing. 4. Pictures, utilisation of condemned fish and fish refuse as a manure, and the cleansing of sewage-polluted streams. 5. Dried, salted, smoked, and tinned fish, shell-fish, fish oils, manure, and disinfectants, aquatic flora and fauna, and birds which prey upon fish. 6. Loans, including a number of trophies of angling skill. The best of these were contributed by the London Piscatorial Society—a collection of fish principally taken in the Thames. There was also in this class a fine collection of casts made by the late Frank Buckland, and lent by the authorities of South Kensington Museum.

19. The Monetary Conference at Paris opened at the Salon des Fêtes at the Foreign Office, by a speech from the Minister, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire. England and Italy were not represented at the earlier sittings, but subsequently Sir Louis Mallett attended. On the motion of Mr. Evarts, the United States Minister, M. Maguin, French Minister of Finance, was elected president.

23. Russell M'Coy, the first descendant of the famous mutineers of the *Bounty* who ever visited this country, arrived at Liverpool from Pitcairn Island in the American ship *Harvey Mills*. When he left there were ninety-five persons on the island, but only three names of the original mutineers now remain, these being Christian, Young, and M'Coy. The oldest inhabitant was a stepdaughter of John Young, she being also the stepdaugher of John Adams. She was then about ninety years of age, and was the second child born on the island. M'Coy stated that it was an error to suppose that Adams was the leader of the mutineers, that position being

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always occupied by Fletcher Christian. The islanders at present have sheep, goats, pigs, and fowls, with which they were supplied chiefly by passing vessels. There is no money, the people exchanging one with another anything they may have. There is one church on the island, and one school, and the schoolmaster, Simon Young, also officiates in the church. His daughter, Rosalind Young, assists him in the school. The Church service is conducted according to the English Prayer-book; the marriage ceremony is similar to ours, except that the wedding can take place after one publication of the banns. Polygamy is, of course, strictly forbidden, and it is even a rare occurrence for a second wife to be taken should the first die. Services are held in the church twice each Sunday, and the Sunday-school meets twice also. The day-school is open from 9 A.M. to 2 P.M., sometimes three o'clock, one hour being allowed for dinner. On Saturday there is a holiday. English manners and English customs are followed so closely that the islanders keep the Christmas, Whitsuntide, and Easter holidays, and Good Friday is always observed as a strict fast-day. M'Coy said the people were always very glad to hear about the Queen, who had been so kind to them, and an organ which Her Majesty had presented to them was an object of much veneration. As far as regards food the islanders were well off, but the supply of clothing is very deficient, particularly in the case of the female inhabitants. M'Coy is a married man, and the father of nine children. The principal articles of which the islanders were in need were wearing apparel, thread, cotton, needles and domestic utensils.

25. The fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick, celebrated with great rejoicings in the capital of the Duchy. He had been called to the throne on the summary ejection of his brother Karl, who died some years since, bequeathing all his wealth to the city of Geneva.

26. The funeral of the Earl of Beaconsfield took place at Hughenden. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, and Prince Leopold (representing the Queen) followed the chief mourners in the procession to the church. Most of the members of Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet, the Marquis of Hartington, Sir W. Harcourt, and other prominent members of both Houses of Parliament followed. Wycombe town was full of people, and all the avenues to Hughenden Church and Manor were lined with spectators. The road was filled with carriages, and the library gradually filled with illustrious guests. One of the first to arrive was Sir William Harcourt, once the companion of Lord Beaconsfield in his Sunday walks at Hughenden. Next came Lord Salisbury, who, after long estrangement, became his most hearty colleague, and then appeared Lord Hartington, the absence of whose political sponsor, Lord Granville, disabled by sickness, was sincerely deplored. Lord Henry Lennox, whose personal affection for the chief of his party is well-known, next appeared deeply moved; and then arrived in quick succession Lord Rosebery, Lord John Manners, the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Cairns, Lord Derby, Lord Abergavenny, Count Münster, Count Karolyi, Lord Lytton, Lord Carrington, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Mr. W. H. Smith, Colonel Loyd-Lindsay, Sir W. Hart Dyke, Lord Sandon, Lord Malmesbury, the Duke of Marlborough, the American Minister (Mr. Russell Lowell), the Duke of Buckingham, the Turkish Ambassador, Mr. James Lowther, Lord Bradford, Mr. Rowland Winn, the Marquis of Exeter, and the Duke of Portland. No sooner ha the Royal Princes arrived than they proceeded to place with their own hands the tributes of Royal respect which

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they had brought with them above the mass of flowers which already towered high above the bier. The Queen sent two wreaths, one of primroses with the inscription, "His favourite flowers, from Osborne, a tribute of affection from Queen Victoria." The second was of bay leaves and everlasting flowers with the words in letters of gold, "A mark of true affection, friendship, and respect from the Queen." The Prince of Wales offered "A tribute of friendship and affection," the Princess, "A token of friendship and regret;" Princess Beatrice, "A mark of respect;" Prince Leopold, "A mark of friendship and respect;" and the Duchess of Connaught, "A token of regard and respect." The procession to the church was formed, the three Princes and the chief mourners, Mr. Ralph Disraeli and his son Mr. Coningsby Disraeli, Lords Rowton and Barrington, following the coffin by one door, while the greater number of those present issued from the opposite side of the hall and joined the leaders outside. The funeral service was read by the vicar of Hughenden, Mr. Blagden, in the church, which was filled by those who had not come to the house. Amongst these were Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Millais, R.A., Dr. Quain, M.D. In the coffin had been placed a solid silver casket, weighing above two pounds and a half, being in the possession of the Disraeli family; it contained a coloured portrait of the deceased statesman taken shortly before his death.

— The accounts presented to the general synod of the Church of Ireland showed that the Representative Body was possessed of 7,032,527*l.*, which was derived and expended as follows :—

RECEIPTS.

Balance of commutation money from Church Temporalities Commissioners	£2,655,625
By Church Temporalities Commissioners, in lieu of private endowments	500,000
Composition of annuitants	1,482,782
Contributions during eleven years	2,295,622
Interest of (2), (3), and (4)	98,498

PAYMENTS.

Payment of annuitants	£2,655,625
Parochial sustentation	3,235,458
Episcopal sustentation	322,529
Purchase of glebe-houses, &c.	263,017
Various trust funds, &c.	309,936
Balance	245,961

— H.M. sloop *Doterel* six guns, 1,137 tons, and 900 horse power, blown up off Sandy Point in the Straits of Magellan. The cause for a long time remained a mystery, the Fenian "skirmishers" at first claiming to have destroyed her. Of the officers and crew, 156 in number, only eleven escaped. A committee of inquiry subsequently found that the explosion was owing to the defective ventilation of the coal bunkers, but this conclusion was shaken by subsequent discoveries of the incautious use of a certain chemical varnish.

27. Disclosures of a very strange character made at Constantinople as to he murder of Sultan Abdul Aziz, by one of the women in Mahmud Damad's harem. Fahri Bey, second chamberlain to the murdered sultan, and possessing his entire confidence, was accused of being the principal actor on the occasion. He employed the murderers, set a guard at the door of the room

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occupied by the Sultan's mother, with instructions to kill her, too, if she endeavoured to enter her son's room. Then Fahri, with Ibrahim, a wrestler, and two eunuchs, went to the Sultan. Fahri Bey threw him on a sofa and sat on his head, while Abrahim was ordered to cut open the veins of the arm with a dagger. The unfortunate monarch struggled, and at one time threw off Fahri; but he was again knocked down and the business completed. A pair of scissors, steeped in blood, were placed in the dying Sultan's left hand, and sometime after Fahri Bey pretended to seek his master for instructions, and feigned horror and grief at finding him dead, so well that the others believed him. A commission was forthwith appointed to try the accused persons, among whom was Suleiman Pasha, commander-in-chief during the late war. It was said to have been part of the plot to kill off all the Imperial princes, but this was frustrated.

28. At the Mansion House a fête held by the members of the Ragged School Union, with the object of presenting a testimonial to the Earl of Shaftesbury on his eightieth birthday. The Lord Mayor presided, and was attended in state by the sheriffs, and surrounded by many distinguished persons. The principal resolution, offering a grateful recognition to Lord Shaftesbury's services, was moved by the Earl of Aberdeen and seconded by the Right Hon. W. E. Forster.

30. The Queen and Princess Beatrice paid a visit to the tomb of Lord Beaconsfield at Hughenden. After a few minutes' stay within the church, the Royal visitors walked across the green sward to the inclined excavation leading to the opening of the vault, and then, followed by Princess Beatrice, Lord Rowton, the lady-in-waiting, and Lord Charles Fitzroy, Her Majesty walked to the tomb and placed a wreath and cross of white camellias and other flowers upon the heap of floral offerings which completely obscured the lid of Lord Beaconsfield's coffin.

MAY.

1. According to a census taken by, and published in the *St. James's Gazette*, it appeared that at fifty-seven churches in the city of London, all situated within one square mile, with sittings for 31,055 persons, and according to the *Clergy Directory*, with an aggregate income of 40,266*l*., the total present were 6,731. Of these 571 were officials and their families, 706 choristers (mostly paid), 227 paupers for alms, and 1,374 school children. The ordinary congregation was thus reduced to 3,853, viz., 1,227 men, 1,790 women, and 830 children. In this estimate the attendance at St. Paul's Cathedral was included, but not the emolument of any of the capitular body.

— The Kansas Liquor Law, the most stringent measure ever drafted by the prohibitionists, came into operation. By it all places where liquor is disposed of are declared to be common nuisances, to be abated by the constable, who is liable to a penalty if he neglects his duty. The sale, gift, or manufacture of all kinds of intoxicating liquor, communion wine not exempted, is forbidden, except for medicinal, scientific, or mechanical purposes. Doctors prescribing alcoholic liquor must make an affidavit before a probate judge that they will only use it in cases of actual sickness, while druggists must give a bond for 500*l*. that they will only dispense it on prescription.

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2. Shortly before eleven at night great confusion was caused in the thoroughfares between St. Paul's and the Thames by the sudden collapse of the Brush lamps. The police were at once told off to light the gas. The electric apparatus was soon got into order again, but after a few minutes there was a second and irremediable break-down. The cause of the mishap could not be explained.

— A Parliamentary return showing the number of electors in England and Wales to be 2,537,810. Of these, 932,860 were in the counties, 1,591,451 in the boroughs, and 13,499 in the Universities. In Ireland the number was 229,461, of whom 168,217 were in counties, 57,497 in boroughs, 3,747 in Trinity College, Dublin. In Scotland there were 310,218 electors—201,529 in boroughs, 96,570 in counties, and 12,119 in Universities. The total number of electors in the United Kingdom, therefore, was 3,077,489. Manchester, which was formerly the largest constituency in the three kingdoms, had now become third on the list. The order of precedence of the great constituencies was as follows: — Birmingham, 63,909; Liverpool, 63,221; Manchester, 58,712; Glasgow, 57,882.

— The first Mayday festival was celebrated at Whitelands with perfect success. The arrangements, all suggested by Mr. Ruskin, were enthusiastically carried out by the principal, Miss Stanley, and the students. Morning service in the chapel, which had been most prettily decorated for the occasion, was bright and at the same time impressive; the sight and odour of the lovely spring flowers giving life and reality to the hymn for SS. Philip and James's day. After service the students, in light colours, wreathed and garlanded with flowers, assembled in the training-room to elect their queen. At Mr. Ruskin's desire she was to be a junior, and the "likablest and lovablest" girl in that body. Both seniors and juniors voted, and Ellen Osborne, the Sillot scholar, was returned by a large majority. While she retired to be robed by her self-chosen maids of honour, Miss Kemm, F.H.S., gave a very entertaining and instructive account of the history of Mayday sports. By the time that the students had sung some Mayday glees the queen was ready to begin her duties. The students quickly arranged themselves to form a pathway, bowed low before Her Majesty as she passed up their midst to her flowery throne, then fell into a procession, grouped themselves in front of the throne, and saluted the blushing and graceful queen with the glee "Hail Queen." Her Majesty, crowned with moss and holostea, and bearing a white sceptre, then received from Miss Stanley, Mr. Ruskin's special gift to the May-queen—a very beautiful golden cross and chain. When this was clasped on, the Queen accepted some lovely roses from the rector, and proceeded to give away the costly books (also a present from Mr. Ruskin), which had been sent to her for those twenty-five students who should have found favour in the sight of the May-queen and her maidens. The principal, prime minister for the time being, called out the names of the favoured ones, and also the reasons assigned by Her Majesty for selecting them. These reasons met with universal approbation. Among the happiest were the following:—A student was unselfish, she was noble and good, she upheld the right, she was pleasant, she helped her companions. Each student received her gift kneeling, and kissed the Queen's hand before retiring. After this Her Majesty proclaimed a half-holiday for her loving subjects, and the meeting broke up; not, however, before the rector had complimented

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the students on their sweet and beautiful Queen, and proposed a vote of thanks to the author of so much pleasure.

3. A singular interment took place at the Sheffield Cemetery, the first of its kind in England. The remains were those of an old lady who had been deaf and dumb for years. The mourners were all deaf and dumb, and the service was entirely conducted with deaf and dumb signs by Mr. Stephenson, the superintendent of the Sheffield Deaf and Dumb Association. Hitherto the service in similar cases has been conducted orally and then interpreted.

5. Mr. Briton Rivière and Mr. W. W. Ouless, painters; and Mr. T. O. Barlow, engraver, Associates—elected Royal Academicians.

— A futile attempt made to blow up the Militia Barracks at Chester, where the permanent staff of the 1st Royal Cheshire Militia was quartered. Late at night a tremendous explosion occurred at the north-west corner of the building, where were the guardroom and washhouses. A police-constable, who was on duty on the walls, immediately afterwards found something burning, and extinguished it. It proved to be a cheap, black imitation leather valise, studded with iron knobs. He also picked up the unconsumed piece of slow-burning combustion fuse, which has the appearance of a cord wrapped in a thin fabric, and is such as is usually employed for exploding combustible materials. The bag appeared to have been hung on a nail driven into the wall. Two men found lounging about the spot were immediately arrested, but were released on turning out to be Scotchmen of respectable character, who had been attracted to the spot by the noise.

7. A serious fire took place at Winton Castle, Haddingtonshire, in the occupation of Dowager Lady Ruthven. One half of an addition made in 1805 was completely gutted. The total loss was estimated at 7,000*l*.

— The Lord Mayor gave a dinner at the Mansion House to Dr. Moffatt and representatives of missionary societies. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in speaking, dwelt upon the missionary efforts in the past, and expressed hopes that the centre and south of Africa would derive the same benefit as North Africa had done from the civilising influence of missions. In proposing the health of Dr. Moffatt, the Lord Mayor said his name and that of Livingstone would remain inseparable in their triumphs of Christianity in Africa.

— Intelligence received from Mecca stating that some Arab tribes had entered and pillaged the Holy City and cut off the postal communications. A caravan of Mussulman pilgrims from India also pillaged by Arabs.

9. At a meeting held at the house of the Marquess of Abergavenny, and attended by a hundred and four peers, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon proposed that the Marquess of Salisbury should be chosen leader of the Conservative party in the House of Lords, in the room of the deceased Lord Beaconsfield. The proposal was seconded by Lord Cairns, and supported by Lord Donoughmore, on behalf of the Irish peers, and by Lord Carnarvon. The meeting unanimously adopted the proposal, and Lord Salisbury briefly expressed his thanks for the honour conferred on him.

10. Prince Leopold laid the first stone of the City and Guilds of London Technical School in Cowper Street, Finsbury. His Royal Highness was

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welcomed by the Lord Chancellor on behalf of the council. In the course of his address, Lord Selborne said the Institute owed its existence to the munificence of a considerable number of the City Companies, aided now by the Corporation. It conducted local examinations in subjects of thirty-two industries, and in eighty-five different places. The number of candidates at the examinations had risen in three years from 202 to 2,401. Through the liberal co-operation of the Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, a valuable site of ground at South Kensington had been given, or let at a nominal rent, to the Institute, for the purpose of erecting upon it a central institution, where it would soon be established.

— After a series of fêtes at Salzburg and Vienna, the marriage of the Crown Prince of Austria with the Princess Stéphanie of Belgium took place in the capital, in the chapel in the Burg. According to custom, the officiating Cardinal, Prince Schwarzenberg, Archbishop of Prague, received the Emperor and the King of the Belgians at the door, offering them the consecrated water. Next came the Empress and the Queen of the Belgians, and between them walked the bride, dressed in white, with a silver-embroidered veil. She wore on her head a crown-like diadem and a myrtle wreath. The Crown Prince followed, and after him came the members of the Imperial family and the foreign Princes and Princesses. The Cardinal in his address said the Prince had been prepared for this ceremony by his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, bowing down there before the King of kings; and the prayers of millions in Austria were united at that moment in asking for a blessing from above on the bridal couple. The ringing of bells and salutes of artillery announced the entry of the bridal couple into the church and the exit, which was made in the same order as the arrival, only the Crown Prince on leaving led the bride and went before their Majesties. After a family dinner at five o'clock the young couple left the capital amid the loud cheers of the assembled crowds.

13. The electric railway to Lichterfelde, constructed by Messrs. Siemens and Halske, opened. Trains passed to and fro several times along the line without the slightest hitch in the working. The Minister of Railways had inspected the line previously, and expressed himself greatly pleased with the result of Dr. Siemens' labours:—"The trial was in a simple tramcar, with an electric battery totally concealed between the wheels, in connection, through the rails it ran on, with the principal battery at the station. The rails are 3 ft. 3 in. apart, and exactly resemble those of an ordinary railroad, only the gauge being narrower. The greatest speed obtained on a distance of about one and a half mile was eighteen English miles an hour. Dr. Siemens proved that if necessary a far greater speed could be obtained, but this was not allowed by the German police authorities."

— The revised edition of the New Testament placed for sale in the United States, causing great activity in the book trade. "The sheets came by steamer from the English publishers to their agents in New York and Philadelphia. One night was occupied by binding. The sale began at daybreak, and 800,000 copies were ordered on the first day. The printing of the American edition began in both cities on the following day.

14. A remarkably interesting experiment made at Calais and Dover, between which places a conversation was kept up *vivâ voce* by means of a new kind of telephone, patented under the name of the "Electrophone."

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Not only were the words whispered into the apparatus at Calais distinctly heard at Dover, but the listener at one end was perfectly able to distinguish, by the mere tone of voice, who was speaking at the other. The inventor maintained that it would be just as easy to talk across the Atlantic as from one room to another.

16. A fire resulting in the loss of six lives at Notting Hill was discovered by a passing gentleman, and also by a policeman, at about half an hour after midnight, but it was 12·44 when the "call" reached the Ladbroke Road Station, and another nine minutes before the engine got to work. The house was one of a block of buildings only recently erected. The front ground-floor was occupied by Mr. W. Nash, a furniture dealer and greengrocer, and the second floor by James Keen, a dairyman, with his wife and infant child. These persons escaped. The third and top floor was used by Mrs. Jackson, who, with a sister and three children and a man named Church, have all perished. The fire escape at the corner of Ladbroke Grove Road was called at 12·30, and the man in charge of it hastened to the scene. On arriving there, however, he found the house blazing from base to roof, and from the excessive heat of the flames, which stretched half across the street, it was found impossible to approach the burning pile. Meantime the steam fire-engines from Kensington and Paddington arrived; but before they had got to work the roof fell in, followed by the third and second floors. The efforts of the fire brigade were then directed to preventing the flames from extending to the adjoining houses, and so far they were successful; but the inmates had to turn out of their houses. When the fire had been got under search was made among the *débris*, and the firemen came upon the six persons who had occupied the top floor, their bodies being charred almost beyond identification. Nash was subsequently charged with having purposely set on fire the house, with the object of obtaining the insurance money, was committed to trial on this charge, as well as on that of manslaughter, and was subsequently convicted and sentenced to penal servitude.

17. A deputation of British Jews waited on the Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville, to urge him to intervene on behalf of their kinsmen in Russia, where they were being persecuted by their Christian fellow-subjects, whilst the Government seemed unable to protect them.

— The New Testament, which had been under revision for ten years, issued from the press of the Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

— In the General Assembly of the Free Church, Scotland, Principal Rainy proposed that, considering the article contributed by Professor Robertson Smith to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on the "Hebrew Language and Literature," the Assembly considered him no longer an advantageous teacher for the theological students of the Free Church. Principal Rainy abstained from declaring Professor Robertson Smith's views heretical, although Professor Whyte, who opposed Principal Rainy, and was supported by the younger members of the Assembly, argued that Professor Smith should, if condemned at all, be condemned for heresy. The division took place at midnight, amidst a scene of great excitement, the numbers being 423 for Principal Rainy's motion against 245.

19. Midhat Pasha, Governor of Smyrna, who was accused of being implicated in the death of Abdul Asiz, gave himself up to the Turkish authorities on the condition that he received a fair trial. The Sultan sent troops to sur-

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round his residence at Smyrna and arrest him. Midhat, however, managed to escape by a back door, and took refuge with the French Consul. He first appealed for protection to the European Consuls; and they, in their turn, have applied to the Ambassadors at Constantinople.

22. King Charles of Roumania crowned at Bucharest. The crown was made of steel from a cannon captured at Plevna.

23. The Lord Chancellor delivered judgment in reference to the application for an order to remove and sell the furniture of the Rev. S. F. Green, the rector of St. John's, Miles Platting, under the sequestration, for costs in the recent suit in the Court of Arches. The costs were taxed at 249*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*, and the Lord Chancellor came to the conclusion that he had no alternative but to order the sale of Mr. Green's household effects to meet the taxed charges.

24. The steamer "Victoria," while returning from Springbank, four miles from London (Ontario), with over 600 excursionists on board, capsized at a point one mile down the river, in 12 ft. of water, and became a total wreck. All the passengers were instantly plunged into the stream. The disaster was the result, in the first instance, of overloading, and, secondly, of the rushing of the panic-stricken passengers from one side to the other. As the ship careened, the stanchions on the upper deck gave way, and the whole structure, which was thronged with passengers, fell on the crowded deck below. The "Victoria" then gradually settled on her side, precipitating numbers of people into the water. The loss of life was nearly 200. Nearly all of those who were drowned belong to London.

— The titles of Baron Arklow, Earl of Clarence, and Duke of Albany, conferred upon the Queen's youngest son, Prince Leopold.

25. Herr Most, the editor of the *Freiheit*, a German newspaper, appearing in London, tried and found guilty of publishing a "scandalous libel," inciting to murder foreign sovereigns, and other matters connected with an article written after the assassination of the Czar. A recommendation to mercy was added, on the ground that Herr Most was a foreigner who might be suffering violent wrong. Judgment was deferred until the legal points of the case were argued. These points were subsequently disposed of by the Court of Crown Cases Reserved, and the finding of the jury having been upheld, Herr Most was condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment.

26. In the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Professor Robertson Smith having refused to resign, Dr. Adam moved his suspension as regards all rights to teach and to exercise professional functions in the University of Aberdeen, and as regards all ecclesiastical rights and power grounded thereon. After a lengthy and bitter debate this was carried by 394 votes against 231.

27. At Wormwood Scrubbs, during the Middlesex Rifle Association contest, a marker lost his life. He was in charge of No. 18 target, and at a moment when one of a squad had taken his aim and had his finger on his trigger, the man came out from his mantlet with his flag in his hand and stood between the mantlet and the target. At the same instant Major Morris, who was in charge of the squad, gave the command for cease firing, but the rifleman had pulled his trigger, and the shot passed completely through the body of the marker.

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— M. Gambetta attended the unveiling of a monument at Cahors to the men of the department who fell fighting during the Franco-German war. In the course of his speech he said that the monument must not be held to symbolise a policy of aggression, adventure, or conquest. If it said anything with irresistible force, it was that the dead soldiers to whom it was erected fell, because in a sad hour a nation gave itself over entirely into the hands of one man.

28. At the fortnightly meeting of the Metropolitan Asylum Board, Sir E. H. Currie reported that the small-pox epidemic was still increasing, and that they had 1,600 patients on their hands. The average increase was about 150 cases a week, but on the previous day 100 patients had been admitted. The Admiralty had offered to place twelve ships at the disposal of the Board, but upon visiting Chatham, eleven were found to be rotten and otherwise useless. The remaining ship, the "Atlas," was quite new, and had never been sent to sea, and it was proposed and carried that the offer of the ship should be accepted, and she was subsequently moored off Deptford. The comparative returns showed that during the fortnight 781 had been admitted to the various hospitals, 115 had died, and 687 had been discharged, being 1,560 under treatment, and no beds available.

— The "May Queen" anchored at Aoba, one of the principal islands of the New Hebrides Group, in order to disembark returned labourers and to recruit for others. Having landed one man the boats were on their return to the vessel, when they were hailed to wait, as many men wanted to engage themselves. The boats backed into the beach at once, when they were immediately attacked by the natives, who used huge knives and tomahawks, and killed one white man and the black crews of the two boats with the exception of two, who escaped to the vessel by swimming, though severely wounded by tomahawk cuts. There were eight blacks in all killed.

31. In the House of Commons the annual motion to adjourn over the Derby Day was proposed by Mr. R. Power, and opposed as usual by Sir Wilfrid Lawson. The numbers being 246 in favour, and 119 against the adjournment. In the previous year the numbers were respectively 285 and 115.

JUNE.

1. At Epsom, the race for the Derby won by the American horse Iroquois belonging to Mr. P. Lorillard, defeating a field of fifteen runners of which Mr. Norman's Peregrine, the winner of the Two Thousand Guineas at Newmarket, was the chief favourite. Lord Rosebery's Town Moor was third.

— Mr. Wright, the aëronaut, ascended with two companions in a balloon from the Crystal Palace grounds. After rising to a height of about 7,000 feet, it was found that the current was carrying them towards Epsom, and presently they came into full view of the racecourse. The voyagers descended about half a mile farther on, and arrived at the course in time to witness the principal event of the day.

3. The following account of the habits of a dog appeared in the papers, supported by much concurrent testimony. Towards the close of the year '78 a fox-terrier, big in bone, and not over well-bred, jumped into a train

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that was leaving Brighton for Horsham, and settled himself in the guard's carriage. Little notice was taken of him at first, but after a time he began to be a person of great interest. No one knew where he came from or to whom he belonged; but every day he was ready for an early start in an early train. Sometimes he went to Portsmouth, sometimes to Horsham, sometimes only to nearer stations; but the most remarkable part of his arrangements was that he always got to Brighton in time to go by the last train to Lewes, where he always slept, leaving again by the first train in the morning. At length early in 1880, the London, Brighton, and South Coast Company began to look upon him as one of their regular servants, and presented him with a collar bearing this inscription, "Jack—London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Company." On one especial day, and probably it was a good sample of many another, the dog's movements were carefully noted. After leaving Lewes as usual by an early train, he made his first halt at Brighton—leaving that place by a train reaching Steyning at 10.50; there he got out for a minute, but went on by the same train to Henfield. Here he left the train and went to a public-house not far from the station, where a biscuit was given to him; and, after a little walk, took a later train to West Grinstead, where he spent the afternoon, returning to Brighton in time for the last train to Lewes. He prefers the Portsmouth line, and never comes so far as London. He generally takes his place on or by the guard's wheel, and sits looking out of the window, displaying no personal attachment to any particular guard or official along the line.

— The Epsom Grand Prize, a new race, open to 3-year-old horses, won by Prince Soltykoff's Scobell by Carnival – Lady Sophie, 9 st. 3 lb. Of the 244 subscribers twelve horses started; distance one mile and a quarter. Time 2 min. 15¼ sec.

— A strange chapter in the history of modern piracy closed the Melbourne (Victoria) Criminal Court. The following are the chief incidents:—In September 1880, a stranger arrived in Glasgow, giving the name of Walker, and professing to act as broker in behalf of a principal named Smith, chartered the "Ferret," a steamer of 346 tons, stating that Smith intended to take a six months' yachting cruise for the benefit of his wife's health. Stores were obtained, including wine to the value of 1,490*l.*, the goods being paid for by a three months' bill, which was afterwards dishonoured. The steamer was taken down to Cardiff by a temporary crew; at Cardiff a new crew was shipped, coal was taken on board, and "Smith" and his invalid wife made their appearance. The ship started on the 1st November, ostensibly for Marseilles. The "Ferret" passed through the Straits of Gibraltar, with Smith, or Henderson as he afterwards called himself, as owner, and one Walker as purser. After passing Gibraltar the steamer's funnel, previously white, was painted black; and her boats, before blue, became white. The ship's course was turned round in the night, and she steered back past Gibraltar with lights obscured. Then, when nearly out of the Straits, boats, buoys, casks, and other articles, bearing upon them the name of the "Ferret," were thrown overboard. Questions were answered with threats to blow out the brains of any man who should be over-communicative, and by promises of handsome remuneration. On November 21st, Cape Verd was reached, stores were taken in, and a bill—fraudulent of course—was given in payment. Leaving Cape Verd the name of the ship was changed to the "Benton." The confederates steered for Santos, where, after some delay, they obtained

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on freight, by false pretences, a cargo of coffee for Marseilles. They then steamed off for Capetown, and on the way the name of the ship was changed to the "India." At Capetown the coffee was sold for between 13,000*l.* and 15,000*l.* At Melbourne the adventurous rovers were arrested. A secret code of telegrams was found on board, which contained provision for the following messages in cipher. "'Sell ship for most you can get and come home.' 'Accept charter referred to and lose vessel before you arrive in port.'. 'Ship is fully insured. Destroy her some way.' 'Ship is fully insured against fire. Burn her.' 'Game is up; all discovered; destroy or hide everything, and make yourself scarce; communicate through the arranged channel.'"

6. The large space of ground at the south-west end of the Houses of Parliament, adjoining the Victoria Tower and overlooking the river, which had been for two years in the course of construction as a new public garden, is opened to the public.

— Count Sigismund Malaguzzi di Valeri, a lineal descendant of Ariosto, tried at Paris for robbery, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. When a mere child he was appointed one of the pages-in-ordinary to the late Duke of Modena, and he remained for several years in the household of his Imperial and Royal Highness. At the age of fifteen he ran away from home, volunteered into the French army, and served throughout the Crimean campaign as a private in the Foreign Legion. Soon after the conclusion of peace between France and Russia he obtained his discharge, and resolved to seek fortune in Egypt, where he speedily gained the good graces of the Khedive, whose service he subsequently entered in the capacity of extra equerry. This appointment, lucrative and pleasant though it was, he threw up in 1866, in order to fight against Austria in his native country's quarrel. During the ensuing four years he led an errant existence, living by his wits in alternate phases of luxury and privation. When the Franco-German war broke out, he again volunteered into the Foreign Legion, and was severely wounded under Garibaldi's command in one of the actions fought near Dijon. After the war he obtained a clerkship in a French house of business; but, his salary proving too slender to meet the views of a signora with whom he had contracted an irregular connection, he stole eight thousand francs from his employers and fled to Germany, where—and subsequently in Italy—he lived under an assumed name until his resources were exhausted, when he imprudently returned to France. There he was speedily recognised and arrested, and, after suffering a "preventive detention" of several months' duration, was ultimately brought to trial, with the result above stated.

7. Mr. Palmer, known in England and America under the name of 'Warhawk,' arrested on a charge of conspiracy. It was asserted at the Porte that papers had been found in Mr. Palmer's possession proving that he undertook, in case of war with Greece, to blow up the Turkish fleet. In a letter to a local paper, written the day before his arrest, Mr. Palmer related how, in 1869, after giving information to the authorities about a plot against the life of Abdul Aziz, he was expelled from Turkey, and how he subsequently acted three times in secret missions for the Turkish Government. He had since, he asserted, exposed the Bremerhaven and other plots, and one of his reasons for returning to Turkey was to have the affair of 1869 officially re-examined. A few hours after the publication of this letter the writer was arrested by the Pera police.

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— The following, taken from the report of the Committee of Council on Education, are given as showing a year's income and expenditure of voluntary and board schools respectively :—

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS.

	£ s. d.	Per Scholar in Average Attendance. £ s. d.
Income.		
Endowment	133,397 12 8	0 1 4
Voluntary contributions	751,291 10 4	0 7 9
School pence	1,061,240 7 7	0 11 0
Government grant	1,398,502 18 8	0 14 6
Other sources	33,415 16 1	0 0 6
Total	3,377,848 5 4	1 15 1
Expenditure.		
Salaries	2,617,683 3 9	1 7 2
Books and Apparatus	195,150 13 10	0 2 0
Miscellaneous	562,617 17 8	0 5 10
Total	3,375,451 15 3	1 15 0

BOARD SCHOOLS.

	£ s. d.	Per Scholar in Average Attendance. £ s. d.
Income.		
Government grant	513,663 10 1	0 15 4
Rates	1,484,312 3 0	2 4 3
School fees and books sold to children	335,722 0 7	0 10 0
Endowment	4,666 6 5	0 0 1
Other sources	26,426 1 2	0 0 11
	2,364,790 1 3	3 10 7
Loans	1,329,815 9 10	
Total for the year	3,694,605 11 1	
Expenditure.		
(*a*) Administration—		
Election expenses	8,006 18 2	0 0 2
Salaries of officers of board	152,542 17 1	0 4 6
Repayment of principal of loans	109,859 9 4	0 3 3
Interest on loans	327,100 12 8	0 9 9
Legal and other expenses	73,260 7 1	0 2 2
Other expenses	12,034 16 4	0 0 4
(*b*) Maintenance—		
Maintenance of public elementary (school board) schools (This item is mainly teachers' salaries, fuel, light, and books.)	1,599,609 12 9	2 7 9
Industrial schools	61,144 8 6	0 1 9
Fractions in calculation	—	0 0 4
	2,343,559 1 11	3 10 0
(*c*) Capital Charges—		
1. Purchase of land and erection of buildings	1,231,293 13 3	
2. Alterations and additions	75,885 10 10	
3. Furnishing school buildings	44,110 2 7	
Total for the year	3,694,848 8 7	

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8. Princess Christian opened a fancy fair and musical fête at the Albert Hall in aid of the Chelsea Hospital for Women. There were thousands in the galleries to witness the ceremonies, and the area of the hall, in which the old English fair was held, was crowded. Here an ancient market-place had been constructed, with all its antique attractiveness and none of its drawbacks. Along each side of the hall was a row of old-fashioned timbered houses of two storeys, the corner of which was used for the stalls. The street terminated with an Elizabethan mansion, in the foreground of which was the lawn and shrubbery. At the other end was a feudal castle in miniature, through the archway of which the visitors entered. In the centre of the hall was a maypole, at the foot of which the flower-stall was placed. All the ladies who had undertaken to preside at the stalls were attired in costumes of Elizabethan and other eras, some in simple rustic fashion and others in more courtly guise, in which powder and patches had a place. A number of the gentlemen actively engaged in the work also copied the dress of an earlier period. Countess Cadogan had charge of 'ye olde Chelsea Bun House,' assisted by the Countess of Coventry, the Countess of Clarendon, Viscountess Castlereagh, and Viscountess Grey de Wilton. 'Ye choycest flowers and fruits' were 'displayed ryghte temptinglie around ye maypole' by the Countess of Scarborough, and the Countess of Zetland. Many of the ladies arrived in sedan chairs.

— From an official return it appeared that there were 556 blast furnaces at work in Great Britain out of 967 erected, the number in operation being 27 fewer than at the end of March. Scotland had the largest number at work in proportion to its total of any district, 120 being in blast; and South Staffordshire the fewest, 42 being in operation out of 144. Cleveland and Durham district had 119 in operation; Cumberland and Furness, 54; and South Wales, 65.

— The members of the seventh Old Catholic Synod assembled at Bonn. Speeches were made by Bishop Reinkens, Privy Councillor von Schulte, Professors Michelis of Freiburg, Weber of Breslau, Knoodt and Stephan, and the Rev. Dr. Stubenvoll. Bishop Reinkens preached the opening sermon. The synod then discussed and voted various points connected with the discipline and management of the Church. Amongst these were recommendations to cultivate church music and congregational singing, the limits of age for vestrymen, and the power of the bishops in respect to Synods, and appointed a Liturgical Commission to report in 1883.

9. The hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Stephenson observed as a public holiday in almost every town in Northumberland and Durham. At Newcastle proceedings commenced with a public breakfast at Bath Lane Hall with a view to promote the endowment of forty-two scholarships and exhibitions for students of mechanics belonging to the two northern counties. Whilst the breakfast was going on a procession of sixteen of the finest modern locomotives started from the Newcastle central station to Wylam, an old-fashioned pit village eight miles distant, where George Stephenson was born. Here the Mayor of Newcastle, accompanied by the Municipal authorities of the other Tyneside boroughs, planted a memorial oak near Stephenson's cottage. In Newcastle several trade processions and meetings were held, and the day concluded by a grand banquet, which was attended by many Englishmen and foreigners of distinction.

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Fêtes were also held at Chesterfield, the Crystal Palace, and even in Rome the day was marked by the unveiling of a tablet erected at the railway station by the *employés*.

10. The Census Returns for Ireland showed a total population of 5,159,849, or a decrease of 252,558 since 1871. The decline was spread over all the thirty-two counties, with three exceptions. It was greater in Ulster than in the other provinces, and was greatest of all in Monaghan. The three counties in which there had been no decrease in the population were Antrim, Dublin, and Kerry; the first the busiest and probably the wealthiest of the Irish counties, and the last one of the poorest and most remote; whilst Carlow, the garden of Ireland, and all the other richest tracts of soil, suffered most from depopulation. The religious distribution of the population was made up of 3,951,888 Roman Catholics, 635,670 Church of Ireland, 485,503 Presbyterians, 47,660 Methodists, and the small balance of other denominations. The decrease of the Roman Catholics in the ten years had been 198,979, of the Protestants 32,328, and of the Presbyterians 12,145.

— An unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy the Town Hall at Liverpool by an infernal machine filled with a highly explosive substance, the apparatus having been wrapped in a bag and placed at one of the entrances to the building. At about 4.15 A.M. a gentleman on duty in an office overlooking the Exchange flags heard a policeman's whistle, and ran out. He saw a policeman running up Old Hall Street after two men, and something blazing by the side of the Town Hall. Almost immediately there was a fearfully loud explosion. As a result missiles were flying in all directions, and he had some difficulty in avoiding them. The Town Hall windows and those of the Phœnix Insurance Office suffered severely from the broken fragments of iron piping, and the stonework in some places appeared as though it had been subjected to artillery. Several persons were about at the time, and of course had the narrowest of escapes amid the flying fragments. Fortunately no one was injured, the policeman escaping almost by a miracle. The cause of all this disturbance and danger was contained in what appeared to be a sailor's bag, which was lying on the top step of the Town Hall doorway, facing Brown's Buildings. It consisted of a piece of iron piping about three-quarters of an inch thick, and of considerable length, loaded with explosive material and wadded. A string was wrapped round the bag and its contents, and a policeman coming up, attempted to roll the parcel off the step and to cut the string; but a fizzing sound, warned him of his danger. He had barely time to get out of the road when the machine exploded. Two men, James M'Kevitt and William Robert Barton, alias M'Grath, charged with having attempted to blow up the Liverpool Town Hall, were brought up at the Liverpool Police Court on Saturday. Formal evidence was given to the effect that the prisoners were the men seen standing at the Town Hall beside the bag that contained the explosive pipe, and they were remanded. They were afterwards committed for trial, convicted, and sentenced to penal servitude.

11. Two meetings, attended by an aggregate of about twelve hundred postal telegraph clerks, were held in Aldersgate, and, after discussion, it was put to the vote whether the men and women present would agree to strike if such a course of action were decided upon. A unanimous reply was given in the affirmative, and a resolution embodying the determination was agreed

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to. Resolutions were also passed calling a national conference of telegraph clerks to be held at Liverpool, and pledging the meeting to abide by the decision of that conference. It was also resolved to take immediate steps to bring about a total cessation of overtime work.

14. Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., summoned at the Newcastle police-court for non-compliance with a magistrate's order to vaccinate his child. Mr. Burt, who was not present, was understood to object to vaccination on principle. He was fined 20*s*. and costs.

— The Inman steamer "City of Rome," 8,826 tons, the largest steamer in the world save the "Great Eastern," launched from the yard of the Barrow Ship-building Company. Unfortunately an accident occurred to a boiler on deck, which, bursting from over-pressure, killed four men and wounded several others.

15. In the House of Commons, the Welsh Sunday Closing Bill passed through committee after an unsuccessful attempt to include in Wales the English county of Monmouth.

— An account published of the adventures of Debagorio Mokrievitch, a Russian Socialist, who two years previously had been sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude in Siberia. According to this story, the prisoners, after condemnation, were at once despatched to the East. They travelled part of the way *vid* Nijni Novgorod by railway, steamboat, and on horseback. The remainder of the journey, 1,450 miles, had to be done on foot and in chains. They marched at the rate of about fifteen miles a day, the nights being passed in so called *étapes*, small houses swarming with vermin and unspeakably filthy, where all classes of prisoners, of both sexes, were compelled to sleep huddled together on bare boards. Between Krasnoyarsk and Irkoutsk M. Mokrievitch and two of his companions, Isbitzkey and Orloff, changed names and dresses with three ordinary convicts who were under sentence of perpetual exile. This very common expedient has often been effected at a cost of a few roubles. His destination was now that of the peasant whose name he had taken, a settlement in the province of Irkoutsk. On November 13, 1879, a few days after leaving Irkoutsk for Balaganask—his final destination—M. Mokrievitch gave his escort the slip. As soon as his flight was discovered a number of Bouryats, half-savage Mongol horsemen, as keen as sleuth hounds, and as cunning as Red Indians, were sent after him, but he succeeded in evading their pursuit and reaching Irkoutsk. To avoid recapture, which, had he gone west would have been almost certain, he made off towards the Chinese frontier, and after a walk of 700 miles in the depth of a Siberian winter, he doubled back in the direction of European Russia, which he reached after a journey of 4,000 miles, performed mostly on foot. He underwent terrible hardships, and met with many adventures. Furnished by his friends with false papers, he succeeded in getting safely out of the country, and a few days previously reached Switzerland. Except Wiotrowsky in the last century, M. Debagorio Mokrievitch is the only State prisoner condemned to hard labour that ever escaped from Siberia.

16. While the Lichfield Town Council was sitting, the sheriff's officer took possession of the Guildhall in which the meeting was being held. Bailiffs were also placed in the police-office and at the corporation stables. The claim was by Messrs. Patterson, sewage contractors, for 3,500*l*., which sum

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had been awarded to them, after much litigation and appeal. A stormy meeting of the council was at once held, at which the money was ordered to be paid, and the officers were thereupon withdrawn.

— At the general assembly of the Scottish Established Church there was a stormy debate respecting the use of instrumental music in public worship. The evening sederunt was prolonged into the early hours of the following morning, and eventually a resolution carried requiring the congregations which made use of harmoniums or organs to give up the practice.

17. As the troops who disembarked at Marseilles on their return from Tunis were marching through the Rue de la République several hisses were heard proceeding from the Italian National Club. As soon as the troops had passed, the crowd of spectators loudly demanded that the Italian escutcheon over the club door should be taken down. The Commissary of Police thereupon requested the President of the Club to remove it, but was met with a positive refusal.

The Prefect shortly afterwards appeared, and endeavoured to calm the crowd, while deprecating the removal of the escutcheon. Two persons meanwhile succeeded in climbing up to the balcony of the club, but were thrust back by the Police Commissary. The Prefect then sent for the gendarmerie, as the crowd continued to increase and the excitement became more and more violent. Before their arrival, however, M. Gelu, the deputy-mayor, and M. Castan, one of the municipal councillors, entered the club, and, disregarding the energetic protests of the Prefect, proceeded to tear down the escutcheon amid the acclamations of the crowd. By nine o'clock the people had been dispersed and the approaches to the club were occupied by a detachment of soldiers. About eleven o'clock a band of some thirty Italians paraded the streets carrying the Italian flag and singing national songs. On arriving at the Rue Canebière they were met by M. Bouge, Councillor of that ward of the city, who induced them to give up the flag. No further disturbance occurred.

— At Ascot the principal results of the four days' racing were as follows :—

Gold Vase.—Lord Falmouth's Ambassadress, 4 yrs., 7st. 13 lb. (Fordham). 2 miles, 3 min. 57½ sec.

Prince of Wales's Stakes.—Mr. Lorillard's Iroquois, 3 yrs., 9st. 5 lb. (Archer). 1⅛ mile, 3 min. 4 sec.

Ascot Stakes.—Mr. R. Jardine's Teviotdale, 4 yrs., 8st. 2 lb. (J. Osborne). 2 miles.

(Lord Bradford's Retreat, 4 yrs., 8 st. (Macdonald) came in first, but was disqualified having cannoned against Teviotdale.)

Royal Hunt Cup.—Sir J. D. Astley's Peter, 5 yrs., 9st. 3 lb. (Archer). 1 mile.

Gold Cup.—Mr. C. Brewer's Robert the Devil, 4 yrs., 9st. (T. Cannon). 2½ miles, 4 min. 12 sec.

— An explosion of gun-cotton occurred at Goletta in the steam-pinnace of H.M. turret-ship "Monarch," whilst preparing for torpedo practice. One officer and one seaman were killed, and six others wounded.

The Royal Netherlands steamship "Princess Elizabeth" on leaving Queenborough pier ran into a barge off Garrison Point : the barge at once sank and the men on board were drowned. The steamship also received serious damage,

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springing a leak and the water entering the stokehole; and the captain to save the passengers ran her on to a sandbank, whence they were taken off the following morning.

20. In the House of Lords Prince Leopold took the oath and his seat as Duke of Albany.

— A parliamentary paper issued containing the report of the Postmaster-General proposing certain improvements in the pay of the telegraph clerks. Many of the grievances of which the clerks had complained, and for which they in vain had sought redress, were admitted to be well founded. The immediate additional cost of the service was estimated at about 68,000*l.* per annum.

22. The "Senior Master Non-Regent" of the Dublin University exercised his power of veto on two names recommended by the Chancellor (Lord Cairns) for honorary degrees. Of these, one, Lord Belmore, sometime Governor of New South Wales, had presided over a Commission in 1878 which approved of a proposal to separate the Divinity school of the Church of Ireland from the University; the other, Rev. Neville Sherbrooke, a well-known preacher, had formerly been an officer in the army, and had been ordained without going through the academic course, having qualified himself for ordination at Highbury Theological College.

— A large comet, originally seen in the southern hemisphere a month previously, rose for the first time above the northern horizon. Although of considerable size and great brilliancy, it had reached its perihelion (on 19th) before appearing in this country, and was consequently decreasing in splendour from the moment of its becoming visible in England.

— In the House of Commons Mr. Pease's Bill for the Abolition o Capital Punishment rejected by 175 against 79.

25. Decision given in the Queen's Bench Division, by Mr. Justice Field and a special jury, in the "Bend Or" libel case. Mr. Barrow, a veterinary surgeon, brought an action for libel against the proprietors of the "Morning Post," on account of a statement that the plaintiff had supplied injurious medicines to Bend Or immediately before the race for the Derby in 1880. The plaintiff denied that the balls found in the stable were those which were supplied by him. For the defence, the Duke of Westminster, the owner of Bend Or, and Mr. Robert Peck, the trainer at Russley, gave evidence to the effect that the article asserted to be libellous had no influence over them in discontinuing the employment of the plaintiff. The latter explained the incident at Russley Stables, and said he thought Mr. Barrow had by mistake given the balls which contained turpentine. A groom named Gully, who had charge of the stables, spoke to the receipt of the balls from Mr. Barrow, and giving one of them to Bend Or. The jury found that the article complained of contained an imputation of dishonest conduct and a want of care and skill on the part of the plaintiff, and they awarded him 1,000*l.* damages in respect of the former, and 750*l.* on account of the latter, judgment being entered for those amounts. The question in whose interest, whether by negligence or malice, the Derby favourite for 1880 was mismanaged, was never brought forward.

— In Mexico, on the Morelos Railway, a terrible accident befell a troop train. The recent storms had weakened the supports of a temporary bridge over a mountain gorge near Malpair. The bridge gave way without

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warning, precipitating the entire train into the abyss, and a large quantity of alcohol which was in the train took fire and exploded. Thirteen officers and 195 men were killed by the fall or burnt to death, and fifty seriously injured.

27. Mr. Gold, a retired merchant, residing at Preston Park near Brighton, murdered between Merstham and Balcombe tunnels whilst travelling in a first-class carriage of the afternoon express train. Shots were heard by other occupants of the train as it was entering the former tunnel, a struggle between two passengers was witnessed by cottagers at Horley, and the body of the murdered man was found in the Balcombe tunnel. Medical evidence showed that Mr. Gold was not disabled by the pistol wound, and that the actual cause of death was fracture of the skull, when falling from the train. The other occupant of the carriage, who gave the name of Lefroy, attempted to leave the train at Preston Park, asserting that he had been the victim of a murderous assault, and had been insensible.

— The trial of the persons accused of the assassination of the Sultan Abdul Aziz commenced at Constantinople, with the public examination of the prisoners. Nouri Pasha admitted having ordered the Sultan to be put to death by a commission composed of Midhat, Ruchdi, and Mahmoud Pashas. Midhat Pasha, in a long speech, denied the existence of any such commission, and maintained that His Majesty committed suicide, as recorded at the time. He expressed his regret at having taken refuge at the French Consulate at Smyrna. Witnesses were then examined to prove that the Sultan was murdered. The Public Prosecutor demanded that the penalty of death should be inflicted upon the actual assassins of the late Sultan, and that Midhat, Ruchdi, and Mahmoud Pashas should be condemned to fifteen years' hard labour. The persons who carried out the assassination confessed that the commission of the crime was ordered by Nouri Pasha. The replies given by Ruchdi Pasha in his examination at Smyrna are systematic denials of the allegations; but they are shown, even in the speech of Midhat Pasha, to be self-contradictory. Midhat Pasha, in his address, rebutted the twenty-seven points of the indictment. All the principal accused were ultimately found guilty, and sentenced to death, including Midhat, Nouri, and Mahmond Dama Pashas, but eventually only the actual hired assassins, a wrestler and a gardener, were executed; the others were banished to Arabia and other penal settlements.

The "Morning Post" newspaper, which first appeared on November 2, 1772, reduced to its original price of one penny. During its existence the price of the paper rose to 6*d.* before the close of the last century, and to 7*d.* in the early years of the present. By successive reductions it was reduced to 5*d.*, 4*d.*, and 3*d.*, at which price it remained for many years.

— Herr Most, editor of the "Freiheit" newspaper, sentenced by Lord Coleridge to sixteen months' imprisonment with hard labour for articles inciting to assassination.

— The House of Commons lighted for the first time by a combination of gas and electricity, the Swann system being adopted to 34 lamps under the galleries, and 12 Brush lanterns placed in the roof in the place of 64 gas burners.

29. The Papal brief "Diuturnum illud" issued (St. Peter's day): in it Pope Leo XIII., after referring to the dangers to which Governments are now ex-

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posed, sets forth the Catholic conception of the origin and extension of the right of governing. The assertion that civil society is the outcome of the free consent of the peoples is condemned as false and dangerous; and it limits the grounds of non-obedience to the sole cases in which rulers should command things contrary to natural and divine law.

— The forty-seventh Oxford and Cambridge cricket match concluded in favour of the former—this making 22 won by Oxford against 23 won by Cambridge—the other two having been drawn. The following was the score:—

OXFORD.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. W. H. Patterson, c Ford, b Steel	12	not out	107
Mr. A. H. Trevor, c Hone, b C. T. Studd	41	b Ford	40
Mr. C. F. H. Leslie, st Hone, b Steel	4	c Rowe, b J. E. Studd	70
Mr. A. H. Evans, c Ford, b C. T. Studd	0	c Bligh, b C. T. Studd	1
Mr. W. A. Thornton, c Ford, b C. T. Studd	5	c Wilson, C. T. Studd	17
Mr. A. O. Whiting, c Rowe, b Steel	9	b Spencer	22
Mr. E. Peake, c Bligh, b C. T. Studd	0	b C. T. Studd	24
Mr. N. M'Lachlan, c G. B. Studd, b Ford	21	c Steel, b C. T. Studd	0
Mr. M. C. Kemp, not out	29	b C. T. Studd	0
Mr. G. C. Harrison, run out	1	c Bligh, b C. T. Studd	5
Mr. C. E. Robinson, c. Ford, b Steel	0	b Spencer	1
Byes, 8; l-b, 1	9	Byes, 17; w., 2	19
Total	131	Total	306

CAMBRIDGE.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Hon. Ivo Bligh, b Evans	37	c Trevor, b Evans	6
Mr. G. B. Studd, b Evans	0	c Kemp, b Harrison	5
Mr. C. T. Studd, b Evans	34	c Peake, b Evans	28
Mr. A. G. Steel, b Evans	8	c Evans, b Robinson	36
Mr. H. Whitfield, c Evans, b. Robinson	29	c M'Lachlan, b Evans	1
Mr. C. P. Wilson, b Evans	0	c and b Evans	6
Mr. J. E. K. Studd, c Evans, b Harrison	6	b Peake	13
Mr. A. F. J. Ford, b Evans	34	c and b Evans	20
Mr. F. C. C. Rowe, b Harrison	12	c Harrison, b Peake	2
Mr. R. Spencer, c Robinson, b Evans	10	c sub., b Evans	1
Mr. N. Hone, not out	0	not out	0
Byes	9	Leg-byes	5
Total	179	Total	123

30. The Duke of Albany (Prince Leopold) opened University College, Nottingham, with a speech in which he urged the managers not to allow their teaching to be too exclusively technical.

— Two Italian girl students, the Signorina Carolina Magistrelli, of Mantua, and the Signorina Evangelina Bottero, of Acqui, who had previously passed with great distinction examinations in Greek, Latin, and Italian literature in the Roman University, received doctors' degrees in natural sciences. It is said that no woman has until now taken a degree in the Roman University since its foundation by Innocent IV. in the thirteenth century.

— The following Civil List pensions were granted during the year ending on June 20 last:—Mrs. Pauline Hawker, 80*l*., in recognition of the position of her late husband, the Rev. R. S. Hawker, of Morwenstowe, as a poet; Viscountess Stratford de Redcliffe and her three unmarried daughters with the benefit of survivorship, 500*l*., in consideration of the long and most dis

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tinguished public service of her late husband; Mrs. Laura Armstrong, 80*l.*, in consideration of the services of her late husband, Lieut.-General Armstrong; Mrs. Sophia Clifford, 80*l.*, in recognition of the eminent mathematical attainments of her late husband, Professor Clifford; Madame Fanny Keats de Llanos, 80*l.*, in consideration of the eminence of her brother, John Keats, as a poet; Lady Duffus Hardy, 55*l.*, in addition to the pension of 100*l.* a year granted in 1879, in recognition of the historical, literary, and public services of her late husband, Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy; Mrs. Maria Rodgers, 75*l.*, in consideration of the services of her late husband, the Rev. John Rodgers, vice-chairman of the London School Board, in the cause of public elementary education; Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace, 200*l.*, in recognition of his eminence as a naturalist; Dr. Leonard Schmidt, 50*l.*, in recognition of his services to classical education and literature; total 1,200*l.*

JULY.

1. The Henley Regatta came to a close: the honours on this occasion being very evenly distributed. Two foreign oarsmen, a Frenchman and a German, took part in the Diamond Sculls, two Frenchmen in the Silver Goblets for Pair Oars, Cornell University in the Stewards' Challenge Cup for Four Oars, and Dublin University in the Wyfold Challenge Cup for Four Oars. The deciding heats resulted as follows:—

Grand Challenge Cup for Eight Oars.—London Rowing Club, 1; Leander, 2; Hertford College, Oxford, 3.

Public Schools Challenge Cup for Four Oars.—Bedford Grammar School, 1; Radley, 2; Westminster, 3.

Ladies' Challenge Plate for Eight Oars.—1st Trinity, Cambridge, 1; Eton College, 2.

Thames Challenge Cup for Eight Oars.—Twickenham, 1; London, 2.

Silver Goblets for Pair Oars.—Thames, 1; London, 2.

Diamond Challenge Sculls.—Lowndes, Hertford College, Oxford, 1; Wild, Frankfort, 2; Powers, London, 3.

Town Challenge Cup for Four Oars.—Reading, 1; Marlow, 2.

Visitors' Challenge Cup for Four Oars.—1st Trinity, Cambridge, 1; Lady Margaret, Cambridge, 2.

Wyfold Challenge Cup for Four Oars.—Dublin University, 1; London, 2; Twickenham, 3.

Stewards' Challenge Cup for Four Oars.—Hertford College, Oxford, 1; Thames, 2.

2. At about nine o'clock in the morning, as President Garfield was entering the railway station at Washington he was shot at by Charles Guiteau, a native of Chicago, "a lawyer and a theologian," as he described himself. The President was with the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, and about entering the starting train when two shots in rapid succession were fired at him, the first striking him in the right arm, and the second just above the right hip. The second wound was at once pronounced fatal by the first doctor who was called; but to the surprise of all, the President rallied, and for many weeks fluctuated between life and death.

— The returns of the inspectors of mines issued, showing the amount of child labour still employed in and about the mines registered under the Coal Mines Act. In the mines of England and Wales there were 428 children between the ages of 10 and 12 years employed, chiefly in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. In the British mines 4,868 children between 12 and 13 years of age were employed, 1,194 out of that number in the Glamorgan district; and of youths from 13 to 16 years of age, 36,152. About the mines,

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but above ground, there were employed, children between the ages of 10 and 13 years, males 552, and females 10; Yorkshire and Lancashire employing the larger proportion. Of persons between the ages of 13 and 16 years there were employed, males 7,037, and females 354; South Durham being the largest employer of the male part of the juvenile labour, and West Lancashire and the East of Scotland being the chief centres of the employment of female labour.

— At Henley, Hertford and Cornell rowed a match over the course. The former were leading by one-third of a length when their opponents' oars touched the bank. Cornell lost more than a length by this, and when they again ran into the bank they gave up. Hertford, who were then three lengths ahead, rowed past the winning-post at their leisure.

5. Preliminary abstract of the census of 1881 laid before Parliament; from which it appeared that the population of England and Wales collectively on the night of Sunday, April 4, was 25,968,286, including 12,624,754 males and 13,343,522 females, showing a net increase on the numbers for 1871 of 3,256,020—or, in other words, approximately what the total population of London was in 1871. England alone had a population of 24,608,391, consisting of 11,947,726 males and 12,660,665 females, with an increase of 3,113,260. The density of the population of England and Wales is now ·625 to the statute acre, or about 440 persons to the square mile. At the end of the reign of Elizabeth it was in England alone 83 to the square mile, and this was the exact number accorded to two counties—Westmoreland in England, and Brecknock in Wales—at the census of 1871. At the last census England and Wales together numbered 390 persons to the square mile. The areality of the population of England and Wales—that is, the mean area to each person, which in 1801 was 19,934 square yards, and in 1871 was 7,928 square yards—in 1881 was 1,437 acres, or 6,955 square yards to each person. The total population of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, including the islands in British waters—that is to say, the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands—together with the Army, Navy, and Merchant Seamen abroad, was on the night of April 4, 35,246,562, consisting of 17,253,947 males, and 17,992,615 females; the corresponding total in 1871 was 31,845,379, giving an increase of 4,147,236. With England and Wales, being nearer home, we shall deal more particularly. To this number Scotland contributes 3,734,370 and Ireland 5,159,839, the former having increased by 374,352 and the latter decreased by 252,538 since 1871. The Isle of Man contributes 53,492, and the Channel Islands 87,731. The Army, Navy, and Merchant Seamen abroad, including 2,330 foreigners, contribute 99,637, 22,507, and 120,700 respectively, and these together amount to 242,844. If this whole mass of human beings were represented by 100, its constituent parts would be given by 69·8 for England, 3·8 for Wales, 10·6 for Scotland, 14·6 for Ireland, ·2 for the Isle of Man, ·3 for the Channel Islands, and ·7 for the Army, &c.

6. A very eccentric case heard before Mr. Justice Field. A lady, calling herself Miss Mabel Wilberforce, became acquainted, in 1879, with one Dr. Philp, a retired doctor of nearly eighty years of age, who, she alleged, at first wished to marry her, and subsequently adopted her as his daughter. In this position she was received with friendship by his son, Captain Philp, and his family. After some time, however, Captain Philp began to doubt the history she gave of herself, and on inquiry at the Charity Organisation Society found she was labelled there as a swindler. Some disputes arose,

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and ultimately Dr. Philp induced her to leave him, presenting her with a cheque for 250*l*. She brought this action against Captain Philp with a view to "vindicating her character." The action was in the form of an accusation of slander for alleging that she wished to poison his father. In the witness-box she said she was born at San Francisco, being the daughter of an American surgeon, who was in the Mexican war of 1872. On a subsequent day she said that she was at the siege of Paris and at Plevna; but some of the persons with whom she alleged she was at Plevna had denied the fact. In 1877 she took an office in the Strand for the purpose of gaining subscriptions for the widows and orphans in Bulgaria and Roumelia after the war. But after collecting some money her efforts were stayed by the inquiries of the Charity Organisation Society. To further her work she called on Canon Prothero and Canon Wilberforce, who, it may be stated, disclaims any relationship with her. Curiously, she was unable to produce any of her father's or mother's letters, having, as she alleged, destroyed them the night before. Moreover most of her documents were produced in the form of copies, one of them being that of a guarantee of costs by Dr. Philp; and there was considerable controversy as to a mutilated passport, said to have been injured by fire. Various questions were suggested during the trial as to whether she had not been a cook in an English family, as to whether she was not in reality forty-three years of age instead of twenty-five, whether a certain young man was not her son instead of being her brother. A good deal of her story related to one Perry O. Morton, a lawyer of Indianopolis, who was alleged by her to be her trustee. It was a letter sent from America with respect to this that induced her counsel to withdraw from the case on Monday. Her solicitor had repeatedly written to Morton without effect. But one of the letters was opened by one Morton in Indianopolis, a son of Oliver Perry Morton, late Governor of the State. A letter written by this son, in reply, indicated that nothing was known by the family of Miss Wilberforce. The judge commented on her evidence as containing wilful and gross fabrications—statements fabricated for the purpose of carrying out, he would not say a conspiracy, but a most infamous claim. Judgment was at once given for Captain Philp. Almost immediately afterwards Miss Wilberforce was charged with perjury by the Crown prosecutor. Committed for trial and subsequently tried at the Central Criminal Court; proved guilty and sentenced to hard labour.

8. The annual match between Harrow and Eton concluded at Lord's cricket ground with the following results :—

HARROW.

First innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. M. T. Baines, b Richards	13	b Paravicini	17
Mr. J. E. Greatorex, b Paravicini	9	c and b Paravicini	20
Mr. A. F. Kemp, b Paravicini	27	c Newton, b Lascelles	1
Mr. E. M. Hadow, c Cave, b Lascelles	11	b Lascelles	94
Mr. W. E. Bolitho, b Paravicini	28	c Trefusis, b Lascelles	44
Mr. P. H. Martineau, b Lascelles	6	c Knatchbull-Hugessen, b Paravicini	12
Mr. L. A. Routledge, c Bainbridge, b Paravicini	20	c Hargreaves, b Paravicini	0
Mr. R. Moncreiffe, c Paravicini, b Lascelles	0	b Lascelles	0
Mr. G. H. Shakerley, b Paravicini	0	b Paravicini	4
Mr. E. W. Ward, b Paravicini	7	not out	0
Mr. D. G. Spiro, not out	13	b Paravicini	5
Leg-byes, 5; w, 1	6	Byes, 1; l.-b, 4; w, 2	7
Total	140	Total	204

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ETON.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. H. W. Bainbridge, b Moncreiffe	22	c Bolitho, b Greatorex	23
Mr. R. H. Rawson, run out	7	c Baines, b Routledge	8
Mr. P. J. de Paravicini, b Shakerley	0	c and b Greatorex	27
Mr. R. J. Lucas, c Hadow, b Shakerley	8	b Greatorex	30
Mr. J. Hargreaves, b Shakerley	0	b Shakerley	2
Mr. W. F. Cave, c Spiro, b Shakerley	7	b Moncreiffe	6
Mr. A. Newton, b Shakerley	4	c and b Moncreiffe	17
Hon. G. Knatchbull Hugessen, b Moncreiffe	4	c Spiro, b Greatorex	5
Mr. A. C. Richards, b Moncreiffe	2	b Shakerley	23
Hon. D. H. Lascelles, not out	2	c Moncreiffe, b Greatorex	10
Hon. C. Trefusis, b Routledge	3	not out	4
Leg-byes	5	Byes, 3; l.-b, 8	11
Total	64	Total	166

9. The volunteer movement celebrated its "majority" by a review before the Queen in Windsor Park. Fifty-six thousand men, besides visitors and regulars, were conveyed to Windsor from all parts of England and Wales, and taken back to their respective homes, without a hitch. Some of the regiments from Pembroke and Northumberland began their journey on the previous afternoon; but most of the provincial corps left their homes about midnight. The London battalions were despatched from Waterloo and Paddington between nine and noon. By 3 P.M. all the men were in their appointed places (except one Somersetshire regiment which never arrived at all), and at 5 P.M. the Queen reached the saluting post, and the march past, which occupied nearly three hours, began—the men being at once marched to the railway station. So that many of the front battalions were far on their road homewards before the rear regiments had passed the Royal Standard. By eleven o'clock, Windsor was perfectly clear of volunteers and visitors.

12. The removal of Pio Nono's ashes from St. Peter's to San Lorenzo occasioned deplorable riots. The funeral procession started at midnight from the door of St. Martha on the southern side of the Basilica. In a short time shouts were heard which showed that all were not mourners. As the procession moved on marks of dissent became more pronounced. Cries of "To the river," "Down with the Clericals," "Viva Garibaldi," formed a discordant antiphone to the funeral dirge of the priests. Blows were showered on the mourners, who retaliated with their torches. The police repeatedly attempted to bar the advance of the roughs, but these, making a circuit, debouched on the procession in ever-increasing numbers, and kept up a running fight all the way to the railway station. Here a company of police and two companies of soldiers formed a cordon, but the crowd soon forced it, and the struggle was renewed with increased fierceness. Stones flew; prelates were spat on; noblemen were struck with sticks. The drivers were fain to lash on their horses, and, as a journal remarks, the procession became a flight to the grave. At the gates of San Lorenzo the police managed to keep back most of the rioters. Many, mingling with the mourners, got past, and the *cortége* reached the Basilica in such disorder that after the coffin had been lowered into it the rector ordered the gates to be shut, and princes, prelates, and members of the Catholic societies remained

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outside. Here the fighting was renewed till a charge was made indiscriminately on the devout and their assailants. Along the immense length of the Via Nazionale the scene was indescribably painful, the procession being received with alternate clappings and hootings, as in a theatre. Of six thousand torches surrounding the bier at St. Peter's only a few hundreds reached the cemetery. It was stated that Leo XIII., fearing insults to the remains, had ordered the tomb in San Lorenzo to be surrounded with a railing. Six men, arrested for taking part in the riots, were sentenced to imprisonment for from one to three months, and to fines. The trial was very stormy. The sentence was received with tumultuous shouts and hisses. A crowd of 2,000 or 3,000 persons greeted the prisoners on their appearance outside, and followed, shouting, "Down with the Clericals," till dispersed by the soldiers. They then made for the office of the clerical papers, where they tore down a signboard. Later on the crowd started from the Piazza Colonna, the evening resort of the Romans, to meet the King and Queen, who were to arrive from Naples. Their progress along the Corso, however, was soon cut short by the police, who made several fresh arrests.

14. An official return issued by the Paris Bureau d'Assistance Publique, showing a total of 123,735 individuals, comprised in 46,815 households, were in receipt of relief. The proportion being 1 pauper to every 16 other inhabitants. Of the 46,815 families receiving relief, 18,125 were only temporarily on the books, the remaining 28,690 being relieved throughout the year. The statistics showed that out of these there were 25,092 men, 41,291 women, 57,352 children ; and further, that the families having father and mother were 19,568 ; widows or widowers, 16,562 ; single, 6,221 ; orphans, 1,380 ; unmarried women with families, 765. In 1877, the date at which the previous inquiry was held, there were receiving public assistance 52,169 households, composed of 140,000 individuals, and the proportion of the pauper to the whole population was 1 to every 17·55.

15. A terrific tornado occurred in Minnesota, extending over a distance of one mile in breadth and forty miles in length. In the rural districts not a single building or tree was left standing in its track. The crops were shorn from the ground as if by the sickle. An immense quantity of live stock was destroyed, and in some cases entire families perished ; the tornado had altogether passed away in fifteen minutes. The cause was attributed to two storms from opposite quarters meeting over New Ulm, the centre of the destruction.

— The fish torpedo which disappeared in the river Thames at Woolwich, during an experimental trial of a new torpedo boat on the 10th of June, recovered opposite the Royal Arsenal, and close to the spot where it had vanished. It had partly buried itself in the mud.

— One of the hottest days ever experienced in England. In London, in the Strand, the maximum temperature in the afternoon was 98 deg. Fahr. in the shade, and 123 deg. Fahr. in the sun. The Astronomer Royal reported that at Greenwich Observatory the highest shade reading was 97·1. At Wimbledon the thermometer registered 140 deg. in the sun. The maximum on July 5, which attracted so much attention, was 92·7. Since the year 1856 there have been only two occasions—July 21 and 22 of the year 1868—in which the temperature of 93° deg. has been reached. This heat exceeded the maximum reached at Bombay last year, which was 94·5, and at Calcutta,

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which was 97·7. Two deaths in London were attributed to the heat. In some of the European capitals also the heat was intense. In Paris the greatest heat of the summer, so far, was registered—viz., 97 deg. in the shade, in the centre of the town. At Nantes and Biarritz it was 95, and at Lyons it approached 100 degs. Severe storms have occurred in some places. A terrific storm passed over the Lake of Geneva. It was of unprecedented violence. Gigantic hailstones fell for an hour, and immense damage was done to the vines and crops. Towns were inundated and windows and roofs of houses were battered in. Fears were also entertained for the safety of the steamboats on the lakes, which were crowded with tourists. Some relief was at length experienced from the heat in America. On Thursday night a copious rainfall broke the terrific hot weather in Cincinnati, the mercury declining 20 deg. Three deaths from sunstroke occurred on Thursday, while for the past week of 549 deaths Cincinnati reports 363 from the effects of the excessive heat.

18. Don Carlos again expelled from France on the ground of his having ostentatiously allied himself with the partisans of the Comte de Chambord. He was given twenty-four hours' notice to withdraw, and it was at the same time intimated to him that a decree had been signed authorising his forcible removal in case of his non-compliance.

— The foundation stone of the City Institute, for the Advancement of Technical Education, laid by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

19. Patrick Trafford Hickie was charged at Bow Street with sending a letter threatening to assassinate Mr. W. E. Forster, Chief Secretary for Ireland, unless he released the persons imprisoned under the Coercion Act and resigned office. He was committed for trial, and subsequently found guilty and sentenced to fifteen months' hard labour. His defence was that it was a joke intending to attract notoriety but to do no harm.

20. The Committee for Privileges resolved that Sir Frederick Johnstone had failed to establish his claim to the Annandale peerages. His endeavour was to show that Matthew Johnstone, through whom he traced his connection with the original grantees of the titles, was son of Adam Johnstone, of Johnstone, who died in 1455. The Lord Chancellor remarked that Sir Frederick Johnstone stood in a different position from another claimant, Mr. Edward Johnstone, inasmuch as it had been held not only that the latter had failed to establish his claim, but that the evidence had disproved his right to these dignities.

21. A severe storm broke over the Shetland Islands and north-east coast of Scotland, involving the loss of sixty-three fishermen's lives, eleven boats and all the lines and nets of the Shetlanders; whilst off Fraserbugh, Aberdeen, &c., upwards of twenty lives were lost, and a large amount of property in boats, nets, &c.

23. The Wimbledon meeting closed after a fortnight of favourable weather; although the unprecedented heat of the first week told somewhat against very high scoring. The disclosures of the preceding year had rendered necessary special arrangements to guard against possible falsification of scores.

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The following are the winning scores in some of the chief competitions :—

	Points.	Highest possible Score.
With the Martini-Henry rifle :—		
Queen's First Stage.—Corporal Ingram, 3rd Lanark. Major Pearce, 4th Devon (The tie was won by Corporal Ingram.)	96	105
Queen's Second Stage.—Private Beck, 3rd Devon	86	105
Alexandra.—Mr. Simpson, 1st Edinburgh	65	70
Army and Navy Challenge Cup, First Stage.—Colour-Sergeant Chapman, 1st Northampton Regiment	64	70
Second Stage.—Private M'Auliffe, Rifle Depôt	29	35
With the Snider rifle :—		
St. George's Challenge Vase.—Sergeant Heiton, 2nd Renfrew	33	35
Windmill.—Quartermaster Cortis, 2nd Sussex	34	35
Prince of Wales's.—Sergeant Murray, 5th Lanark	86	105
Snider Association Cup.—Private Lathbury, 5th Stafford	35	35
Snider Wimbledon Cup.—Captain Turner, 2nd Cheshire Militia. Lieutenant Bird, 2nd Salop (Captain Turner won the tie.)	38	50
With any rifle :—		
Albert First Stage.—Mr. Martin Smith	118	125
Albert Second Stage.—Mr. Hyde, U.S.A. Captain Godsal, 2nd Bucks (Mr. Hyde won the tie.)	70	75
Matches.		
Snider :—		
Kolapore Challenge Cup.—Canada	609	840
China Cup.—Devon Squad	378	500
Chancellor's Plate.—Oxford and Cambridge.—Oxford	555	840
Ashburton Shield.—Public Schools.—Cheltenham	404	560
Martini-Henry :—		
United Service Challenge Cup.—Volunteers	692	840
Any Rifle :—		
Elcho Shield,—England, 1,642; Ireland, 1,549; Scotland, 1,501	1,642	1,800
Vizionagram Cup.—Lords and Commons.—Lords	440	500

25. In the House of Commons Sir William Harcourt referred to the discovery of infernal machines at Liverpool. On July 3, the Cunard steamship *Malta* arrived with a consignment of a number of barrels indorsed as cement. The barrels were detained, and in order to keep the matter as secret as possible it was decided to examine them in the middle of the night. The examination took place in one of the wharfs at the Huskisson Dock, none but Custom-house officers being present. Six or seven of the barrels were opened without anything being found, but eventually a barrel was opened which afterwards was noticed to have on it a black cross not to be found on the others, and in this were found six zinc boxes, which, upon further examination, proved to be "infernal machines," with neatly constructed clockwork, and some stuff that looked like dynamite ready prepared. Dr. Campbell Brown was asked to examine this stuff, and pronounced it really to be dynamite. Each box contained about 3 lbs. of the mixture, one or two of them containing besides a quantity of nitro-glycerine. A clockmaker was called in to examine the machinery, and he stated that the works were of a very simple but effective kind. After being started the machine would run for about six hours, when a portion of the clockwork would move a powerful spring, which would be brought into contact with a percussion

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cap, and so an explosion would be caused. A few days after the arrival of the *Malta*, the *Bavarian*, one of the Leyland's steamers, having on board some passengers, but carrying principally cattle, arrived in the same dock. She had on board some barrels of cement consigned to the same persons. These were of course examined, and in one of the barrels six more machines, constructed on the same plan, were found, each of these containing 3 lbs. of explosive material. In one of the barrels, it is stated, some bill-heads bearing the name of "O'Donovan Rossa" were found, and if this has not been done by the real consignees of the cement to divert suspicion from themselves, it would appear that Rossa's boast that it was through the agency of himself and his organisation that the *Dotterel* was destroyed was no empty one.

— The funeral of Dean Stanley in Westminster Abbey drew together an extraordinary array of representative men of every shade and degree. Princes and peers, archbishops, bishops, deans, and Nonconformist ministers, politicians and professors, poets and artists, men of science and of business, gathered together in Catholic sympathy that must have realised many aspirations of the late Dean of Westminster. On the previous day lamentations and praises had been made respecting him in most churches and chapels in the metropolis, and very generally throughout England.

26. The Duke of Edinburgh, accompanied by his nephew, Prince Henry of Prussia, opened the new dock at Leith, and named it the Edinburgh Dock.

27. The Lower House of Canterbury Convocation unanimously agreed on a representation to the House of Bishops, praying their lordships to use their influence in putting an end to the scandal of Mr. Green's imprisonment. The bishops replied that, whilst cordially concurring in deploring the fact, they see no way out of the dilemma except through Mr. Green's loyal submission to the godly admonition of his bishop, as it "must always be quite impossible to exempt either ministers of the Church or ministers of Nonconformist bodies from the usual methods by which both alike are liable, in the last resort, to be prevented from disobeying the order of the Court." They added that they looked for some amendment, however, of procedure in Ecclesiastical Courts from the Royal Commission recently nominated.

— Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P., presided at the annual meeting of the Cobden Club. The report, while expressing confidence that the old Protective fallacies that have come to the surface during a period of depressed trade would disappear with reviving prosperity, recommended that the reactionary movement, and especially the action of the Conservative party, should not be underrated. Mr. W. E. Baxter, in moving the adoption of the report, pointed out that if the progress of Free-trade principles in foreign countries had been disappointing, experience both abroad and at home had shown their soundness. He congratulated the club on the rapidity with which the land question was ripening for settlement.

30. The "New York Herald" published a seven column letter from Leo Hartmann, giving a detailed account of the attempt to blow up the late Czar on the Moscow Railway in 1879. He says the plan was his own. He formed it after Solovieff's unsuccessful attempt, went to St. Petersburg, and was made a member of the Executive Committee, submitting himself unconditionally to its commands. The Committee had elected three of its members, Sophie Perovsky, Kvjatkovsky (both now executed), and another

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person, an Administrative Council. The highest military authority of the Social Revolutionary party laid a plan before this Council. Agents were sent to examine all the railways over which the Czar might pass on his way from the Crimea and find a house which might be used as an available point for starting a mine. The agents found a house for sale in Moscow, within a hundred feet of the Southern Railway. The Council purchased this for 2,500 roubles. "I was instructed," says Hartmann, "to select co-operators and take possession. Sophie Perovsky, Goldenberg (who later committed suicide in the St. Petersburg Fortress), and two others volunteered to accompany me. Sophie and I preceded the others on September 7, disguised as a Russian merchant and wife, by the name of Subhorukoff. We fitted up the house after the style of religious and loyal business subjects. To quiet the suspicions of the police and neighbours, we went to church regularly, and invited the priests to the house. We employed two workmen to dig a large hole, ostensibly for an ice cellar. This was finished on October 6, when we telegraphed for help to St. Petersburg. Three men arrived next day. We decided to dig a gallery from the cellar under the street, four feet beneath the surface, to the railway line, which was a distance of 150 feet. Though having no knowledge of mining work, we decided to make the gallery triangular in shape, 46 inches high, and 36 inches broad at the foot. We used large steel knives for tunnelling, and spades for throwing out the earth into the cellar, whence it was taken in iron pails to a dark closet in the rear of the house. When the gallery was too far advanced to throw out the earth with spades, a piece of sheet iron, with its sides bent so as to form a box, was used, with a long rope and windlass. Sophie worked with the men, doing her share of the labour in the gallery as well as taking care of the house and cooking. The sides of the gallery were secured by boards three inches thick, and placed one against the other in the form of a slooping roof lighted by lanterns hung from the top. An iron tube communicating with the chimney of the house was used as a ventilator. We worked from five in the morning until eleven or midnight daily. Only two, myself and another, were small enough to work in the gallery. We dug daily seven feet. Icy water was always two inches deep in the bottom of the gallery, so we had to work in linen shirts and underwear. Two men fell ill, and were replaced by others. When within 22 feet of the line heavy rain washed a hole in the middle of the street, letting water into the gallery and exposing its roof. We were three days advancing seven feet, but were unable to go faster on account of the commotion made by the passing trains. The last 15 feet were pierced with a large steel bore. The shaft was now barely large enough for a man to crawl into on his stomach, where we worked, stretched at full length, in icy water. When the work was finished we found the supply of dynamite insufficient. Goldenberg was sent south to bring 80 lb. more and 200 roubles. Agents were sent along the line from Simpheropol to Moscow, and telegraphed that the Czar would leave the former place on the 15th. Then news came of Goldenberg's arrest. Only four days remained. We decided to risk all with what we had. We filled a large copper cylinder, seven feet long and half a foot diameter, with dynamite. Next day we placed it in the shaft, at the farthest end. There were 120 lb. of dynamite in nine cylinders. They were armed with capsules, and wires were fastened communicating with a spiral Rumkorf, in a trunk full of linen, in Perovsky's bed-room. Thence the wires were communicated with a commutator placed with a galvanic battery in a barn overlooking the railway

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line. The morning of the explosion dawned. The two who were to accomplish it were alone in the house. They were Sophie and another. The former had to observe the approach of the train and give the signal. The latter was posted near the commutator, and had to close the galvanic chain on hearing the signal. The Russian Government does not know who the other one was, and I do not consider it expedient to dispel its ignorance. The moment of the explosion had come. The train sped along the line, the signal was given, the chain was locked, a deafening report was heard, a column of earth rose over the bed of the railroad, two carriages were lifted into the air, and thrown with terrible violence into the field below. In the meantime Sophie Perovsky and the other crossed the yard to the furthest end, passed through an opening in the railway, prepared beforehand, into a neighbouring yard, then through the doorway into the street, and sauntered off quietly into the city, where there was a safe place of concealment. The same day we left for St. Petersburg by the night express. The next day the Czar reached the capital. A large crowd gathered to see him. Nearly the whole of the garrison of St. Petersburg was under arms, lining the streets from the railway station to the Winter Palace. In the crowd were innumerable spies, but we were there and nobody knew us."

AUGUST.

3. The International Medical Congress, attended by nearly two thousand delegates from all parts of Europe, held their inaugural meeting at St. James's Hall. The opening address was delivered by Sir James Paget in the presence of the Prince of Wales, the Crown Prince of Germany, &c.

4. The Irish Public Works Commissioners in their annual report recapitulated the principal results of their operations during the fifty years they had been in existence. Since their constitution in 1831 they had advanced very nearly 32,000,000*l.*, of which six millions and a half had been expended in drainage and land improvement. Of the money advanced for various purposes nearly eight millions had been abandoned as irrecoverable. During the year 1880 the sum advanced for all purposes exceeded two millions, but of this only 18,212*l.* was to tenants wishing to purchase their holdings.

5. The "Jewish World" published the following statistics of the Jews of the world recently compiled by the German ethnographical scholar, Richard Andree :—

EUROPE.—Roumania	400,000	Greece (1870)	2,582
European Russia	2,552,549	Belgium (1878)	3,000
Austro-Hungary (1869)	1,372,333	Sweden (1870)	1,836
German Empire (1875)	520,575	Norway (1875)	34
Holland (1869)	68,003	Spain	6,000
European Turkey (before the last war)	71,372	Portugal	1,000
Luxemburg (1875)	661		5,166,326
Switzerland (1870)	6,996		
Denmark (1870)	4,290	Africa	403,996
Great Britain and Ireland (1878)	68,300	Asia	182,847
Servia	2,000	America	307,963
France (1872)	49,439	Australia	20,000
Italy (1871)	35,356		6,080,132

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This does not include the Falashas, who number about 200,000, and other pseudo-Jews.

— The village of Mayenfeld, in the Grisons, was partially destroyed by fire. It originated through children playing with matches. Owing to the prolonged dry weather, want of water, and a high wind, the flames did not go out until twenty-six houses were burnt down.

— Accounts from various sources showed that Switzerland generally was beginning seriously to suffer from drought, which, with the exception of a few thunder showers, had lasted fully two months. The grass was burnt up, and there was no chance of making the usual second hay crop. In the mountain pastures of several cantons, and in Savoy, beasts perished from lack of water. In canton Schwyz, in the Vaudois Alps, and the valleys of the Jura whole herds were lost. In some districts the peasants had to carry water many miles up steep mountain paths.

6. At the banquet at the Mansion House to Her Majesty's ministers, Lord Hartington summed up the history of the House of Commons during the past seven months when he declared that to be "a record of the energy and the resolution, of the knowledge and the resource, with which one man has conducted one great measure under singular difficulties."

8. A terrible collision took place at Blackburn Station between the express trains due respectively from Manchester and Liverpool. The latter arrived punctually, and an engine immediately backed up to the rear of that train for the purpose of shunting a Pullman carriage to attach to the Sheffield express, which was shortly expected. The engine had just been coupled to this carriage when the Manchester express, which was travelling at a terrific speed, dashed into the engine and caused a wreck of the most appalling description. The two engines locked into each other and the crash sent forth a most deafening noise, which rent the air. Two of the carriages of the Manchester express were completely telescoped, and *débris* was piled up in a heap scattered in all directions. The passengers were extricated from the *débris* as speedily as possible and removed into the waiting-rooms, where their injuries were attended to. The second and third carriages of the Manchester express were telescoped, the end of the third into the rear end of the second, and they had risen to a great height. The Liverpool train consisted of eight carriages, including a van, a first and a second class carriage, two thirds, and two composite carriages; and the Manchester train consisted of five ordinary and one composite carriage. Five passengers were killed and forty-three more or less severely wounded. The driver of the stationary engine, perceiving that a collision was inevitable, jumped on to the platform, and was knocked down by a buffer which was severed from one of the engines, and, flying at right angles, struck the driver, who was afterwards removed to the infirmary. The driver of the Manchester express, who had stuck to his post and miraculously escaped uninjured, stated all signals were off as he approached the station; that he did not expect a train to be standing at the platform; also that the Westinghouse brake did not act as it should have done.

— Signor Damiano Marinelli, one of the most distinguished members of the Italian Alpine Club, started from Macugnaga to make the ascent of Monte Rosa from that side—a most difficult feat, only twice, it is believed, accomplished before. He was accompanied by the experienced and well-

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known guides F. Imseng and B. Pedranzini, of the Val Furva, and a peasant who acted as porter. At 8 P.M. the peasant returned with the intelligence that the party, with the exception of himself, had been swept away by an avalanche near Pedriolo, a hamlet situated at the base of the mountain at an altitude of over 6,000 feet above the sea level. Signor Marinelli was about thirty-eight years of age, an accomplished linguist, and an ardent Alpine explorer. His body was found two days afterwards; a blast of air caused by the falling avalanche had torn his clothing to shreds, and death must have been instantaneous.

10. The International Electrical Exhibition at Paris informally opened by M. Grévy. One-half of the available space had been reserved for France, one-eighth to England, and the remaining portion was divided between the other countries exhibiting. The French section included, besides a lighthouse of extraordinary power, a theatre, where the scene-shifting and lighting are done by electricity, the pressing of a knob being all that is required for the changing of a decoration, a photographic department for taking portraits by the electric light, and a telephonic room, where the Presidential party heard the hunter's song in "Der Freischutz" sung by a chorus at the Opera House.

— A Convention of Irish Revolutionists held a secret session at Chicago. Last December several prominent Fenians sent out a circular calling a general conclave of Irish Nationalists to meet in Chicago this month. Their object was to devise means and raise funds to assail England in every way possible. The treasurer reported nearly 100,000 dollars in hand in the Skirmishing Fund. One party in the Convention favoured making Chicago the head-quarters of the central governing body of the revolutionary movement, but subject to the approval of a subsequent meeting to be held in New York. It was asserted that 64,000 local bodies in the United States and Canada were represented, an immense exaggeration. O'Donovan Rossa declared that the Convention would support Crowe and the dynamite plots, but according to others the majority was opposed to using infernal machines, whilst bent on greater exertion to equip Irish revolutionists with war material. Even those opposed to dynamite on steamers held that its use against an English army of occupation would be justifiable. The proceedings of the Convention do not seem to have been altogether harmonious. During the short session it elected and then superseded five separate chairmen, and nearly as many secretaries. Crowe appeared at one meeting with seven dynamite machines, and explained the workings of them. This disgusted the anti-dynamite faction which acknowledged the leadership of James Stephens, the well-known Fenian head-centre; and their representative at the Convention, Colonel Boland, and his friends withdrew from the meeting. The report of the proceedings as published in the newspapers dissatisfied certain delegates, who maintained that the dynamite question was not discussed, and that "comparative harmony" prevailed. The employment of the Skirmishing Fund, which was investigated to satisfy the curiosity of the Irish public, was approved.

12. The appointment gazetted of a lady, Miss Pogson, to be Meteorological Reporter to the Government of the Madras Presidency. Miss Pogson had for some years discharged the duties of Assistant-Government Astronomer.

— The Czech National Theatre at Prague, which was just approaching completion, was destroyed by fire, which commenced in the roof, where a smith was fixing the lightning conductor.

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14. The first Episcopal appointment to a Prussian see made since the promulgation of the May laws completed by the consecration at Rome of the new Bishop of Treves in the person of Dr. Korum, upon whose nomination Leo XIII. and Prince Bismarck found themselves in accord. Baron Derenthall, Chargé d'Affaires, in the absence of the German Ambassador, was unofficially present at the ceremony. Dr. Korum is a native of Alsace and was educated at the Jesuit College of Innsbruck.

— A terrible catastrophe took place at Marseilles. A bull-fight had been organised in the New Circus, and a vast gathering assembled. About five o'clock the wooden stands suddenly gave way and let the occupants, about two thousand in number, down to the ground. It took several hours to extricate the dead, dying, and wounded from the ruins. The number of deaths was twelve, and of the injured 150.

16. A remarkable gathering took place at Halstead, in Kent, to protest against "extraordinary tithe" on the part of the farming class of Kent and Sussex. The scene was Colegates Farm, on which the rector of Halstead had distrained for the payment of extraordinary tithes, levied on the improvement of woodland by its conversion into hop and fruit-growing land. The amount levied for was 22*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*, and a stack of hay had been taken in distraint. The "man in possession" had watched this for thirteen days, and it was to see the sale of the stack that farmers of Kent and Sussex had gathered in the farmyard of the lessees of the Colegates Farm. The secretary to the Farmers' Alliance of the district thanked the farmers for responding to the invitation he and his brother had sent out to be witnesses of the action taken by the clergy in reaping the taxes levied upon the enterprise, the capital, and the industry of the agricultural classes. He added that he had also invited twenty clergymen to be present, but only one had come—the vicar of the Weald of Sevenoaks.

17. The Ministerial whitebait dinner held at the Trafalgar Tavern, Greenwich. The Liberals of the borough took advantage of the occasion to present Mr. Gladstone on his arrival with an illuminated address and a carved oak chair as a token of their esteem and a souvenir of his former constituency.

18. The Bank rate of discount raised from 2½ to 3 per cent.

19. A grand review of Scotch volunteers held at Edinburgh by the Queen. More than 36,000 men gathered from every part of Scotland, and about 4,000 more from the Border country were assembled by two o'clock in the afternoon; and having marched past the Royal Standard during a continuous downpour of rain, had all left Edinburgh before midnight. The Royal Scottish Standard was substituted for the Union Standard, and the Queen's body-guard was composed of the Royal Scottish Archers in their picturesque costumes. The number of spectators was estimated at above a quarter of a million, the review ground at the foot of Arthur's Seat offering great accommodation to the public.

20. The occupation of the southern portion of Thessaly ceded to Greece commenced simultaneously at four points. The Greek troops were met by an immense concourse of the native population, who received them enthusiastically. Many kissed the Hellenic flag as the emblem of liberty restored after four centuries of Ottoman domination.

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21. M. Eugène Godard, the celebrated French aëronaut, accompanied by three local journalists, very narrowly escaped a melancholy death by the descent of his balloon in the Danube. The start was effected from a large pleasure garden in the neighbourhood of Schönbrunn at a quarter past seven. About an hour later a thunderstorm of terrible violence broke out, and the gravest apprehensions were entertained for M. Godard and his companions. The balloon was caught in the midst of the thunderclouds, and thrice the lightning flashed within a few yards of its terror-stricken crew. M. Godard, however, kept his presence of mind, and after vainly endeavouring, by emptying the sandbags, to steer clear of the storm, he decided to come down as quickly as possible. The balloon was then some 3,000 feet high, and moving at the rate of thirty-four feet per second. The gas-pipe was opened, and the balloon began to descend with fearful rapidity. Suddenly M. Godard exclaimed, "We shall fall into the Danube." A fruitless attempt was made to use the anchor, but the trees were too far below and the speed too great. At any moment it appeared that they might be engulfed in the stream, whence, owing to the storm, all escape would be impossible. M. Godard hereupon cried out, "Gentlemen, we are one too many!" But as none of his companions appeared disposed to withdraw, he threw overboard twenty-five kilogrammes of rope, and, with the anchor attached to the remainder, endeavoured to catch the brushwood on the river edge. This, fortunately, succeeded, and the car was secured within a few feet of the water, and the travellers escaped without any injury beyond a severe shaking.

— General elections took place in France, Spain, and Portugal.

22. Lord Clandeboye, eldest son of the British Ambassador at the Porte, the Earl of Dufferin, swam across the Bosphorus from Therapia to Beicos. The distance is considerably greater than between Sestos and Abydos, the points chosen by Leander and Lord Byron. Lord Clandeboye was rather more than an hour in crossing.

24. A boat, 14 ft. long and 5 ft. beam, named the "City of Bath," arrived at Falmouth, having crossed the Atlantic manned by two young sailors, John Traynor of Bristol, and Olsen, a Norwegian. They put into Newfoundland for repairs, and were subsequently capsized, spoiling all their provisions. On the 17th, during heavy weather, they lost overboard their only compass. They had not been dry since leaving America, and their boat was so crank that standing on the side canted it to the water's edge. They proposed to continue their voyage to Hamburg, and to recross the Atlantic in the same way.

25. The "Pelham," a large hotel in Boston, successfully moved a distance of nearly 14 ft. The building of freestone and brick consisted of a basement and seven storeys, the total height above the road being 96 feet, and its gross weight estimated at 5,000 tons. The furniture was not disturbed during the removal, nor were the occupants of the stores on the first floor, and in some other rooms; the various pipe connections being kept up by flexible tubes. Substantial stone and brick foundations were made for iron rails and rollers, and the building was forced to its new position by means of 56 screws worked by hand, against timbers so arranged, as to uniformly distribute the pressure against the building. Two months and 26 days were occupied in preparation, and the moving began on August 21, though the actual time occupied was only 13 hours 40 minutes. The greatest speed was two inches in four minutes, and the total cost was $30,000.

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26. A return issued showing the cost and "butchers' bills" of our recent Indian and Colonial wars from 1875 to 1880 inclusive. According to this, the total gross cost of the Afghan war had been 24,494,483*l.*, including a charge of 4,324,047*l.* for frontier railways, and one of 1,019,470*l.* for the Punjaub Northern Railway. From this must be deducted receipts amounting in all to 1,082,260*l.*, having a net cost of 23,412,223*l.*, of which 5,000,000*l.* was defrayed out of the British Exchequer. The South African wars cost the following sums:—Transkei war, 240,137*l.*; Zulu war, 4,922,141*l.*; Secocoeni expedition, approximately, 180,000*l.*; and the war in Griqualand West, 222,200*l.* The Afghan war was responsible for 99 officers and 1,524 men killed, and 111 officers and 1,252 men wounded; the South African war, 1875-8, for 12 officers and 167 men killed, and 15 officers and 243 men wounded; the Zulu war, for 58 officers and 1,328 men killed, and 29 officers and 272 men wounded; and the Secocoeni expedition for three officers and nine men killed, and seven officers and 249 men wounded.

27. Contemporaneously with the shocks of earthquake felt at Chio and Tchesme, the earth at Zante suddenly gave out intense heat, accompanied by a strong breeze from the east, causing much alarm. These phenomena, however, subsided immediately. Three days before the entire island had been enveloped in smoke, clouds from the west-south-west obscuring the sea from noon until dusk. Masses of calcined leaves also fell throughout the island.

— The Royal Polytechnic Institution, in Regent Street, London, closed. It was originally founded in 1828 for the exhibition of novelties in the arts and practical science, especially in connection with agriculture, manufactures, and other branches of industry. For many years it showed how "instruction and amusement" could go hand in hand, for it was the place where the first rude efforts of the photographic art were displayed some forty years ago by M. Daguerre, and where the "diving bell" and Pepper's Ghost have delighted the childhood and boyhood of the present generation.

29. The following description appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" of the new summer palace of Lindenhof in the Bavarian Highlands, built by the King Ludwig in imitation of Versailles. "Gigantic caryatides support the projecting parts of the edifice. Gilt balconies and niches rich with marble statues enliven its front, and allegorical figures of all kinds—the seasons, the four parts of the world—are distributed in the arbours and shrubberies. The entrance is copied from the beautiful porch of the cathedral at Rheims. The interior of the château is furnished from Paris, in the gorgeous style of the Renaissance. Costly Gobelins deck the walls, numberless agates ornament the stoves, embroideries of rare and expensive kind meet the eye everywhere, and the bed in which the king sleeps is of so magnificent a construction, the gold embroidery on the red velvet curtains so elaborate, that 75,000*l.* are said to have been spent on this article of furniture alone." But all this splendour sinks into insignificance before the marvels in the park:—"Memories of ancient Greece rise up before us as we behold on the hillside a temple of Venus, and in it a beautiful statue of the goddess, in the purest marble of Carrara. Behind it a tunnel of great extent leads us into the bowels of the mountain. Here all the waters descending from the Klammspitz and the Heanenkopf have been caught up and gathered into an artificial subterranean lake, already the subject of legendary lore. The cavern

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is coated on the inside with tufaceous limestone, and is known by the name of the Blue Grotto, owing to the blue resplendence of the water in it in former days. But now the resemblance to Capri and its cave has vanished. The Royalty inhabiting this fairy palace causes the cave to be lit up by day and by night with artificial flames, protected by globes or plates of gilt glass, and thus it is on waves of liquid gold that glides along the swan-shaped gondola and its solitary occupant girt, may be, with Lohengrin's armour. An ingenious contrivance, driven by steam, agitates the waters of this still cave, and produces the semblance of the effects of a breeze. No human eye being allowed to gaze on this strange boating exercise, the life of the Royal hermit was in no small danger some time ago, when the steam engine created a veritable storm, and the barque was capsized. The cave is heated the whole year round, in order that the Royal owner may, even on a sudden and unexpected visit, find the temperature to his taste. The lake serves to feed numerous fountains irrigating and decorating the park, and surrounded by brilliant flower-beds. The chilly atmosphere not being propitious for training flowers, they are reared in nursery gardens far away in the plains and mysteriously planted before daybreak by the hands of gardeners, who withdraw during daytime in order not to break the spell of the all-pervading silence."

— The National Land League Conference held at Newcastle under the presidency of Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P.

30. The Cape Mail Steamship "Teuton" on its voyage from Cape Town to Natal, struck at about 7 P.M. on a rock between Quoin Point and Danger Point on the extreme southern coast of Africa. The quartermaster, who was upon the lower bridge, was the first to see land, apparently about four miles off. The sky was clear, but there was a haze on the shore. The moon was up. The quarter-master saw no beach or breakers, and the look-out man gave no warning of danger. Suddenly the ship struck on her port side, and heeled over to starboard, canting her head to sea. The captain came on deck and mounted the bridge, where he remained to the end. Finding that the water was coming in he altered the course for Simon's Bay. On first leaving the rock where she had struck the "Teuton" steamed twelve knots an hour. This fell to nine, and then to six. The compartment against which the collision had taken place admitted no water, but that next to the engine-room filled, a plate having probably started by the force of the blow. At eight o'clock the captain ordered the boats to be lowered from their davits to the level of the bulwarks, and that supplies of provisions, water, and compasses should be placed in them, believing, however, that she would float for some hours. Mr. Rose Innes, the surgeon, and Mr. Cowen, the supercargo, took charge of the passengers, and made all sit quietly on deck. At ten o'clock the engines were stopped and the boats lowered. While in the act of being lowered one collapsible boat broke in pieces. Another was hanging over the ladder, and could not be got clear of that which was embarking the passengers. Six got alongside, and the women and children were told off to take their places first. In the meantime perfect order prevailed. The male passengers retained their seats, only one, who was called to by his wife, make an effort to get on board. He was, however, forced back by the surgeon, and all then sat quietly. About thirty women and children had taken their places in the first boat, when the bulkhead between the compartments gave way with a sudden crash. The water

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rushed into the engine-room, and instantly the ship went down by the head. One loud cry of surprise and terror broke from the passengers seated upon the deck, and then in an instant all was over. All the officers went down with the ship, together with four of the boats, including the port cutter and lifeboat, which were not fairly clear of the ship. Those of the passengers and crew who rose to the surface clung to the floating wreck till picked up by some of those who had righted the third boat. At daylight the boats made for Simon's Bay, all who were clinging to the spars having been taken on board. One of the boats was blown past Cape Point; the others reached the docks there at midnight. The "Teuton" had on board two hundred and fifty-six passengers and eighty-five officers and men, together with twenty coolies. Eleven passengers, three officers, two petty officers, and twenty of the crew were saved.

31. The British Association held its fifty-first meeting at York, the inaugural address being delivered by Sir John Lubbock, who reviewed in an eloquent and lucid speech the results of scientific investigation during the past half-century. These, he pointed out, included the theory of evolution, the antiquity of man, and the far greater antiquity of the world itself; the correlation of physical forces and the conservation of energy; spectrum analysis and its application to celestial physics; the higher algebra and the modern geometry; and, lastly, the innumerable applications of science to practical life, among the most recent of which are the electric light and the telephone. (See "Science Retrospect.")

SEPTEMBER.

1. Dr. Bradley, Master of University College, Oxford, and previously head master of Marlborough, appointed to succeed to the Deanery of Westminster.

— A young lawyer's clerk, named Francis Waldeck, blew his brains out at Steinmühle, in fulfilment of the iniquitous conditions of a so-called "American duel," in which he had engaged some months ago with Baron Arthur von R——. The "combatants" drew lots for their lives, the loser solemnly engaging himself to commit suicide upon a certain day. It appears that May 15 was the date agreed upon between them for the death of one or the other. Waldeck drew the blank in this inhuman lottery, but failed to kill himself at the appointed time, and twice subsequently solicited a respite from his adversary. His second application was peremptorily refused by the Baron in the following heartless terms: "Coward and rascal, I am waiting to attend your funeral!" On receiving this bloodthirsty intimation Waldeck at once shot himself, having recorded at some length in a letter addressed to his parents the circumstances "compelling him to take that fatal step."

— In broad daylight and in perfectly fine weather the steamships "Augustus," of Hamburg, and "Hector," of Liverpool, came into collision off the South Foreland. The latter, a ship of 1,500 tons register, sank as soon as she had been towed into Dover Harbour; but the "Augustus," though severely damaged, was able to continue her voyage.

— Rev. H. W. Burrows, vicar of Edmonton, appointed to be Canon of Rochester, and the Rev. W. J. Knox Little to be Canon of Worcester.

2. The polling in North Lincolnshire resulted in a gain for the Con-

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servatives, Mr. James Lowther obtaining 4,200 against 3,729 given to the Liberal candidate, Colonel Tomline. At the general election, Mr. Laycock (L.) had headed the poll with 4,159 votes.

3. The report of the Royal Commission on Education in Wales issued, according to which there were in the Principality endowments of boys' schools amounting to 12,800*l.*, and the gross income of girls' schools to 6,500*l.*; the number of boys attending Welsh intermediate schools: 2,287 at private schools, 209 at proprietary schools, and 1,540 at endowed grammar schools. Taking the population of Wales and Monmouthshire at 1,500,000, the Commissioners recommended that intermediate school accommodation should be provided for 15,700 boys, the returns showing that public schools only accommodate 3,000, and that the attendance is less than 1,600.

— The court-martial on the loss of H.M.S. "Doterel" having weighed and considered the whole of the evidence laid before it, the court found that the ship "Doterel" was destroyed while at anchor at Sandy Point, in the Straits of Magellan, by two distinct explosions which took place on board her; the first of gas evolved from the coal stowed in the bunkers, and the second of the powder stored in the fore magazine. There was no direct evidence to show in which of the bunkers the first of these explosions originated, nor what was the actual cause of the ignition of the gas; but the court was of opinion that inflammable gas had been generated in the improperly ventilated coal-bunkers. The second explosion was a result of the first, and the inflamed gas passed direct into the interior of the magazine, either through a rupture made in the after bulkhead of the magazine, or through the copper pipe of the flooding arrangements.

6. President Garfield conveyed from Washington to Long Branch, on the coast, a distance of 238 miles. He was carried from his room to the train while asleep under the influence of morphine, and did not wake until he had been transferred to his couch in the railway carriage. The train travelled slowly at first, but afterwards increased to forty-five miles an hour, and reached its destination in about seven hours after starting. The railway track had been extended to the door of the cottage which he was to occupy.

— An international musical gathering took place at Brighton. Upwards of sixteen hundred members of the principal musical societies of France, Belgium, and Switzerland arrived in order to give a series of competitive contests for prizes offered by the Brighton municipality and others.

7. The Œcumenical Methodist Conference, attended by upwards of 400 delegates from all parts of the world, opened with a service at the City Road Chapel, "the Cathedral of Methodism." The inaugural sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Simpson, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. The American Methodists were very largely represented by their bishops, Australia, China, France, Turkey, and Norway being amongst the countries sending delegates. The conference lasted twelve days, and the members received marked attention from the Lord Mayor and many of the religious societies of London. Methodism was represented by its four distinguishing groups: 1. British Wesleyans, numbering 972,180 members; 2. Primitive, Free, and other connections, 712,070 members; 3. United States and Canada Episcopal, 2,517,284; 4. United States and Canada non-Episcopal, 279,100: showing a grand total for the whole world of nearly five millions of members and scholars.

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— The election for county Tyrone resulted in the return of the Government candidate by a majority of 84 over the Conservative. A number of votes more than sufficient to have changed this result were given to Mr. Rylett, the Home Ruler, a Unitarian minister, but the nominee of Mr. Parnell. The numbers were—Dickson (L.), 3,168; Knox (C.), 3,084; Rylett (H.R.), 907.

8. The New North Docks at Liverpool opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales with much ceremonial. The new docks, which cover an area of 310 acres and a frontage of 6,000 feet, extend from Bootle to Seaforth Battery, and form a continuation of the Liverpool dock system commenced at the beginning of the century. Including the new docks, the river frontage of the Dock Estate at Liverpool and Birkenhead is about 8½ miles, covering 1,500 acres, with a water area of 543 acres, and 40 miles of quays.

— The Swiss "Statistical Journal" published a return showing the working of the Federal law of marriage and divorce, and connecting with it the proportion of public-houses to the population. Thus in Thurgau, Schwytz, Appenzell-ausser-Rhoden, and Schaffhausen there are 37 public-houses to every thousand males (above 15), and 78 divorces to every thousand marriages. In Basle (canton), Solothurn, Appenzell-inner-Rhoden, St. Gall, Vaud, and Zurich the public-houses average 25 to 1,000 males, the divorces 57 to 1,000 marriages. In Niederwald and Oberwalden, Valais, Basle (city), Aargau, Fribourg, Luzern, and Berne the public-houses are 16 to 1,000 males, and the divorces 36 per 1,000 marriages.

9. The Emperors William and Alexander met at Neufahrwasser, near Danzig. The Czar left Peterhof two days previously, accompanied by M. de Giers, Count Vorontsoff Dashkoff, Admiral Boutakoff, and General Werder. Prince Bismarck, with his big dog and a shorthand writer, arrived at Danzig on the following day. Up to the last hour official newspapers denied that the meeting was at hand, or gave false alleged corrections as to the time and place. The Emperor and Crown Prince left Berlin on the previous evening, and punctually at six o'clock next morning their train ran into Danzig station. The German party then took train to Neufahrwasser, where they embarked on board the imperial yacht "Hohenzollern," lying ready in the harbour. At one o'clock the "Hohenzollern," decorated with garlands of flowers, lifted anchor and went out in the still misty atmosphere to meet the Czar's yacht, the "Derjava." On the two vessels meeting, at two o'clock, salutes were fired by the German squadron and from the forts of Neufahrwasser. A boat was then lowered from the "Derjava," and in a few minutes the Czar was on board the "Hohenzollern" (both the Emperor and the Crown Prince advancing to meet him and embracing him affectionately). The German Emperor betrayed great emotion. After a conversation on board the "Hohenzollern," the Czar decided to accompany the German Emperor ashore, and both travelled together by train to Danzig.

— A serious and partly successful meeting, unattended by violence or bloodshed, took place among the Egyptian troops stationed at Cairo. The leader, Achmet et Ouraby or Araby, was said to be supported by 15,000 men in his demand for a constitution, an increase of the army, and the dismissal of the Ministry. The English acting Consul, Mr. C. A. Cookson, and the English Controller, Mr. Colvin, took the initiative in restoring order, and succeeded ultimately in sustaining the authority of the Khedive.

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10. Punta, the fortress defending the Gulf of Arta, given to the Greek forces, who on the following day entered Larissa, the capital of Thessaly.

— A suspension-bridge near Pittsburg, United States, having been almost destroyed by fire, it was found that it arose from the fact that thousands of sparrows had been in the habit of building their nests in the woodwork, and a spark from a steamer plying upon the river had set these on fire.

— The Park Theatre (originally called the Alexandria) in Camden Town completely destroyed by fire. The performance had finished, and the audience had left before any appearance of fire occurred. In little more than half an hour the whole building was burnt out, without accidents or loss of life.

— By a shock of earthquake, felt over a considerable extent of territory in the Abruzzi, several buildings were damaged at Chieti; at Castel Frentano a great number of persons were hurt, and many houses seriously damaged; at Lanciano two persons were killed by the fall of a chimney; at Orsogna one person was killed and several were injured; at Altessa the church of Santa Giustina was seriously damaged; and at Pescara, where the shock was very severely felt, the famous cathedral and many houses were injured.

— The village of Elm, in the Canton of Glarus, overwhelmed by a landslip, by which 200 inhabitants out of a population of 1,000 lost their lives; whilst most of the survivors were partially or wholly ruined. The catastrophe had been imminent for some time; but up to the last there were hopes that it might be averted. At about 6 P.M., however, the top of the mountain (the Tchingel) began to move downwards, and at midnight a terrible avalanche occurred, hurling huge masses of rock and earth down the valley and on to the village. Thirty houses were buried immediately; the Sernet River which ran through the valley was stopped, and temporarily converted into a lake 40 or 50 feet deep. According to the measurements and estimates of Professor Heim, of Zurich University, the earth-slip, though less destructive of human life than the earth-slip of Plurs and Goldau, probably exceeded in extent either of those catastrophes, great as they were. The portion of the Tschingel Alp which broke away from the parent mountain measured at its base 400 mètres by 350 mètres. The length of its projection outwards cannot, of course, now be ascertained. The length of the *débris* stream was 1,500 mètres, and varied in breadth from 300 to 400 mètres. The distance of the extreme end of the stream from the place whence it broke away is 2,000 mètres. The extent of the valley bottom covered was computed at 570,000 mètres, while the entire mass made a total of 900,000 square mètres. The fall was a little over 2,000 feet. The lowest estimate of the contents of the slip, according to the admeasurements of the engineers, was 10,000,000 cubic mètres, containing enough stone to build two cities as large as Zurich. Some of the blocks, which were heaped 112 mètres higher than the village of Elm, measured 1,260 cubic mètres, and are estimated to weigh 3,300 tons.

— Almost similar catastrophes, due, it is supposed, to prolonged rain, occurred at Reichenbach, in the Bernese Oberland, and at Somoix, in the Grisons; but in these cases unattended by loss of life.

12. Rustem Pasha, Governor-General of the Lebanon, issued a special

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ordinance for the better protection of the once famous cedar forest of Lebanon. From what had once covered a large tract of country, it had diminished down to a thicket of about 400 trees.

— The fourteenth Annual Trades Union Congress met in London, attended by 129 delegates, representing 102 trade organisations, having 417,000 members. Amongst them were several ladies representing societies formed by women workers. Three persons whose right to sit as delegates was disputed were ejected, it being averred that they had been paid to attend by a party which desired to pledge the Trades Unions on the subject of Fair Trade *versus* Free Trade.

13. The Irish Church Temporalities Commission, created on July 26, 1869, dissolved by notice in the "Dublin Gazette," and its business transferred to a department of the Land Commission. Fourteen of its officers were taken over for the purpose of the collection of revenue and administration of funds. Viscount Monck and Mr. Justice Lawson thus ceased to be specially employed in public service, and the ecclesiastical change inaugurated by the disestablishment of the Irish Church may be said to be complete.

15. The Irish National Convention, attended by about 8,700 delegates, met in the Rotunda, Dublin, under the presidency of Mr. Parnell. The resolutions, as adopted by the Council, declared that no settlement of the land question could be satisfactory which did not abolish landlordism, and that the principles of the Land League required not the fixing of rent, but its abolition. Before the conclusion of proceedings, the Convention added to the present title of the Irish National League the words—"and Labour and Industrial Union." The Land League, formally prepared, advocated Protection in the form of Ireland for the Irish exclusively.

— The City of London Common Council concluded a series of animated discussions of its committee's report on the fish supply of the metropolis. This report condemned the present market as altogether insufficient, and suggested two courses—either to build a new market at Blackfriars Bridge, or to reconstruct and extend the present one by incorporating the Custom House and adjacent wharves with it. A motion was made directing plans and estimates of the cost of a new market at Blackfriars Bridge, and to this an amendment was proposed declaring Billingsgate sufficient if the site of the Custom House were added. This latter proposal was carried by 50 to 44. A motion declaring Billingsgate to be the most desirable site was lost by 67 to 51; and a committee was instructed to report as to the cost of obtaining a site at Blackfriars or elsewhere, and of constructing a market thereon; as to the practicability of vessels bringing fish to London getting to a market so situated; and as to the cost of enlarging Billingsgate Market, and providing suitable approaches. It was also agreed that the market should be divided into wholesale, semi-wholesale, and retail, as in Paris. In the course of the debate it was stated that while only 37,258 tons of fish were brought to Billingsgate in one year by water, the arrivals by railway had been 87,884 tons.

17. The Geographical Congress, which this year held its annual meeting at Venice, visited by the King and Queen of Italy. General Pim brought forward his plan for cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth, and was warmly supported by most of the speakers.

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19. After a long and painful struggle, President Garfield, having held power long enough to show himself worthy of it, succumbed to his wounds at 10.30 P.M. Throughout Europe, the sympathy manifested with Mrs. Garfield and the United States people was deep and spontaneous; the English court even going into mourning, a ceremony hitherto not observed in the case of the death of crowned heads.

20. The marriage of the Crown Prince of Sweden with the Princess Victoria, daughter of the Grand Duke of Baden, solemnised at Carlsruhe. The civil ceremony was gone through at 4.30 P.M., before the burgomaster, Herr Günther, after which came the procession to the church, the bride being conducted by the King of Sweden and the Emperor of Germany, and the bridegroom by the Duchess of Saxe and the Queen of Sweden. They were followed by the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden, the Crown Prince of Denmark, the Crown Princess of Germany, the Crown Prince of Germany and the Grand Duchess Michael, and several other princely personages.

21. The lesser state of siege proclaimed by imperial ukase in ten of the principal provinces of Russia, including St. Petersburg and Moscow, as well as in five small districts, and seven large towns.

— Three bishops of the sect of the Greek Church, calling themselves "Old Believers," released from an imprisonment which had lasted since the year 1856. One of these prelates was over eighty years of age, and the youngest about seventy. They had been confined all these years in a monastery at Souzdal. Liberty had more than once been offered to them on the condition of their abandoning their episcopal titles, but this they consistently refused to do. They declared that even if they would they could not divest themselves of the divine office, which came from God, and not from men.

22. At a quarter past one in the morning the butler at Mr. H. L. Powys-Keck's residence, The Knoll, Kingston-on-Thames, was awakened by hearing pistol-shots. He rose and went out upon the landing, where he saw the housekeeper, who had also heard the noise. Together they searched the house, but found no indications of a suspicious nature until they reached the hall door, when they heard a moan. They opened the door, and at once observed Police Constable Atkins, of the Metropolitan Police, lying on the ground wounded in three places, from the effects of which he died without becoming conscious. An investigation of the premises shows that the burglars had been at work. They had removed a bar from a small window leading to a lavatory near the front of the mansion, and doubtless they were in the act of effecting an entrance when disturbed by the constable, who during short intervals of consciousness stated that upon approaching the house, as was his wont, he neither saw nor heard anything until he found that he was shot. A lantern and a chisel or "jemmy" were found near the house. In spite of the effects of the violence, and of the offer of a reward, no trace of the murderer was found.

24. The body of President Garfield, which had been conveyed from Long Branch to Washington two days after the death, and which had lain in state in the Capitol, transferred to Cleveland, Ohio. From all parts of Europe marks of respect had been received throughout the week, all the crowned

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heads and leading persons and important bodies in Europe sending messages of condolence to Mrs. Garfield. At Washington more than 130,000 passed through the room in which the President was lying. The floral decorations of the bier were exceedingly beautiful. One of the largest and most exquisite was composed of white roses, smilax, and stephanotis, which was prepared and presented in the name of the Queen of England by the British Legation. It bore a card with the inscription "Queen Victoria to the Memory of the late President Garfield; an expression of her sorrow, and her sympathy with Mrs. Garfield and the American nation." Another was a broken shaft of white roses on a pedestal, also of roses. The broken top was composed of purple immortelles, surmounted by a white dove, with its head bent downward. A third, of elaborate construction, represented the heavenly gates ajar. Another was a crown of glory. At the casket's head was a pillow of white roses, surmounted by a white dove prepared for flight heavenwards. When the coffin was removed from the Capitol at Washington and placed in the hearse 40,000 spectators were present. All stood with uncovered heads. At Baltimore 45,000 persons assembled at the station to see the train pass. All along the line of route remarkable manifestations of sympathy occurred. In the larger cities thousands assembled. The stations were draped in black, bells were tolled, and salutes fired. In the open country the spectators assembled on the sides of the railway with uncovered heads, some even kneeling. In some places the line was strewn with flowers. The fact that the journey was for the most part performed by night did not tend to make the demonstrations any less marked and general. Thousands of people remained sleepless, or left their beds, to pay honour to the remains of the President.

— A large meeting of cotton spinners and doublers held at Halifax, to concert means to counteract the effects of the Liverpool "cotton corner," by which the price of that material had been forced up. It was arranged that for a month the mills throughout the cotton-spinning district of Yorkshire should only run for four days a week.

26. President Garfield buried at Cleveland, Ohio, his native place. The road from the city to the cemetery, nearly five miles long, was packed with a dense crowd, estimated at more than a hundred thousand. The funeral services began at ten o'clock. They were very simple, consisting of the singing of hymns by the vocal societies, the reading of Scripture, prayer, and an address by the Rev. Isaac Everitt, an old friend of President Garfield. The procession was very long and impressive. There were nine divisions of military and civic societies, comprising nearly ten thousand men. A notable feature was President Garfield's old regiment, the 42nd Ohio Volunteers. Mrs. Garfield, accompanied by her husband's mother and her own five children, rode in the procession. When the grave was reached a prayer was delivered by the chaplain of President Garfield's regiment. A hymn was sung by the German Singing Society, and the President of Garfield's College pronounced the benediction.

— The doors of the National Bank of Luxemburg closed, it being no longer in a position to fulfil its engagements. The bank was at once guarded by gendarmes in consequence of the public excitement which prevailed, bank notes for small sums, amounting in the aggregate to more than 3,000,000f., being in the hands of the working classes. The Grand Ducal State by its

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deposits was interested in the bankruptcy to the extent of upwards of 2,000,000f.

— The second annual Leather Trades Exhibition opened in state at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs.

28. A great part of the flourishing village of Nyon, on the Lake of Geneva, burnt down. The fire was attributed to incendiaries, and several arrests were made; but no conclusive evidence was ultimately forthcoming.

29. At the Electricity Exhibition in Paris, several fires were reported to have taken place, and many curious accidents occurred. A gentleman was leaning over a balustrade to examine a machine of M. Christofle, when his gold chain made a connection between two conducting wires which happened to be exposed. His chain became red-hot and set fire to his waistcoat. On another occasion a gentleman was nearly killed by a Brush dynamo-electric machine. Part of the conducting wire was not insulated, and was lying on the floor. He touched the stand of a lamp which formed part of the conducting system. His body then formed a connection through the ground to the naked wire, and contracted his muscles so as to cause his hand to clench the lamp. Ten lamps were in circuit at the time, and so much current was passed through him that eight of them were extinguished. He was powerless to unclasp his hand. Every muscle in his body was paralysed. His face was distorted; his lungs were so acted on that he could scarcely breathe. He could only utter a faint and unnatural cry. The workmen in the place fled from the workshop, believing that some explosion was about to happen. A friend came up and tried to unlock his hand. It was impossible. He then lifted his legs from the ground. This broke the circuit, and his hands were released, while burning sparks flew to his hands in the action of breaking the circuit. He was insensible, but subsequently recovered, and devised an improvement to the lamp which will prevent a recurrence of such an accident.

— The autobiography of Count Campello, the ex-Canon of St. Peter's, published at Rome. His secession to the Protestant faith, he says, was due solely to the corruption and hypocrisy of the Roman Church, and to the refusal of the Pope to effect a reconciliation between the Papal See and the Italian Government. Count Campello sent copies of the autobiography to the Pope and all the cardinals, as well as to prelates, diplomatists, parish priests, and the superiors of religious orders. The author, a member of an illustrious house which traces its origin to one of the knights who accompanied Charles the Great into Italy, and was invested by that monarch with a fief at Spoleto, was born in Rome on November 15, 1831, of Count Solon Campello and the Baroness Clementina de' Zenardi, and was held (by private proxy) at the baptismal font by Prince Henry of Prussia. His entry on the ecclesiastical career was the price of his father's reconciliation with the Holy See. Count Solon had been Director-General of the Posts under the Republican Government of 1848—an offence for which he forfeited all his offices and honours, and was reduced to great straits. Two cardinals, Amat and Serafini, undertook to effect the reconciliation, and Count Campello found himself almost unawares irrevocably committed to the priesthood. His advancement was rapid, and for many years he found occupation for his active mind and habits in mission work in Rome and the neighbourhood; establishing night schools for the poor sailors of Ortia, &c. He looked to the abolition of the temporal power of the Papacy as the starting-point of the

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spiritual freedom, and disappointed in his hopes he quitted the Church altogether.

30. The "Gazette" formally announced the elevation to the peerage of the United Kingdom of the Marquis of Tweeddale, as Baron Tweeddale, of Yester, in the county of Haddington; the Earl of Howth, as Baron Howth, of Howth, in the County of Dublin; Lord Reay, as Baron Reay, of Durness, in the county of Sutherland; Sir Harcourt Johnstone, as Baron Derwent, of Hackness, in the North Riding of the county of York; Sir Henry James Tufton, as Baron Hothfield, of Hothfield, in the county of Kent; and Sir Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, as Baron Tweedmouth, of Edington, in the county of Berwick.

— The Ameer Abdurrahman made his triumphal entry into Candahar, whence the British had withdrawn, from which Ayoub had been forced to fly. The city was illuminated for three nights.

OCTOBER.

1. The Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Sweden made their State entry into Stockholm, amid great public rejoicing and demonstration. The train which conveyed the princely couple from Gothenburg to the Castle of Drottingholm, was described as having at night resembled a shooting meteor, an electric light having been affixed to the last carriage, which illuminated all the country round.

— The agricultural statistics of the United Kingdom showed that in Great Britain the area cultivated in 1881 amounted to 32,212,000 acres, as compared with 32,102,000 acres in 1880, an increase of 110,000 acres in all, which is ascribed to the enclosure or reclamation of mountain and waste land in different parts of the country. The area under wheat was 8,848,000 acres only, as compared with 8,876,000 acres in 1880. The area under green crops was 3,510,000 acres, as compared with 3,476,000. The area under clover and grasses under rotation was 4,342,000 acres. The area under arable lands altogether was 17,568,000 acres, as compared with 17,675,000 in 1880, a decrease of 107,000 acres; but the increase in permanent pasture was 216,000 acres, from 14,427,000 acres to 14,643,000 acres. The total number of cattle was 5,911,642, as compared with 5,912,046 in 1880. The number of pigs had increased from 2,000,000 to 2,048,000; but the sheep had decreased from 26,619,000 to 24,581,000, or 2,038,000. In Ireland there was a decrease of 53,000 acres in the cultivated area, due apparently to the difficulty of distinguishing permanent from mountain pasture. Corn crops had increased altogether by 10,000, and green crops by 21,000 acres, but this was due to the large increase of acres under potatoes. The decrease in sheep, amounting to 303,000, was met by an increase of 33,000 in cattle, and of 239,000 pigs.

3. The annual meeting of the Social Science Congress, held this year at Dublin, opened under the presidency of Lord O'Hagan, who devoted his inaugural address chiefly to passing in review the reforms which had been accomplished in Ireland since 1861.

4. The twenty-first annual meeting of the Church Congress opened at Newcastle under the presidency of the Bishop of Durham. The members

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were received at the Town Hall by the mayor and sheriff, both Nonconformists, where the president delivered his inaugural address to a crowded assembly. The principal topics discussed by the Congress were the relation of the Church of England to the churches in communion with her; the organisation of lay work in the Church, the limits of permissible ritual, spiritualism, and secularism.

5. At the London School Board, Mr. E. N. Buxton delivered his first annual address as chairman. The census showed that about 10,000 children of school age required elementary school places added every year in London. The total number of children between three and thirteen now to be provided for in London was 685,240. The visitors having entered the names of 659,772 as actually requiring school accommodation, there was a deficiency of only 3·8 per cent. During the past year twenty-five new schools, accommodating 25,393 children, had been added, bringing up the provision in Board schools to 236,024, and in all efficient schools to 502,095. The following table shows the number and accommodation of voluntary schools transferred to the Board during the last five years :—

Year	No.	Accommodation
1876	9	3,310
1877	15	6,002
1878	15	7,030
1879	4	1,858
1880	2	1,291

On the subject of religious education Mr. Buxton said that for Mr. Peek's prizes the numbers entering this year were 141,274, as against 127,501 of last year. The gross annual cost per child on the average during the last eight years was—

1874	£2	4	9	1877	£2	12	3	1880	£2	19	3
1875	2	7	8	1878	2	15	0	1881	2	17	1
1876	2	11	10	1879	2	17	6				

The average attendance at Board schools was 203,334, and at voluntary schools 178,518 ; in the former case an increase of 10,222, and in the latter a decrease of 2,384. The following table shows the per-centage of average attendance on average number on the rolls :—

1872	65·8	1875	74·3	1878	80·0
1873	67·9	1876	78·3	1879	79·4
1874	71·5	1877	80·2	1880	80·4

The present rate in the pound was 6·15*d.*, and there was reason to believe it would not be greatly exceeded in future, although the present School Board would have to provide school accommodation for at least 10,000 more children in order to make room for all.

6. The Limasol pier, the first public work in Cyprus constructed since its occupation by the British, opened by the High Commission. The *fêtes* which followed were largely attended by all classes of inhabitants except the Greek.

— The Czar ordered that seventeen of the imperial palaces and castles, including those of Livadia (Crimea) and of the Belvedere (Warsaw) should be converted into educational establishments for the poor.

— The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from 4 to 5 per cent.

— Resolutions were adopted at the Railway Servants' Conference in Manchester claiming nine hours as the limit of a day's work for ordinary

employés, and eight hours for signalmen and shunters. All work beyond that was to be regarded as overtime, and Sunday work charged for at the rate of time and a half; the need of increased Government inspection and supervision was also insisted upon.

9. A disastrous fire broke out at Bristol in some book stores in the Canynge Buildings. Five shops were burnt out, and the damage was estimated at 60,000*l*. Most of the valuable books of the Canynge Library, as well as the Canynge Hall and Fifteenth Century Chamber, were destroyed. There was a panic amongst the congregation of St. Paul's Church, Bedminster, when the reflection of the flames was perceived on the windows. Numbers of the worshippers suddenly rose and made for the doors. Fatal results would have followed the panic in the gallery had not the vicar stopped his sermon and begged all to stay and join in the doxology. They at once complied, and no accident ensued.

10. M. Gambetta returned to Paris after three weeks' absence in Germany, during which he had succeeded in giving the slip to all reporters and correspondents. His whereabouts was kept so strictly secret that the French ministers who wished to communicate with him were unable to do so. According to one story he had gone to Dresden "to fetch his nephew home from school;" another rumour, that he had had an interview with Prince Bismarck, gave occasion to an interesting narrative by the Paris correspondent of the "Times" of an interview he had with the German Chancellor in July 1878 during the course of which the Prince said more than once Gambetta was a man he would like to see before he died. Returning to Paris the correspondent saw M. Gambetta:—"My first question was how such an interview could be kept secret. He promptly reassured me by exclaiming, 'Quand je le veux, soyez tranquille, je puis faire perdre ma piste.'" In short, the French statesman inclined to the scheme, and the correspondent thinks it probable that M. Gambetta has found means to visit the Chancellor. A Vienna despatch said it was firmly believed there that M. Gambetta travelled from Lubeck to Varzin, where he visited Prince Bismarck, and spent a fortnight in North Germany under an assumed name. The Berlin correspondent of the "Daily News" said he heard on fairly good authority that on September 26 M. Gambetta was in Hamburg, and that he left for Lubeck in the direction of Varzin to interview the German Chancellor. M. Gambetta arrived in Paris on Monday night, and subsequently declared that he had not been to Varzin, and had had no interview with Prince Bismarck; and it was then rumoured that he had been to inspect the German fortifications and fortresses on the eastern frontier of that empire.

11. For the first time after an interval of twenty years, the Queen was present at a dramatic performance given by the Prince and Princess of Wales at Abergeldie Castle. The piece performed (by a London company) was Mr. Burnand's comedy of "The Colonel."

— Mr. George Earlam Thorley, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College, Oxford, and Historical Lecturer at Lincoln, unanimously elected Warden of Wadham in the place of Dr. Griffiths resigned.

12. Mr. Gladstone attended a meeting at the Guildhall to receive an address from the Mayor, Corporation, and Artisans of London testifying the respect and admiration in which they held his labour in the service of

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the State. Mr. Gladstone was also requested to sit for a marble bust to be placed in the Guildhall. The address was wholly apart from any political views held by those who presented it. Mr. Gladstone's reception was most cordial and enthusiastic.

13. Mr. C. S. Parnell, M.P., arrested without disturbance at Morrison's Hotel, under the Coercion Act, and lodged in Kilmainham Gaol.

— The Royal Toxophilite Society celebrated the centenary of its existence. The Society was formed in 1781 by Sir Ashton Lever and a few others on the ashes of two then expiring clubs—the Archers' Division of the Hon. Artillery Company and the Finsbury Archers; and, after changing its quarters three or four times, eventually settled down in the Regent's Park grounds in 1834. It attained its greatest numerical strength in 1791, when it had 168 members; since then the members have fluctuated considerably, and at the present time they are restricted to 100 besides the committee. On the occasion of the centenary meeting, a handsome silver challenge jug, presented to the Society in 1836 by William IV., was shot for, in addition to 150*l.* in money prizes. There were sixty-five competitors. Twelve pairs of targets were used, and the York Round—*i.e.* 72 arrows at 100 yards, 48 at 80, and 24 at 60—was shot on each day. Mr. Palairet was declared the champion, with the score of 1,062 from 210 hits.

14. A cyclone of unusual force burst over many parts of Europe, the United Kingdom especially suffering. The wind blew from the north-west in Ireland, from west to south-west in the south of England, southerly on the east coast, and easterly and north-easterly on the northern and eastern coasts of Scotland. At Oxford the velocity of the wind at one time was sixty-five miles per hour; at Greenwich the pressure to the square foot was 53 lbs., and at Birkenhead 77 lbs.

— At 2 P.M. the centre of the disturbance had reached the north-east coast of England, and the wind had therefore veered to the northward over all the more northern parts of the country, though it still held westerly in the south. In the former districts the gale continued with unabated fury, but in the latter it was inclined to moderate a little. At six in the evening the storm had travelled across the North Sea, and was very near the Danish coasts. The northerly gale in the north of this country still continued, and a north-westerly gale blew in the south, but in London the strength of the wind had very materially decreased, and, between the gusts, was little more than fresh.

— The damage done to houses, churches, and other buildings in London was incalculable. Kensington Avenue and the parks were strewn with uprooted elms, and many serious and a few fatal accidents were reported. All along the coasts, especially the eastern, the wrecks were terribly numerous.

— On the Continent this storm was so serious that telegraphic communications between Berlin, Brussels, Amsterdam, and London were interrupted. In and around Berlin huge trees were rooted up, and in many cases the public traffic stopped by the *débris*. The London papers came out almost without foreign telegrams. In the Netherlands many dwelling-houses and a large number of churches in every town and other public and private buildings suffered serious damage, while the falling *débris* killed several persons and injured many more. For several hours almost the entire telegraph system was thrown out of operation. The havoc com-

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mitted by the uprooting of trees and the blowing down of branches in plantations, woods, and gardens was unprecedented within living memory. The forest at the Hague suffered badly. Immense damage was done in Schleswig-Holstein both by the storm and subsequent floods. Such a tempest had not visited the country since 1855.

— During the gale no fewer than twenty-six of the limes in Bushey Park were torn up by the roots; an elm was likewise blown down; many of the chestnuts were deprived of their finest limbs, and upwards of a hundred hawthorns were wholly or partially destroyed. About sixty yards of the wall which separated the Hampton Wick cricket-ground from the royal paddocks was levelled to the ground. In the Home Park about sixty trees were blown down; and in the grounds of the Manor House, Hampton, twenty fine elms succumbed to the fury of the storm. Several of the trees which were planted in the Palace gardens at Fulham by Bishop Compton, in the time of James II., were destroyed. At Oxford, the well-known "Willows," on the bank of the Isis, suffered severely, and one was uprooted, while several trees were torn up in the neighbourhood of Medley Lock. At Woodstock much damage was done to the trees in the avenue leading from the Oxford Road to Blenheim Palace, while several were uprooted altogether. A little lower down towards Bladon a group of four magnificent elms were also uprooted, the earth adhering to the roots forming a barricade nearly 12 feet high. The old elm tree which had stood for nearly two hundred years in the middle of the road near the "King's Arms," was snapped asunder near the centre. At Colchester a large stone cross was blown off the west end of St. Nicholas's Church. A poplar, near Bourne Pond, having fallen across the road, men were set to work to remove it, but when the upper branches were removed the trunk began to rise from the ground, and in a few minutes resumed its perpendicular position.

— The chief maritime disaster was the wreck of the "Clan Macduff," which went down in the Irish Sea. She was one of the "Clan" line of traders, was 1,496 tons burden, of Liverpool, built in Glasgow in 1870. She left Liverpool on the 18th for Bombay, with nineteen passengers and a general cargo. It was cloudy when the pilot left her near Holyhead. On the 19th the sea began to run high and the wind to rise. In the evening the pumps, which had been worked for some time in consequence of a leak of some kind, began to be choked in the engine-room, and great efforts were made, but unsuccessfully, to clear them. Next morning every one, except those at the wheel, was ordered below to help to bail out the water. At ten o'clock the water had so gained on them that they gave up attempting to bail. The wind and sea went on increasing, the vessel rolling heavily and being swept by tremendous waves. Soon the water invaded the engine-room, and the few remaining fires were speedily put out. At one o'clock there were six feet of water in the engine-room, and the captain, recognising the fact that the ship must founder, gave orders for the boats to be lowered. Of these the larger lifeboat was quickly dashed to pieces against the side of the ship. On the gig being launched in safety Mr. and Mrs. Barclay and their child were placed in her, besides the fourth officer and four seamen. On the painter being cut she drifted out of sight, being quickly lost to view amid the huge breakers. The third officer and three seamen were then placed in the cutter, and on its being launched successfully five passengers were pulled by ropes through the sea on board it. One of the children of a Mrs. Jacobs,

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a little girl of four years, was thrown to her; but a sudden roll of the ship caused the child to fall into the water, and she was at once carried off. When the boat again rose to the side of the ship the captain threw her little boy, and the frantic mother rejoiced to catch him safely in her arms. The boat then dropped astern and was cut away in a second. The only remaining boat available for the other forty-five persons on board would hold but thirty at the utmost. But the crew nobly gave precedence to the passengers, the whole of whom were drawn into this boat through the sea. The men that remained on board kept up their spirits by burning lights, sending up rockets, and sounding fog-horns to attract attention, but all to no purpose. During the night the vessel lay completely at the mercy of the storm; and as morning broke she began to settle down aft. Nevertheless, the men once more started bailing. At noon on Friday the water had so gained on them that from amidships aft, the deck was just level with the sea. Suddenly a cheer arose when the carpenter sighted a steamer, and it was with great anxiety that they all watched until the "Upupa" took notice of their signals. By this ship the nineteen men were all rescued from their almost hopeless position, to see the "Clan Macduff" disappear suddenly beneath the surface at nine o'clock in the midst of a terrific squall. The first of the boats drifted ashore at the Seven Heads, near Clonakilty, in Ireland. In the boat, apparently tied to it, was a lady, who had on a lifebelt and a cork jacket. The boat was shattered on the rocks, and the young lady's body cast ashore. The boat into which Mrs. Jacobs' children were thrown was picked up by the steamship "Palestine," from Boston, after its crew had been exposed for twenty hours without food or water. Seven passengers and four seamen were thus saved and brought into Liverpool. The remaining boat, which had the captain on board, capsized about two hours and a half after leaving the steamer. Its crew of twenty-five were then thrown overboard, and all drowned save five, who clung to the boat. These climbed in again, and, bailing her out with much difficulty, drifted before the wind, using a ceiling-board to steer with, and were finally picked up by a passing vessel.

16. In honour of the arrival in Rome of eight thousand Italian pilgrims, who came to protest by their presence against the disturbances which had attended the removal of Pius IX.'s body, the Pope appeared in St. Peter's in full state for the first time since 1870. He came from the Vatican by the Basilica passage, and entered the cathedral on the sedia gestatoria, escorted by twenty-five cardinals and many bishops. In the cathedral the diplomatic body and the Roman aristocracy gathered round the Pope's throne.

18. The Prince and Princess took advantage of the completion of the new docks at Swansea to pay their first visit to South Wales. They were the guests of Mr. Hussey Vivian at Singleton, and the route from the house to the town was lined with ten thousand children and two thousand members of Welsh choral societies, who sang national airs. After opening the "Prince of Wales Dock" there was a review of five thousand Welsh Volunteers, and other festivities.

19. A correspondence between the Princess of Wales, through her private secretary, Mr. Holzmann, and Lady Ilchester published. The Princess of Wales had been asked to become a patroness of the Association for Encouraging the British Woollen Industries, but felt obliged to decline to do so, for reasons which were stated at length, the principal of which was that the

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question might ultimately resolve itself into a conflict between consumers and producers. Although the efforts of the latter to protect their interests might be perfectly legitimate, it was impossible for the Princess of Wales, having regard to her public position, to take such a prominent part in a contest between different classes of the population as would be assumed by her if she were to allow her name to head the list of supporters of the Association in question.

— The "Great Eastern" steamship put up for auction at Lloyd's. The first bid was 20,000*l*., and by slow degrees the price offered rose to 30,000*l*. No further advance being obtained, the ship was withdrawn, amidst a considerable amount of laughter.

22. The rejoicings in connection with the centenary of the surrender of Yorktown brought to a close with the salute of the British flag, which at sunset was run up to the fore of the United States flag-ship "Trenton." All the other vessels in the harbour hoisted the same colours, and the whole fleet fired a salute, which was answered by the guns from the batteries and camps on the shore. At some of the ceremonies the French and German guests had not been present, owing to a quarrel about precedence. The French complained of the position of the German flag on the President's boat. On all the other vessels the French flag was placed at the fore, the American at the main, and the German at the mizen; but as the President's boat had only two masts, the German and French colours were displayed there together. The French delegates threatened to withdraw unless the German flag came down, and much negotiation had to be gone through before Mr. Blaine succeeded in pacifying them.

— A dreadful railway accident occurred on the Midland Railway near Leicester, the Burton express, travelling at the rate of thirty miles, being turned on to a siding to which a goods train had been shunted. The locomotive and tender were overthrown, the guard's van and two carriages telescoped, five persons killed, and many seriously injured.

— A committee, composed chiefly of large owners of land in Ireland, formed in London to act with the Dublin Emergency Committee.

23. A mass meeting of Irish residents in London held in Hyde Park, when it was computed forty thousand were present. Many Socialist and democratic associations were represented, some carrying symbols, and others banners with inscriptions. Resolutions protesting against the Coercion Act and the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and others, were moved simultaneously from six platforms, and passed tumultuously. In the evening a large body marched to the Houses of Parliament, and yelled "Defiance to the British Constitution."

24. Mabel Wilberforce convicted of perjury in the evidence given by her in the case of Wilberforce *v.* Philp, tried in the month of July. The prisoner was undefended, but conducted her own case with skill. After four days' trial she was found guilty, and sentenced by Mr. Justice Hawkins to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour.

26. The French troops entered Kairwan, the holy city of the Tunis Moslems. The city submitted unconditionally, and was occupied without opposition. It is thus described by a recent traveller:—"The ramparts are concealed by fig trees, which in this climate are enormously large. A long and obscure corridor gives access to a second enclosure. All is silent a

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still in the holy city, and nothing is heard but the murmur of prayers and the shrill and melancholy voices of the muezzins on their minarets. In the middle of the town there is a vast deserted square; in the centre is erected the large mosque of Djama-el-Keber, in the form of a fortress. It was Mahomet's barber who sanctified the place, and his remains repose within the mosque, together with several hairs of the Prophet's beard, venerable relics for the Mussulmans. This African Mecca has never borne a foreign yoke except for thirty years. It was taken by Roger of Sicily, whose helmet and crossbow are kept hung up in a chapel of the Djama-el-Keber. Kairwan was the seat of learning, and in its mosques, which contain many manuscripts, the Ulemas studied their doctrines."

27. The King and Queen of Italy arrived at Vienna on a visit to the Emperor of Austria, and received with every mark of popular enthusiasm. The fêtes continued for five days, all the members of the imperial family being present with the exception of the wife of the Archduke Charles Louis, a Princess of the deposed House of Parma, and the Prince of the Grand Ducal House of Tuscany.

— Mr. Hubert Jerningham, who was returned for Berwick-on-Tweed, was one of the few Roman Catholics who have been returned for English constituencies (if Berwick be English) since the Emancipation Act of 1829. The list includes the Earl of Surrey (afterwards thirteenth Duke of Norfolk), who sat for Horsham and West Sussex, 1829–41; Mr. Edward Blount, for Steyning, 1830–2; Mr. Charles Langdale, for Beverley, 1832–4, and for Knaresborough, 1837–41; Mr. William Blount, for Totnes, 1839–40; Mr. Philip Howard, of Corby, for Carlisle, 1830–47 and 1848–52; the Earl of Arundel (afterwards fourteenth Duke of Norfolk), for Arundel, 1837–51; Sir John Simeon, for the Isle of Wight, 1847–51; Mr. John Towneley, for Beverley, 1841–52; Mr. Thomas Stonor (afterwards Lord Camoys), for Oxford, 1832–3; Lord Edward Howard (now Lord Howard of Glossop), for Horsham and Arundel, 1848–68; Mr. Charles Standish, for Wigan, 1837–47; Sir W. M. Stanley, for Pontefract, 1837–41; the Hon. E. R. Petre, for York, 1832–4; the Hon. H. S. Jerningham, for Pontefract, 1832–4; Sir R. Throckmorton, for Berkshire, 1832–4; and Mr. E. J. Hutchins, for Penryn, 1840–1, and Lymington, 1850–6.

29. The arrival in Rome of Mr. Errington, M.P., gave rise to the idea of the renewal of direct diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Leo XIII. had openly lamented the want of that direct official information which would effectually permit of his supporting the action of Her Majesty's Government, and aiding in the development, in Ireland especially, of his pet theory of peace between princes and peoples.

— The Venice *gondolieri* struck, in consequence of the introduction of small steamers on the chief canals threatening to absorb the periodical traffic.

NOVEMBER.

1. Lord O'Hagan resigned the Irish Chancellorship, his place being filled by the Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. Law.

— Sir William R. Anson, Bart., D.C.L., Fellow of All Souls' and Vinerian Reader of English Law, selected by the Fellows of All Souls' as

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their new warden, in the room of the late Dr. Leighton. Sir William Anson (as Commoner of Balliol) obtained a first class at Classical Moderations in Michaelmas Term, 1863, and a first class in the Final Classical School in Trinity Term, 1866.

— The annual municipal elections held throughout England and Wales, and in most of the parliamentary boroughs the contests were fought out on political issues. An analysis of the results showed that the principal gains had been made by the Conservative party. This was especially observable in the towns where the Irish element was to be found, for in the majority of cases the Home Rule vote was cast against the Liberals, or an arrangement was made whereby no action whatever was taken by that party in the contest.

— Mr. Sexton, M.P., released on medical certificate from Kilmainham Prison.

3. After protracted discussion and repeated adjournments, the Court of Common Council decided to take the necessary steps to extend the fish markets of the metropolis. In addition to the existing waterside market at Billingsgate, which was to be enlarged, the Common Council proposed to erect an inland fish market at Smithfield for the reception and sale of rail-brought fish, and that the market should adjoin the meat, poultry, and vegetable markets already established on that site.

8. Mr. Heber Donaldson, lawyer of Emlenten, Pennsylvania, was for dancing expelled from the Presbyterian Church to which he belonged. The statement of the defender was that while at a private party he "attempted to walk through a quadrille." He appealed to the synod, and argued his own case through a whole day, maintaining that the Bible did not prohibit dancing. According to the report his peroration was an able and eloquent *résumé* of the case, and was listened to with the closest attention by a congregation that filled the church to overflowing. Nevertheless, he lost his case, the votes against him being 73 to 20.

10. In the Potteries upwards of 30,000 hands came out on strike, in consequence of the employers refusing an advance of wages for which the men had applied. It was estimated that this was the largest strike in the district since 1836.

— The question of the administration of St. Paul's Industrial School debated at the London School Board for upwards of eight hours. At the close it was decided that further investigations were necessary, and that the Home Secretary should undertake the inquiry. The school was subsequently closed by order of the Home Secretary, and the children placed elsewhere.

— A preliminary meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, with the view of forming a Curates' Alliance, having for object "the removal of certain grievances, of which the unbeneficed clergy have to complain," and with the aim of promoting general reforming in the Church of England.

11. The Speaker of the House of Commons (Sir Henry Brand, G.C.B.) unveiled a memorial to Thomas Clarkson, the philanthropist, erected at Wisbeach, his native place. The memorial, which had been designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, cost 2,000*l.*, raised by public subscription, chiefly in the neighbourhood.

— "St. Martin's summer" unusually fine and pleasant. Strawberries and raspberries in flower and fruit in most parts of the south of England.

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Apple and pear trees budded, and many flowers of autumn and spring habits were in blossom.

— The Deanery of Wells conferred on the Rev. E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis at King's College, London, vicar of Bickley, Kent.

12. Colston's Day (November 13) falling this year on Sunday, the customary gatherings of the societies—the Anchor (Liberal), the Dolphin (Conservative), and the Grateful (neutral)—were held on the previous day. The order of routine of the anniversary was varied by the refusal of Canon Girdlestone to permit the Rev. R. W. Randall, vicar of All Saints', Clifton, to occupy the pulpit in Bristol Cathedral, although the Dean's consent had been obtained. The Dolphin Society had for a hundred years attended service in the cathedral on Colston's Day, but this year, in consequence of the Canon's opposition, the memorial service was held at St. Mary Redcliffe.

16. Mr. John Bright's seventieth birthday celebrated at Rochdale by a general holiday. Addresses of congratulation were presented to him from various parts of the country; and at Rochdale after a grand banquet he was escorted home from the town hall by a procession of 1,000 torch-bearers.

— The screw steamship "Solway," belonging to Messrs. W. Sloane and Co., of Glasgow, commanded by Captain William Fry, with a crew of nineteen hands, and fourteen passengers, bound from Glasgow to Bristol and Swansea, with a general cargo on board of whisky, oils, rum, sugar, oats, and flour, put into Kingstown Harbour. Her foremost bridge and fore main deck were burned down. Six charred corpses lay on the burning steerage deck, and five other passengers are supposed to have been lost, either by being burned alive or drowned in their attempt to escape from the blazing vessel. The ship left Belfast on 15th inst., after having put in there on her voyage from Glasgow. All went well until the ship was near Rockabill, off Skerries. A barrel of naphtha oil then burst on the fore main deck. The oil ran along the deck to the steerage part of the vessel, where it came in contact with the fire, and in another moment the doomed vessel was in flames, the mast and fore main deck burning fiercely, the sea all the while running mountains high. Six of the passengers, who were in the steerage when the explosion took place, were literally enveloped by the flames, and before the unfortunate people could escape from the fire that surrounded them, their shrieks of terror and screams of agony were silenced in a terrible death. The rest of the passengers and crew—some of them fearfully burned—fled to the stern of the vessel. A boat was at once launched, and losing dread of the sea in their terror at a worse fate impending, they put off towards the shore. The scene on board, as described by one of the survivors, was one of the most awful, probably, ever witnessed. Those who remained strove to subdue the fire, and succeeded in keeping the flames somewhat in check. In the midst of the dire distress which prevailed a steamer came in sight, and the crew of the burning vessel exploded rockets and burned blue lights as a token of the extremity of their condition; but the steamer, it is related, passed on unheeding the signals. From that time till the evening the ship lay in the midst of a heavy sea, exposed to the fury of the storm, and with its crew manfully fighting the flames, which threatened to burn the vessel to the water's edge. Between five and six o'clock a pilot-boat, attracted

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by the signals of distress, put off from shore to the assistance of the "Solway," and she was at length brought into harbour.

— Shortly after dusk a most daring robbery was committed at the branch post office in Hatton Garden, London, the mail bag containing the registered letters and packets, among which were large consignments of diamonds for the Continent and elsewhere, being carried off in the very presence of the postal officials. It is customary at the Hatton Garden post office to make up two bags for the evening mail, one containing the ordinary letters, the other the registered letters and packets, which are conveyed in a van to the General Post Office. The work of making up these bags was just being completed on the evening in question, the hour being a few minutes past five, when the gas was suddenly turned off at the meter, and the whole building plunged into darkness, to the consternation of the employés and such of the general public as happened to be transacting business in the office. In the commotion which followed, the mail bags were snatched from the hooks on which they were hanging behind the counter and carried off, by whom no one at present can say. When lights had been procured and order restored, it was found that the robbers had got clear away with their booty, the value of which, in diamonds alone, was stated to exceed 40,000*l.*, and subsequent efforts to apprehend them or to recover the diamonds were fruitless, only one arrest, and that of an innocent man, being made in connection with the outrage.

18. Several smart earthquake shocks felt throughout Eastern Switzerland, especially in the cantons of Zurich and St. Gall, where the oscillations were very marked and frequently repeated. During the night shocks were felt along the valley of the Lower Rhine, extending from Coblentz to Dusseldorf. There were two violent vertical shocks, lasting five seconds, then wave-like movements from north-west to south-east.

— Nicolas Sankovsky, a native of Grodno, who had arrived at St. Petersburg two days previously, presented himself at the Department of the State Police, and handed in a letter addressed to General Tcherevine, at the time presiding over the commission to ameliorate the condition of the deported. The letter stated that the applicant had important information to communicate, and requested a private interview. General Tcherevine received the applicant in the reception-room. Suddenly the stranger drew a revolver from his pocket and fired almost point-blank at the general, who was uninjured, the bullet having whizzed past his arm. General Tcherevine at once seized his assailant, who made no struggle, and dropped the revolver on the floor.

21. At the commencement of the sitting of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, a man of respectable appearance in the public gallery flung a loaded six-chambered revolver down at the Prime Minister, exclaiming, "For Depretis." The missile grazed the temples of a deputy, Signor Mordini, and fell with a heavy thud on the Commissioners' bench. The culprit was at once arrested, and proved to be a certain Benjamino Macaluso, of Aragona, Sicily, aged thirty-five, of bad antecedents; and his animosity against Signor Depretis is stated to have been caused by his failure to obtain an audience of that Minister.

— The following paragraph appeared in the Dublin "Evening Telegraph:" —"The most wonderful cure which has yet taken place at Knock was effected yesterday (Sunday). Miss M. F. Cusack (the Nun of Kenmare), who has

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been an invalid for the past nine years, reading and hearing of the miracles and cures which were taking place at Knock, determined on visiting and inquiring into the subject personally. She arrived on Saturday, and yesterday attended mass at Knock, and was carried on a couch to the altar rails to receive communion, but before receiving she stood up from the couch, knelt at the rails, and received the communion—a thing which she had not done for nine years. This miracle was witnessed by the priest, nuns, and hundreds of the laity who were attending mass in the chapel at the time. She is at present the guest of the Sisters of Mercy, Mount St. Michael, Claremorris."

23. Mr. Littler, Q.C., communicated the following statement to the papers:—"Partly by my own inquiry and inspection, and partly through the courtesy of the consul-general, I learnt the following facts: that fourteen English boys, all born of London parents, had been sold at ages varying from three years and ten months to six years, for terms varying from ten to fourteen years, to a French Arab, calling himself Hadjali Ben Mohammed, for sums of from thirty to fifty shillings each. These poor lads have been with their owner half over Europe, and are now in Constantinople, and this is their condition as I saw it. They were housed in a Turkish house in the most Turkish quarter of Stamboul. In the absence of their owner I succeeded in gaining admission. The stench on the lower floor was past description, and absolutely intolerable. I saw these poor little creatures on a 'surprise visit.' They were all huddled together in a room about fifteen feet square, the sole furniture of which was a few boxes containing their tumbling dresses. They were horribly dirty, barefooted, and clad solely in a pair of old baggy Turkish trousers and an old filthy shirt. There was no washing-place in or near the room. There were no beds, and they told me they were fed from a large round tin pot with some stew or skilly, the solid parts of which they tore with their hands, while the liquid part they drank from pannikins. They never tasted tea, coffee, or other drink than water, and had no food other than this disgusting mixture and bread. They were never allowed to dress decently save to perform, nor were they ever allowed to quit the house save for the same purpose. They had no toys, games, or amusements, nor were they allowed any other pastime but practising their acrobatic performances. All had their heads and many their bodies covered with scars, partly the result of their owner's brutality, partly of wounds from falls caused in learning their miserable trade. Few of them could speak English; some could speak French, and some nothing but Arabic. They have never been in a place of worship in their lives: they are ignorant of the very name of God, and not one of them can read or write a line of any language under the sun. I grieve to say that, save the Arabs, all are, as I have said, of London parentage. No other Christian nation seems to have produced any such degraded parents to the hand of Hadjali Mohammed."

27. A violent and destructive gale swept over the southern and western parts of England, Portsmouth, Hastings, and Brighton suffering from its full force. Off the west coast of Ireland the storm was very severe, blowing down a portion of the lighthouse on the Calf Rock at the entrance of Bantry Bay, a tower above 150 feet high. The lantern was carried away; after which the men in charge took refuge in a small building on the most sheltered side of the rock, where they were detained for twelve days. Two gunboats were daily cruising about, attempting to get near enough to render assistance,

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but the utmost they could do was to pass them food by means of a buoy and line.

29. Thomas Mapleton Lefroy hanged in Lewes Gaol for the murder of Mr. Gold in a railway carriage, when travelling from London to Brighton. Lefroy, after many attempts to disculpate himself, confessed his guilt of the murder of Mr. Gold, as well as his innocence of that of Lieutenant Roper, with which he had charged himself some days previously to his execution.

— Her Majesty in Council was this day pleased to declare her consent to a contract of matrimony between His Royal Highness Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Clarence, Baron Arklow, Duke of Saxony, and Prince of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, K.G., K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., and Her Serene Highness the Princess Hélène Frederica Augusta, daughter of His Serene Highness the reigning Prince of Waldeck and Pyrmont.

30. Mr. O'Donovan, the special correspondent of the "Daily News," who for a time was a prisoner at Merv, arrived at Constantinople in good health, having journeyed across the Caspian to Astrakan and Kief, and thence to Constantinople. He stated that the Russian trains were running on the Caspian railway, which was in working order for upwards of 150 miles—that is, within five days' march of Merv. He brought with him a survey and a map of Merv. The Governing Council of that town had appointed him Envoy Plenipotentiary to all the European Princes. Latterly, while in Merv, he was treated with the utmost respect by the chieftains, and resided in a fortification specially built for him, into which he was sumptuously inducted with twenty-one guns. A crimson silk banner was hoisted over his residence, and he became one of the Council of Three to govern the tribes. On leaving Merv he was accompanied by the chieftains and retainers in a long procession for some distance beyond the city.

— The International Exhibition of Smoke-Preventing Appliances opened at South Kensington by the Lord Mayor.

DECEMBER.

1. At Paris, an attendant at the telephone station in the Rue du Bac, having opened communication with another station, was awaiting a reply, when a volume of flame and smoke issued from the tube containing the wires. The fire quickly spread to the walls of the room, and was not extinguished until considerable damage had been done, and several sets of apparatus destroyed. On the matter being investigated, it was found that a workman in a sewer under the Boulevard St. Germain had accidentally burst open a gas pipe, and so set fire to the inflammable covering of the telephone wires running alongside. The flames spread rapidly, and thus reached the office in the Rue du Bac.

2. In the early morning it was discovered that the remains of the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres had been stolen from the mausoleum at the family seat of Dunecht, near Aberdeen. Lord Crawford had died about a year previously at Florence, and his body, which had been embalmed by an Italian, was brought home, though not without encountering a series of misadventures. It had been placed within three coffins, the inner one being

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of soft Italian wood, the middle one of lead, and the outer one of oak. A small steamer was chartered to convey it across the Channel, but she encountered such a violent gale that the coffin had to be lashed on deck. On the day it was removed from Aberdeen to Dunecht one of the most violent storms ever experienced in Scotland broke out, and on the return journey the hearse was snowed up by the wayside, where it remained for several days.

— The mortuary chapel over the vault, and the beautiful private chapel of which it forms part, had been built by the late earl himself, from designs of Mr. Street, R.A., the family mausoleum at Haigh, Wigan, having been completely filled. His own body was the first to be placed in the vault, which is constructed to contain twenty-five coffins. Access to the vault is obtained by means of a stair outside the mortuary chapel. After the remains of the earl had been deposited in the chapel, the stairway and steps were covered with flags, over which mould was spread to the depth of several inches, so as to allow of grass being sown to give the place a natural appearance. An iron railing enclosed the whole, and shrubs and flowers were planted among the grass. The discovery of the outrage was made by a labourer on the estate, named William Hadden, who, on proceeding to his work early on the previous morning, observed that one of the slabs had been displaced, and that it was supported by a piece of wood. The alarm was instantly given, and Mr. Yeats, of Osquharney, the earl's commissary, accompanied by Inspector Cross, found that the coffin had been partly drawn off the shelf on which it had rested, that it had been opened, and its contents carried away. It was believed that the outrage had been really committed in May or June previous, for it was not till then that the operation of finally securing the slabs was performed ; and some time before this an aromatic odour had been observed, and it was suggested that the disturbance of the tomb must have been to call attention to the robbery with the view of exacting a ransom. So many people pass the vault daily that any interference with it would have been almost immediately observed. The chapel is practically a part of Dunecht House, there being an entrance to it from the library. The apparatus necessary for raising the slab and removing the railing would be conveniently handy, building operations being at present in progress at Dunecht. The coffins were opened skilfully and without the least violence. Neither the outer one, of oak, nor the inner one had been broken, but the lids had been simply unscrewed. As the lead shell had been soldered, it had to be cut open ; but this also was neatly performed. That several persons were engaged on the work is pretty certain. The slabs were of Caithness stone, very heavy, being six feet square and several inches thick. Dunecht House is about a mile from the road, and so the thieves might carry on their operations unmolested by the public. But the fact of the chapel being connected with the house makes it a matter of certainty that the theft must have been perpetrated during the night. The deceased earl being a spare man, the thieves would be able to carry off the body all the more easily. It is suggested that the deed may have been conceived by some Florentine desperadoes at the time of the earl's death, and carried out after making themselves acquainted with the place of interment.

3. An attempt made at Montreal to destroy the city Court House by means of an infernal machine with a clockwork arrangement. The machine, which contained ten pounds of dynamite, was discovered almost immediately after its secretion.

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— A fatal encounter took place near Pemba Island, off the East Coast of Africa, between H.M.S. "London's" pinnace and a slave dhow, in which Captain Brownrigg and several of his men were killed. Captain Brownrigg was cruising near Pemba Island, a favourite destination of slave traders, in the "London's" steam pinnace. Several dhows had already been boarded and their papers examined, when a dhow flying French colours approached. The pinnace was brought up alongside, and preparations were made to make a painter fast to the dhow, to enable him to converse with the captain, and to quietly verify her papers. As the coxswain was making fast, he saw some eight or ten men crouched in the bottom of the boat, with the guns at the "ready" position. He sung out to the captain, when they rose up and fired; he flung the hook at them and closed with one, both falling overboard together. The Arabs, the number of whom is variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty-five, then jumped into the pinnace with drawn swords and clubbed guns. As their first fire seems to have killed one man (a stoker) outright, mortally wounded another, and severely wounded two others of the boat's crew, the Arabs found but little difficulty in driving the rest, unarmed as they were, overboard. Captain Brownrigg and his steward were the only two left, and both were in the after part of the boat. The former seized a rifle at the first volley and fired, knocking an Arab over; but before he could reload three or four of them rushed aft to attack him, getting on the top of the canopy and at the sides; but he, clubbing his rifle, kept them at bay, fighting with a determination that has filled the survivors, who were then in the water unable to get on board, with the greatest admiration, they describing him as fighting like a lion. He knocked two of his assailants over, but was unable to get at them properly owing to the structure of the boat, he being in the stern sheets, while they were above him on the canopy, cutting at him with their long swords, but fearing to jump down and close with him. He fought thus for upwards of twenty minutes, keeping his face to his assailants, and having no thought or making no effort to seek safety by jumping overboard. At length he was shot through the heart and fell dead, having, besides the fatal one, received no less than twenty wounds, most of them of a severe and two of a mortal nature. The steward himself was at the time lying aft, pretending to be dead. The Arabs then left the boat and sailed away in their dhow, when the leading stoker got on board of her, he having been in the water all the time, got up steam, and picked up the men on the beach. When they were got on board they proceeded to find Lieutenant Henry W. Target, the senior officer in charge of the boats at Pemba, but who, being twenty-five miles off, could not get up in time to capture the dhow.

4. A robbery of jewellery, valued at nearly 40,000*l.*, effected at Brynkinalt, the seat of Lord Hill Trevor, near Chirk, North Wales, whilst the family were absent at morning church. At about twelve o'clock the housemaid went up to Lady Trevor's room, and found it locked, the key being inside. She thought her mistress had returned from church, but immediately acquainted the groom of the bedchamber and others, on her finding that her ladyship had not returned. W. Fowler, the butler, and others then went up and forced the door, finding to their dismay that her ladyship's private drawer had been forced open, and her jewel casket with the contents had disappeared. Among an immense number of jewels stolen were a magnificent and costly diamond necklet, diamond pendant with pearl in centre, diamond

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cross, two diamond sprays, diamond ear-rings, and other valuable family jewels. Two arrests were made of servants in the house; but they were discharged after a slight examination before the magistrate.

8. Shortly before 7 P.M. a terrible fire broke out on the stage of the Ring Theatre (formerly the Opéra Comique) at Vienna, which resulted in the total destruction of the building, and a loss of life variously estimated from 500 to 900 persons. The cause of the fire was not fully ascertained. It is supposed that a lamplighter inadvertently set fire to a large veil required in the representation. The gasometer blew up at half-past nine with a terrible detonation. The oil lamps, which since the catastrophe at Nice had been placed by order in every theatre, had not been lit. The darkness caused by the gas being turned off was the chief cause of the disaster. The iron curtain was not let down, and even the fire-alarm signal on the stage was not used, so terrible was the confusion. The audience for a time knew nothing of what was passing on the stage. Great heat was felt in the house, and the curtain was swayed to and fro by a strong draught of air, and suddenly rent in two, displaying a scene which struck every one with terror. The stage was one sea of fire. The flames took the direction of the audience, and in a minute spread all round the house, even catching the curtains and cushions of the boxes. Everybody sprang to his feet at once, making for the doors and staircase. The latter was narrow and of wood. A terrible cry arose at the same time. Many women fainted and fell to the ground. They were, of course, trodden under foot by the dense crowd madly hurrying forward. Persons who stooped to help the fallen were themselves knocked down by the crowd, and trampled to death. A majority of the audience in the pit were saved, with but slight injury. The stairs from the galleries were so jammed that the crowd could not move foward, and hundreds in the galleries opened the windows and prepared to jump out. At this moment the gas was turned off or went out, and the confusion which ensued was terrible. In the total darkness those at the top of the staircase jumped down over the heads of those who stood lower, and soon the entire gallery audience was an entangled mass of prostrate bodies. The people at the second and third floor windows cried for help, and shrieked so loudly that the despairing sounds were heard half a mile off. The fire-engines arrived, but there were no sheets or blankets at hand for the desperate people in the upper stories to jump into. At last some leaped into the street, and were of course terribly injured. When a sailcloth was held by hundreds of willing hands, many of the poor creatures were so exhausted that they could not jump. The women and children had to be thrown down.

— Pope Leo XIII. officiated for the first time at the High Altar in St. Peter's on the occasion of the canonisation of Giovanni Battista de Rossi, Lorenzo di Brindisi, Giuseppe Labre, and Clara di Montefalco. The claims of these saints to beatification were thus described:—"The blessed Clara of Montefalco was a very pious nun, who, like St. Theresa, was subject to visions, and particularly devoted to the Holy Trinity. When the post-mortem examination was made, the operators, to their great wonder, found near the heart three small fleshy balls, which all together weighed as much as one of them, and each single one as much as all the three together—a symbol of the one and indivisible Trinity. The blessed Labre and De Rossi, the one a Frenchman, the other a Roman, were really virtuous and charitable men, who lived in Rome at the end of the last century. They were remembered

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in popular tradition for their many good works, and for a disinterestedness which, in De Rossi, was noble. The blessed Labre never washed, never changed his linen, generally slept under the arches of the Coliseum, and prayed for hours together in the Church of the Orphanage, where there is a tablet to his memory. The fourth and last new saint, the blessed Lorenzo of Brindisi, was a Capuchin monk worthy of his times."

10. The Government balloon "Saladin," of Woolwich, in charge of Captain James Templer, R.E., Mr. Walter Powell, M.P. for Malmesbury, and Mr. Gardner, left Bath about midday, and, crossing over Somerset to Exeter, proceeded thence to the neighbourhood of Bridport, Dorset. The aëronauts continued their course till near Eypesmouth, which is about one mile west of Bridport, and within half a mile of the sea, when, finding they were rapidly drifting seaward, they attempted to descend. The balloon came down with great rapidity, and striking the ground with great violence, Mr. Gardner and Captain Templer were both thrown out of the car, the former sustaining a fracture of the leg, and the latter being cut and bruised. Mr. Powell remained in the car, and the balloon instantly rose with him to a great height and went rapidly out to sea. A steamer from Weymouth and boats from Bridport, as well as the lifeboat from Lyme Regis, were sent in pursuit, but they returned from their search without meeting with success. The French and Spanish authorities gave instructions to their agents and officers to look out for the "Saladin," but notwithstanding a long and careful search, in the course of which many hopes were raised, no tidings were obtained of Mr. Powell, who was supposed to have been drowned.

— An extraordinary series of collisions, following each other in quick succession in the blackness of the tunnel at Canonbury, occurred just when business men were pouring into the City. The loss of life was happily small in comparison with the risk. After four crowded trains had collided in the darkness there were only five persons killed. The number of the seriously injured was the same, and those who escaped with lesser injuries exceeded thirty. The cause of the accident was traced to a divergence in the system of signalling employed on the Great Northern and North London Railways, the trains of both companies making use of the tunnel.

13. An important meeting held in the Chapter-house, Westminster, to promote a memorial to the late Dean Stanley. The chair was occupied by Dean Bradley, and the first resolution was moved by the Prince of Wales and seconded by Earl Granville, K.G. As to the nature of the memorial, it was agreed that it should consist, first, of a recumbent figure of the Dean by his grave, and secondly, of the completion of the restoration of the Chapter-house by the addition of stained-glass windows—two of which have been already provided for, one by Dean Stanley himself, the other by Her Majesty, since his death. It was estimated that the amount required for these purposes would be 6,000*l.*, and it was resolved that any surplus should be devoted to the Lady Augusta Stanley Convalescent Home.

— Measures reported to have been taken by Rustem Pasha, Governor-General of the Lebanon, for the preservation of the cedars on this historic mountain. He caused to be built round the trees a walled enclosure in charge of a custodian, and visitors will only be permitted to set up tents outside. Fires will not be allowed near the trees; whilst the cutting of branches, so common a practice amongst pilgrims and tourists, is absolutely forbidden.

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15. The town of Godalming lighted for the first time by electricity, the contract with the gas company having been allowed to expire. For the smaller streets, Swan's incandescent lamps were used, but for the larger Siemens' arc system was employed. The power was obtained by means of a water-mill, aided, in consequence of the small quantity of water in the river Wey, by a steam-engine.

— At a Council of the Judges held at the House of Lords, under the presidency of the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Coleridge proposed that the Long Vacation should be shortened by two days at its commencement and by eight days at its termination. The courts could then cease their sittings on August 10, and begin again on the following October 24. Lord Justice Brett proposed the following amendments, which were carried by a large majority: —"1. Considering the heavy and continuous strain, mental and physical, throughout the greater part of the year on the Judges and the leading members of the Bar, heavier and more continuous, as the Judges believe, than on any person employed in any other vocation, the Judges, being of opinion that it would be inexpedient to shorten the period of the summer legal vacation, which has, because of the necessity of a long rest, existed for so many years, recommend that no alteration be made in the Long Vacation. 2. The Judges, being of the same opinion from a consideration of the habits of the majority of the people interested in such a question, an interference with which habits in the manner proposed would, in the opinion of the Judges, entail a serious hardship on jurymen and witnesses, and on suitors, solicitors, and officers, without any established necessity for the proposed alteration, recommend that no alteration be made in the Long Vacation."

17. News reached the Government of Jakutsk, in Eastern Siberia, that on September 14 last three natives of Oulons, near Cape Barhay, situate 140 versts to the north of Cape Bikoff, discovered a large boat containing eleven strangers, who stated that they belonged to the crew of the Arctic exploring steamer "Jeannette," which had left San Francisco in June 1879. They had undergone terrible suffering. The Deputy-Governor of the district was immediately despatched with a doctor and a supply of medicine to the help of the shipwrecked sailors, whom he was instructed to bring to Jakutsk. Engineer Melville telegraphed to the United States Legation at St. Petersburg that the "Jeannette" was surrounded and crushed by the ice on June 23, in latitude 77 north, longitude 157 east. The crew left the vessel in three boats, which, about fifty miles from the mouth of the Lena, were separated by violent winds and thick fogs. Boat 3, which Mr. Melville commanded, arrived on September 29 at the eastern mouth of the Lena, where it was stopped by blocks of ice near the village of Bolonenga, a hamlet inhabited by idolaters. Boat 1 also reached the same spot. The men in these boats state that Lieutenant Delong, Dr. Ambler, and twelve other shipwrecked sailors landed at the northern mouth of the Lena, and are in a fearful condition, several suffering from frostbitten limbs. A party of the inhabitants of Bolonenga started off immediately to their assistance. The Russian Government sent immediate instruction that the most energetic measures should be taken for the discovery of the missing boat's crew, and for the relief of those left on the ice at the mouth of the Lena River.

20. The Sultan affixed his signature to the Iradé, by which the settlement of the Turkish debt and the claims of the bondholders was effected. The main features of the liquidation were—The capital of the debt is reduced to

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106,409,880*l.* sterling—that is to say, considerably less than one-half the nominal amount. In respect of interest, all the loans are to be placed on the same level, each one receiving a sum proportionate to the conventional "issue price," but with regard to the sinking fund they arranged in the following groups:—First group, the loans of 1858 and 1862; second group, the loans of 1860-3-4 and 1872; third group, the loans of 1865, 1869, and 1873; fourth group, the Roumelian railway loan and the general debt. The first proceeds of the revenue, after payment of the annuity of the Galata privileged debt, are to be devoted to the payment of 1 per cent. interest on all the loans, and then ½ per cent. is to be applied to the sinking fund of the first group. Thereafter all surplus is to be divided into two parts, four-fifths being paid as interest on all the loans, and one-fifth used as sinking fund for the second, third, and fourth groups successively. No group is to have more than ½ per cent. for sinking fund until all the succeeding groups have ½ per cent. The Roumelian railway bonds—a lottery loan—are the subject of a special regulation, according to which all sums received will be employed primarily for the lottery prizes. The successful issue of the negotiations was mainly attributed to the skill and tact of the Hon. R. Bourke, who represented the English bondholders.

22. A report circulated in St. Petersburg that the ghost of the late Czar had been seen during the night in the Kazan Cathedral. It had come out of the sanctuary, and had proceeded to light the candles on the high altar. It had then turned towards the body of the church, and said, "My son, come to me; thou shalt meet with the same fate as thy father." The next night a sentinel was placed on guard inside the cathedral, and it is said that he witnessed the same apparition, and was afterwards found half dead with fright.

25. At Warsaw, during divine service at the Church of the Holy Cross, a false alarm of fire was given. A panic ensued, and some thirty to forty persons were crushed or trampled to death. In the evening there were riots, which some accounts connect with the panic; the alarm of fire, it was at first stated, was raised by a Jew pickpocket. Most of the liquor-shops kept by the Jews were sacked, besides many other Jewish tenements. It was asserted, but apparently not proved, that the police assisted in plundering dram-shops. Hundreds of persons have been arrested. Of the hundred thousand Jews in Warsaw, none are to be seen in the streets.

27. A Chinaman, called Ling Look, and his English wife, have been charged at Brighton with killing a youth, called George Smythe, at the Oxford Music Hall. The Chinaman was going through a performance of placing a sword in his throat and balancing a cannon on the sword, while his wife with a red-hot iron exploded the charge. The wadding in the gun struck Smythe, who was sitting in the gallery, in the head, and shattered his skull. The proprietor and manager of the hall stated that they had no idea of the danger of the performance. The inquiry was adjourned for the evidence to be laid before the Public Prosecutor. At the inquest the jury returned a verdict of manslaughter against the Chinaman and his wife, and censured Mrs. Botham, the proprietor of the hall, for neglecting to take precautions against accident.

31. The following classified return of the Metropolitan Charities published, showing their income for the year:—

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		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
4	Bible societies	206,518	0	0			
13	Book and tract societies	79,750	0	0			
					286,268	0	0
56	Home missions	466,651	0	0			
11	Home and foreign missions	128,537	0	0			
23	Foreign missions	779,656	0	0			
					1,374,844	0	0
6	Church and chapel building funds				29,583	0	0
23	Charities for the blind	52,894	0	0			
8	Charities for deaf and dumb	16,529	0	0			
7	Charities for incurables	33,221	0	0			
6	Charities for idiots	53,649	0	0			
					156,293	0	0
17	General hospitals	269,111	0	0			
8	Consumption hospitals	54,953	0	0			
5	Ophthalmic hospitals	9,184	0	0			
3	Orthopædic hospitals	7,475	0	0			
4	Skin hospitals	4,686	0	0			
18	Hospitals for women and children	64,275	0	0			
5	Lying-in hospitals	7,004	0	0			
22	Miscellaneous special hospitals	85,959	0	0			
					502,647	0	0
33	General dispensaries	24,948	0	0			
14	Provident dispensaries	10,192	0	0			
2	Institutions for vaccination	2,650	0	0			
5	Institutions for surgical appliances	11,913	0	0			
37	Convalescent institutions	33,513	0	0			
14	Nursing institutions	9,995	0	0			
					93,211	0	0
163	Pensions and institutions for the aged				422,896	0	0
98	Institutions for general relief	339,052	0	0			
23	Food institutions, loan charities, &c.	8,323	0	0			
					347,375	0	0
87	Voluntary homes				125,714	0	0
50	Orphanages, &c.				152,737	0	0
69	Institutions for reformation and prevention				73,748	0	0
105	„ education				450,379	0	0
45	„ social improvement				45,058	0	0
19	„ protection				60,793	0	0
1,003	Total				4,121,546	0	0

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OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1881.

JANUARY.

Auguste Blanqui.—The conspirator *par excellence*, 37 years of whose life were spent in prison, died at Paris on the 1st. The son of a Girondist member of the Convention, and the brother of Adolphe Blanqui, an economist of some note, he was born on February 7, 1805, received a good education at Paris, became tutor in a family, and studied both law and medicine. He very early connected himself with secret societies, underwent his baptism of blood in 1827, when he was picked up wounded behind a barricade, took part in the 1830 revolution, and earned the July Cross. Not long afterwards he was one of nineteen members of the Society of the Friends of the People tried for sedition. He was acquitted by the jury, but condemned by the Judges to a year's imprisonment for contempt of Court. In the next political trial he figured before the House of Peers, not as a defendant, but as counsel for the defence. The amnesty of 1837 found him in prison for membership of a secret society and fabrication of gunpowder. In May 1839, he and Barbès, who had transformed a "Society of Families" into the "Society of the Seasons," headed a rising, which was repressed without difficulty. Arrested after two months' concealment, he was tried by the Peers, refused to defend himself, and was condemned to death. The sentence having been commuted into imprisonment for life, he was sent to Mont St. Michel, where he occupied one of the cells into which the gloomy chamber still shown by monkish guides was then partitioned. His wife, a talented artist, died during his incarceration, and he suffered with others that treatment of common criminals which excited bitter resentments. He was removed on the eve of the 1848 Revolution, in an almost hopeless state, to the hospital of Tours, where, under a milder regimen he recovered. The Revolution restoring him to liberty, he hastened to Paris to harass the Provisional Government. He formed the Central Republican Club which met in the Conservatoire, and organised the demonstration of the 200,000 which miscarried in March, Louis Blanc, Cabet, and Barbès discountenancing it. He clamoured for the postponement of the elections and for a Radical dictatorship. The *Revue Rétrospective* at this time suddenly published detailed revelations of his old accomplices from a document found among Louis Philippe's papers, and manifestly written by Blanqui. He evaded the demands of Barbès and others for explanations, got up the demonstration of April, which Ledru Rollin frustrated, and headed the invasion of the Chamber in May, when the restoration of Poland was proclaimed, and when for a few hours the rioters believed themselves triumphant. Apprehended after twelve days, he was condemned at Bourges to ten years' imprisonment, which he underwent at Belleisle and in Corsica. In 1861, on his return from a visit to London, he was sentenced to four years' confinement for membership of a secret society, but was soon removed from St. Pélagie to a hospital. He remained quiet till August 1870, when, after the first French defeats, he

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attempted to capture the arms at the Pompiers' Barracks, but managed to escape, and was condemned to death by default. Reappearing on the fall of the Empire, he started a paper advocating the Commune, the secularisation of churches, the sending of priests on outpost duty, and community of goods. He was elected Captain of the Montmartre National Guards, but did not long act in that capacity, and after the abortive demonstration early in October was not re-elected. He took a leading part in that rising of October 31, which made Prince Bismarck count on intestine dissensions for the conquest of Paris, and was signing decrees at the Hôtel de Ville when the captured National Defence Government was reinstated. Released next day, and threatened with re-arrest, he kept in hiding till the charge against him was dismissed, and then resumed his newspaper, which, however, expired penniless in December, though its writers were all unpaid. On the capitulation he left Paris and was not returned to the Assembly. In his absence, however, he was elected a member of the Commune. A few days previous he had been condemned to death by default for his October exploits. Discovered and apprehended in the South he was tried by court-martial in 1872, and for four months refused to answer any questions. He summoned all the members of the National Defence Government with a view of showing that an amnesty had been verbally promised for the October rising, and he showed great coolness and acuteness. In the result, however, he was condemned to fortress confinement for life. Ill-health saved him from New Caledonia, and shortly after his conviction he published some daring astronomical theories entitled "Eternité dans les astres." He was confined first at Quélern and then at Clairvaux. He steadily refused to petition for pardon, but a feeling of commiseration began to spring up for an old man now evidently harmless. The Government neither pardoned him nor admitted him to the benefit of the partial amnesty of 1872. He was elected deputy for Bordeaux on a second ballot before the amnesty powers had expired, but his election was annulled. He was afterwards released under a pardon, and at the fresh election a little later was defeated. He began to attend meetings, but his speeches were inaudible, and his paper, *Ni Dieu ni Maitre*, found few supporters. A few evenings previous to his death he had attended a Socialist meeting, at which he had denounced the Tricolor flag. On leaving the meeting he was seized with apoplexy, and for more than three days he remained unconscious and almost alone, for his fear of arrest had caused him to conceal his lodgings even from his friends; and it was not until they learnt his death that they knew his hiding-place.

John Thomas Towson, of Liverpool, died on January 3, from the effects of a fall. He was born at Devonport in 1804, was the first to direct the attention of photographers to the fact that the luminous and chemical foci were not of the same length—a knowledge of which at a later period enabled Dr. Draper, of New York, to take the first photograph from life. He was also the first to devise a means of taking a photographic picture on glass and of using the reflecting camera. In 1846 he invented and brought into practice composite and windward great circle sailing. He also invented tables for the reduction of ex-meridian altitudes, a work highly valued in the mercantile marine. The copyrights of these works he presented to the Admiralty, who ordered them to be printed for the use of all mariners. For these services the shipowners, principally of Liverpool, in 1857, presented him with a dock bond of the value of 1,000*l.*, and an additional gratuity of more than 100*l.* At the meeting of the British Association in 1854, Mr. Towson aided Dr. Scoresby in investigating more fully the subject of the deviation of the compasses on board iron ships, and the result was the formation of the Liverpool Compass Committee and the publication of a manual on the subject.

Dr. Humphrey Lloyd, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, died on January 16. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Bartholomew Lloyd, and was born in 1800. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1815, was elected Scholar in 1818, took his degree in 1820, winning the gold medal for science, and was elected a Fellow and Tutor in 1824. The tutorship he resigned in 1831, on being chosen Professor of Natural Philosophy. Professor Lloyd's tenure of this chair was rendered memorable by his investigation of the laws of refraction in bisexal crystals, in the course of which he established theoretically, as well as by experiment, the law of polarisation in the emergent cone, and by the foundation by the Board of Trinity

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College at his suggestion of a magnetical observatory at Dublin, placed under the Professor's direction. In 1838 Professor Lloyd was appointed by the British Association one of a committee (the other members being Sir John Herschel, Mr. Whewell, and Mr. Peacock) to represent to the Government the scientific importance of sending out a naval expedition to the southern hemisphere, to supply the deficiency of our knowledge of terrestrial magnetism, and of establishing magnetical observatories at certain points of the British colonies in India. The Royal Society seconded the British Association, and the Government took up the idea, inviting the other principal States of Europe to co-operate. With Colonel Sabine, Professor Lloyd visited Berlin and Göttingen in 1839, at the instance of the Royal Society, to invite the assistance of Humboldt, Gauss, and Kupffer. Besides this mission, Professor Lloyd undertook the preparation of the written instructions for the conduct of the observatories, and the instructions of the officers appointed to direct them in the use of the instruments. After holding the chair of Natural Philosophy twelve years, during which he greatly contributed to advance the studies of light and magnetism, Dr. Lloyd resigned it on succeeding to a Senior Fellowship in 1843. He was ordained deacon and priest shortly after taking his degree at Trinity College. He was an F.R.S. of London and Edinburgh, and an honorary member of the Philosophical Societies of Cambridge and Manchester, and of several of the scientific societies of Europe and America. The Irish Academy awarded him the Cunningham Medal for his researches in light and magnetism; and the British Association chose him for its president at the meeting held at Dublin in 1857. He was a D.D. of Trinity College, an hon. D.C.L. of Oxford (an honour conferred in 1856), and he received in 1874 from the Emperor of Germany the cross of the Prussian Order "Pour le Mérite." In 1867 Dr. Lloyd was appointed Provost of Trinity College (an office previously held by his father) by the Government of Mr. Disraeli.

Thomas Stonor, Lord Camoys, in the peerage of England, died on January 18, at Stonor, the family seat, near Henley-on-Thames. He was the elder of the two sons of Mr. Thomas Stonor, of Stonor, Oxon, by his wife Catherine, daughter of Mr. H. Blundell, of Ince Blundell, Lancashire, and was born on October 22, 1797. He married on July 25, 1821, Frances, daughter of the late Mr. Peregrine Edward Towneley, of Towneley Hall, Lancashire, by whom one son, the Very Rev. and Hon. Monsignor Edmund Stonor, Chamberlain to the late Pope Pius IX., and seven daughters (three of whom are nuns) survived him. He became Lord Camoys in September, 1839, Her Majesty having been pleased to call out of abeyance the ancient barony, created by writ in 1383. The peerage had been in abeyance from the reign of Henry VI. His lordship had been for a long series of years one of Her Majesty's Lords-in-Waiting.

Mariette Bey, the eminent Egyptologist, died at Cairo on January 18. Auguste Edouard Mariette was born at Boulogne in 1821, and started in life as a professor of grammar and drawing in that town. In 1848 his already marked interest in hieroglyphics won him a post in the Egyptian Department of the Louvre, and he was sent, in 1850, to Egypt, to search for Coptic manuscripts in monasteries, but had no sooner landed than his attention was diverted by remains brought from the site of Memphis. He undertook on that spot excavations which brought to light the temple of Serapis and a large number of interesting antiquities. With a subsidy from the Duc de Luynes he cleared away the sand from the Sphinx, thereby proving that it was carved out of a rock just where it stands. After a short stay in France he returned to Egypt as official Conservator of Monuments; he founded the Boulac Museum, and received the title of Bey. Mabout's "Fellah" contains an account of Mariette as an antiquarian cicerone, and of his vigilance against European collectors—a vigilance baffled on one occasion by an Austrian Prince destined to a tragical fate. He wrote numerous papers on his discoveries, was loaded with honours by the French Government and learned societies, and came over to the Exhibition of 1878 to arrange the Egyptian section. He had for some time suffered from a hopeless malady.

Eugène Verbœckhoven.—M. Eugène Verbœckhoven, the well-known painter of animals, died at Schaerbeck, near Brussels, on January 19. He was in his 83rd year, having been born at Warnêton, in West Flanders, on June 9, 1798. Several of his best known pictures of animals were exhibited at

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Brussels in 1824, when he was 26 years old. He was represented at the Exhibition of 1855 by two pictures of this class—one of a sheep-fold, and another of sheep and lambs; and at the Exhibition of 1878 by several similar pictures—the interior of a Flemish stable, Scotch ponies, Flemish shepherdess, &c. M. Verboeckhoven has also painted some landscapes, the most remarkable being a Roman landscape, and a view of Mont d'Or, and some portraits, among which those of Horace Vernet and Soliman Pasha are the most noticeable. He also made some attempts in sculpture. He was a member of the Royal Belgian Academy, of the Royal Academy of *Beaux Arts* of Antwerp, and of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg; and had received the decorations (among others) of the Order of Leopold and the Legion of Honour.

Edward Askew Sothern, the well-known actor, died on January 20, at his residence, 1, Vere Street, Cavendish Square. He was born at Liverpool on April 1, 1830. His parents intended him for the Church, but soon after attaining his majority he became an actor, went to America, and made his first bow to an audience at the National Theatre, Boston, as Dr. Pangloss in "The Heir-at-Law." His efforts were not at first successful; indeed, to quote a remark which he frequently made in after-life, the early part of his professional career was occupied in getting dismissed for sheer incapacity. Eventually, however, he obtained a firm footing at Miss Laura Keene's Theatre in New York, where he played more or less important characters for five years. In 1858 he appeared as Lord Dundreary in Mr. Tom Taylor's "Our American Cousin," and from that time was known to fame as a gifted actor of eccentric comedy. Murcott, the broken-down and besotted lawyer's drudge, had been intended to be the leading part of the piece as originally played in America; and on its transfer to this country the part of Asa Trenchard, the American cousin—assigned to Mr. Buckstone—was designed to take precedence. The character of the inane nobleman was originally little more than a shadow, but Mr. Sothern, sensible of the advantage he had gained, enriched it with a variety of details until it stood forth in bold relief on the canvas. In November 1861, Mr. Sothern appeared at the Haymarket Theatre. His success was not immediate, but in the course of a few weeks it proved decisive. In 1864 Mr. Sothern appeared as David Garrick in Mr. T. W. Robertson's comedy of that name, the force and earnestness he threw into the scene of simulated drunkenness affording a proof that his powers were not limited to the sphere of eccentric or farcical comedy. New pieces were written for him by Mr. H. J. Byron, Mr. Watts Phillips, Mr. John Oxenford, and others, but he failed to hit the popular taste in any of the parts designed for him. In 1867 Mr. Sothern played Lord Dundreary in Paris, but without success. In the United States no comedian had a tithe of his popularity, and until his robust constitution broke down he frequently entered into engagements to appear there. He once stated that he was indebted to the Americans for whatever position he had attained, as without their encouragement he would have abandoned the stage long before he had the chance of signalising himself upon it. In 1878, returning to the Haymarket after a long absence, he came forward as Fitzaltamont in "The Prompter's Box" (now called "The Crushed Tragedian"), by Mr. Byron, and soon afterwards in another play from the same pen, "The Hornets' Nest." Mr. Sothern, whose best qualities as an actor were refinement and quiet humour, rarely appeared to disadvantage, but the wide reputation he enjoyed may be said to have depended upon his representations of two characters—Lord Dundreary and David Garrick.

Rev. James Cartmell, D.D., Master of Christ's College, died suddenly on January 23, after having attended the University sermon at Great St. Mary's Church in the afternoon. He graduated in 1833 as a member of Emmanuel College, and attained the high place of seventh wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos of that year, Dr. Phelps, afterwards Master of Sidney Sussex College, being fifth wrangler in the same year. In 1836 Mr. Cartmell was elected to a Fellowship at Christ's College, and subsequently became Tutor of the college. In 1848 Dr. Graham, the Master of Christ's, was appointed to the bishopric of Chester, thereby vacating the Mastership. The Rev. Joseph Shaw was elected Master on January 12, 1849, but resigned on February 3 in the same year, and on February 13 Mr. Cartmell was elected Master. In November, 1849, Dr. Cartmell was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University, and he filled the duties of that important office on two subsequent

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occasions, in 1865 and 1866. In 1851 Dr. Cartmell was appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to Her Majesty.

Alfred Elmore, R.A., died on January 24, aged 66, having been born at Clonakilty, in the county of Cork, in the year 1815. He exhibited his first picture at the Academy in 1834. Two of his earliest pictures, "The Crucifixion," exhibited at the British Institution in 1838, and "The Martyrdom of Becket," which was on the walls of the Academy in 1839, are now in a Catholic church in Dublin. The latter was a bequest to the church by Mr. O'Donnell, for whom it was painted. "Rienzi in the Forum" (1844), and some Italian paintings exhibited at the British Institution were the result of a visit paid by Mr. Elmore to Italy. His greatest successes, however, were won in historical or semi-historical painting. The "Origin of the Guelph and Ghibelline Quarrel" (1845), his first important picture of this kind, was sold for 300*l.* and gained him his entrance as an Associate into the Royal Academy. This was followed by the "Fainting of Hero" from "Much Ado about Nothing," in 1846; "The Invention of the Stocking Loom," in 1847, a picture which achieved great popularity; "The Death-bed of Robert King of Naples, Wise and Good," in 1848; "Religious Controversy in the time of Louis XIV.," in 1849, "Griselda" in 1850, and "Hotspur and the Fop" in 1851, among other pictures. Mr. Elmore was represented at several international exhibitions, down to the Exhibition of Paris in 1878, to which were sent "Mary Queen of Scots," "After the Fall," "Lucretia Borgia," and others. Mr. Elmore was elected an academician in 1877.

Baron Ercole Dembowski, one of the leading astronomical observers of the time, died on January 24, at Albizzate, at the age of 69. In 1852 he fitted up a private observatory at Naples for watching double stars. In 1860 he erected a new observatory in Lombardy, and quite retired from the world. He completely revised in 15 years the catalogues of Dorpat and Putseva. In 1878 he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Society of London.

Countess Sophie von Hatzfeld, mother of the German Ambassador at the Porte, died at Wiesbaden on January 25. Born in 1805, the deceased, sprung of an ancient Hessian family of the Wildenburg-Schoenstein line, was married on her seventeenth birthday to her cousin, Count Edmund Hatzfeld Wildenburg-Weissweiler, to whom she bore three children, of whom the youngest now represents the German Empire at Constantinople. A brother of the departed Countess, Count Maximilian, seems to have also possessed in no small degree that diplomatic talent for which his nephew has now become distinguished, having attained to the post of Prussian Minister at Paris, and attended the Peace Congress there in 1856 as Second Plenipotentiary of the Northern Monarchy. The deceased Countess was divorced from her husband in 1851, after a protracted trial, which grew into a *cause célèbre*, partly from the incident of the money theft, familiar to readers of the "Life of Ferdinand Lassalle," who was at once the private admirer and the public advocate of his aristocratic patroness. The world did not expect that after her separation from her husband the Countess would relinquish her relations with a man in whose society she had ventured to spend much of her time before, and it was characteristic, too, of the ascendency which the Jew philosopher and Social Democrat had acquired over the heart and mind of his admirer that her attachment to him was not at all affected by the knowledge that the exclusiveness of her affection was not anything like equally reciprocated by its object. The last years of her life were mainly spent on the Rhine, at Bonn and at Wiesbaden, not without an occasional sight of her previous Socialist friends; but with all her faults she had at least the penetration and merit of being the first to discover and champion one of the most remarkable thinkers that modern Germany has produced.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, Kutschker, died on January 27, aged 70, having been born in April, 1810, in one of the villages of the diocese of Olmütz. He was educated at the seminary of St. Stephen, in Vienna, where he went through his theological studies with distinction. Leaving the University a Doctor of Theology, he entered for some time into active Church service in the archdiocese of Vienna, first as curate, and then, later, as vicar of the Court Chapel, and canon of St. Stephen's. In this latter capacity he showed in more than one direction great and fruitful activity. He became rector of the Central Seminary of Vienna, and wrote his work "De

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Matrimoniis mixtis," which is regarded as a standard work. In 1855 he was transferred to the Ministry of Public Worship and Education, in which, later on, he took charge of one of the departments. In 1862 he was appointed Bishop *in partibus* and Vicar-General of the Cardinal Archbishop Rauscher of Vienna. He, however, continued to carry on his functions in the Ministry, and it is not the least of his merits that he was able to discharge simultaneously the duties of a public functionary and of Vicar-General at a time when the struggle between Church and State was most intense. By his moderation and tact he contributed not a little to mitigate the severity of the struggle. When the Cardinal Archbishop Rauscher died, Kutschker was designated by public opinion as his successor, and he proved himself in his new capacity well fitted to continue the work of conciliation on which he had already been engaged for years.

To these may be added the following:—On January 1, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 56, **Colonel Octavius Edward Rothney, C.B., C.S.I.**, of the Bengal Staff Corps. He entered the army in 1841, served during the Sutlej campaign of 1845–46; commanded the 4th Sikh Infantry in charge of a chain of outposts in Pegu, in 1854; and, in 1857, throughout the siege and assault of Delhi. On January 1, at Paris, aged 70, **M. Lefuel**, the architect who, on the death of Visconti, completed the junction of the Tuileries and the Louvre, designed the Exhibition Palace of 1855, and recently planned the restoration of the Tuileries. On January 3, at Weymouth, aged 81, **Emily Harriet, Dowager Lady Suffield**, youngest daughter of the late Mr. Evelyn Shirley, of Ettington Park, Warwickshire, by his marriage with Phyllis Byam, daughter of Mr. Charlton Wollaston, and sister of the late Mr. Evelyn J. Shirley, M.P. In September, 1826, she married Edward, third Lord Suffield, of Gunton Park, Norfolk, and was left a widow in 1835. On January 4, at his residence near Enniskillen, aged 92, **Major John Caldwell-Bloomfield**, of Castle Caldwell, county Fermanagh, and of Redwood, county Tipperary, one of the largest of the untitled landowners in the North of Ireland. On January 4, aged 87, **Cardinal Regnier**, Archbishop of Cambrai. On January 5, in South Kensington, **Lady Charles Thynne**, the eldest daughter of the late Right Rev. Bishop Bagot, Bishop of Bath and Wells. She married, on July 18, 1837, Lord Charles Thynne, youngest son of Thomas, second Marquis of Bath. On January 9, at Cheltenham, aged 87, **Major-General Whinyates**, late of the Royal Engineers. He was present at the attack on Algiers by Lord Exmouth, in August, 1816, and during the two following years served with the army in France. In February, 1839, he was commanding officer of engineers with the field force in New Brunswick, when the disputed territory was invaded by the State of Maine. On January 9, at Naples, **General Ferdinando del Bosco**. During the latter years of the reigns of Ferdinand II. and his son, Francis II., he was the devoted follower of his Sovereigns. He asserted and defended their cause in arms, and when fortune failed he went into exile with his Sovereign, maintaining his allegiance with honourable constancy to the last. On January 10, aged 52, in London, the **Hon. Francis Stonor**, the second and eldest surviving son (his elder brother having died without issue in 1865) of Lord Camoys, by Frances, daughter of Mr. Peregrine Edward Towneley. He was senior Clerk in the House of Lords, and married, on September 25, 1855, Eliza (Bedchamber Woman to the Princess of Wales), youngest daughter of the late Sir Robert Peel. On January 20, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, the **Earl of Cottenham**, the second son of the first earl, a former Lord Chancellor, by his wife, Caroline, daughter of the late Mr. Wingfield and Lady Charlotte Baker. He was born in 1825, and in 1870 he married Theodosia Selina, only daughter of the late Sir Robert C. Dallas, by the Hon. Frances Henrietta Law, daughter of the first Lord Ellenborough. On January 25, at Southsea, **Major-General John Noble Arbuthnot Freese, C.B., Colonel, R.A.** Born in the year 1813, he entered the army in 1832. He served in the China Expedition, and was slightly wounded at Chin-Kiangfoo. He also took part in the Eastern Campaign of 1854–55, including the battle of Inkerman and the siege of Sebastopol, and he served in the trenches with the siege train and in the bombardment of October. On January 25, at Arlington Court, Barnstaple, at the age of 38, **Sir Alexander Palmer Bruce Chichester**. The only son of the late Sir John Palmer Bruce Chichester, of Arlington, by his marriage with Caroline, daughter of Mr. Thomas Thistlethwayte, of Southwick Park, Hampshire, he was born at Malta in 1843, and succeeded his father as second Baronet in 1851. He was educated at Harrow, was a magistrate for Devonshire, and

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served as High Sheriff of that county in 1873. He was also a captain in the North Devon Yeomanry Cavalry. On January 26, near London, aged 66, **Mr. George Little, Q.C.**, Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; called to the Bar by the Hon. Society of the Middle Temple on May 8, 1840, and appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1872, succeeding the late Vice-Chancellor Wickens. On January 27, in London, aged 75, **Major-General Sir George Le Grand Jacob, K.C.S.I., C.B.**, the sixth son of the late Mr. John Jacob, of Guernsey, by his marriage with Anna Maria, daughter of Mr. George Le Grand, of Canterbury. He was born at Roath Court, Glamorganshire, in the year 1805, educated at Elizabeth College, Guernsey, and afterwards in France, &c., and entered the Indian Army in 1821. He was for many years in the Bombay Presidency, where he held several military appointments. He served during the mutiny and rebellion of 1857–8, and was Special Political Commissioner of the Southern Mahratta Country, &c., from 1857 to 1859. In 1861 he retired from the army with the rank of major-general. On January 29, at Wimbledon, aged 86, **Edward Holroyd**, who from 1828 to 1869 was Commissioner of Bankruptcy, a son of Sir George Sowley Holroyd, who had been judge of the Court of Queen's Bench from 1826 to 1828.

FEBRUARY.

Major Fairfax William Cartwright, M.P., of Flore House, Northamptonshire, died on February 1, at his residence in New Burlington Street, in his 58th year. He was the elder and last surviving son of the late General William Cartwright, of Flore House, by his marriage with Mary Anne, only daughter and heiress of Mr. Henry Jones. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his Bachelor's degree in 1845, he became a Fellow of All Souls. Subsequently he entered the Austrian Army, and afterwards became Major in the 2nd Hussars, and served in the British German Legion. He was a magistrate and a deputy-lieutenant for Northamptonshire, and at the general election in 1868 was returned to Parliament, in the Conservative interest, as the colleague of Sir Rainald Knightley in the representation of the southern division of that county. Major Cartwright was returned unopposed at each subsequent election.

Lord Ormathwaite died on February 3, at his seat, Warfield Park, Bracknell, Berkshire, in his 83rd year. John Benn-Walsh, first baron Ormathwaite, of Ormathwaite, Cumberland, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and a baronet, was the only son of the late Sir John Benn-Walsh, the first baronet, by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Mr. Joseph Fowke, of Bexley, Kent, and niece and heiress of Mr. John Walsh, of Warfield Park. He was born at Warfield Park on December 9, 1798, was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1825 succeeded his father in the baronetcy. He was first elected to a seat in the House of Commons as member for Sudbury, in the Conservative interest, in 1830, and again in 1838, on the death of Lieut.-General Sir Edward Barnes. He represented that constituency till 1840, and was afterwards returned member for Radnorshire, continuing to sit for that constituency till his elevation to the peerage in 1868, and for many years was Lord-Lieutenant of the county.

Mr. John Gould, F.R.S., the distinguished ornithologist, died on February 3, at his residence in Charlotte Street, Bedford Square, in his 77th year. A native of Lyme, in Dorsetshire, he was born in 1804, and at an early age showed a strong taste for the study of nature. Between the ages of fourteen and twenty he spent most of his time under the care of the late Mr. J. T. Aiton, at the Royal Gardens, Windsor, where he soon acquired a taste for botany and floriculture. He afterwards continued his studies in London. In 1830 Mr. Gould became possessed of a fine series of birds from the hill countries of India, and in the following year he proceeded to illustrate the more important species in a work which he published under the title of "A Century of Birds from the Himalaya Mountains." This was followed by a work of more extensive character on the birds of Europe. In 1838 Mr. Gould paid a visit to Australia for the purpose of studying the natural productions of that country, the result of which was the publication of "The Birds of Australia," a work in seven folio volumes, containing figures and descriptions of upwards of 600 species.

Thomas Carlyle died at his house in Cheyne Row, Chelsea, on February 5, after a prolonged illness, in his 86th

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year. He was born at Ecclefechan, a small village of Dumfriesshire, known to readers of Burns, on December 4, 1795. He was the eldest of eight children, and at the time of his birth his father, James Carlyle, was a stonemason, but afterwards became tenant of a farm at Scotsberg. Thomas Carlyle began his education at the parish school of Hoddam, where he remained until his ninth year, when he was transferred to the Burgh School of Annan. Here he made the acquaintance of Edward Irving, some years his senior, but with whom he remained on intimate terms for the greater part of their joint lives. At the age of fourteen he entered the Edinburgh University, where he seems to have made few friends, and where his chief studies were mathematical; in these he attained a certain proficiency—and having during his four years' stay passed through the arts course it became necessary for him to decide upon his future career. His father's wish and mother's hope were that he should enter the ministry, but after strict searching and self-communing Carlyle arrived at the conclusion that he was unsuited to the life. He returned to Annan, and for two years taught mathematics in the Burgh School, at the end of which time he obtained the post of teacher in the Burgh School of Kirkcaldy, his friend Edward Irving being at the same time engaged in a similar post at the "Academy," a private school in the same town. It was during the two years they remained together here that their early acquaintance ripened into friendship. At the end of this time Carlyle recognised that he was not suited to the life of a school-teacher; and coming to Edinburgh he began his life as an author. His first efforts were articles on geographical and biographical subjects contributed to Brewster's "Edinburgh Encylopædia," amongst which may be cited the notices of Sir John Moore, Dr. Moore, Lord Nelson, the two Pitts, Montaigne, and Montesquieu. He next, at the instance of Sir David Brewster, translated Legendre's "Geometry and Trigonometry," to which he prefixed a short treatise on Proportion. To this period of his life must be referred the commencement of his study of German, a language which he soon completely mastered. The first fruits of his toil appeared in an article on "Faust," contributed to the *New Edinburgh*. Shortly afterwards he made his first journey to London, where Irving was already established, but had not yet attained the celebrity he was afterwards to enjoy. His attempts to find a publisher for his "Life of Schiller" were not wholly successful; but he became acquainted with John Scott, who was editing the *London Magazine*, with the assistance of such men as Croly, Hazlitt, Lamb, Cary, Cunningham, &c., and in their periodical the first part of Carlyle's work appeared anonymously in 1823. For a short time after his return to Edinburgh he acted as tutor to Charles Buller and his brother, accompanying them to London, but not residing with their family. In 1824 he published again anonymously his translation of "Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre," and by it may be said to have revealed Goethe to English readers. Three years later he published his translations from Musæus, Tieck, Jean Paul Richter, &c., with biographical notices of the authors. In the same year, 1827, he married Miss Jane Welsh, of Craigenputtock, the daughter of a Haddington doctor, and a descendant of John Knox. With her he became possessor of a small farm fifteen miles from the town of Dumfries. Here, almost cut off from the world, the couple settled and remained for six years, spent by Carlyle in study and in writing those essays which from time to time appeared in the *Edinburgh* and *Foreign Quarterly Review*, as well as his remarkable work "Sartor Resartus," which, although written in 1831, could not find a publisher until seven years later, when "it struggled out, bit by it, in a courageous magazine." In 1834 he removed from Craigenputtock to Chelsea, fixing himself in the house in Cheyne Row which he never afterwards quitted.

"The French Revolution," the first work to which Mr. Carlyle put his name, appeared in 1837. It would have been published sooner but for the famous disaster which befell the manuscript of the first volume. The author had lent it to Mr. John Stuart Mill; the latter handed it to Mrs. Taylor, his future wife. What became of it was never exactly known. Mrs. Taylor left the manuscript for some days on her writing table; when wanted it could nowhere be found; and the most probable explanation of its disappearance was the suggestion that a servant had used the manuscript to light the fire. Carlyle at once set to work to reproduce from his notes the lost volume; he swiftly finished his task, but he always thought that the first draft was the best. Though welcomed, as it deserved to be,

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by Mill and Stirling, the "French Revolution" was not at once successful. The bulk of readers did not hail it as the great prose poem of the century; in fact, none of his earlier works at least met with immediate success in his own country, and it was amongst his readers across the Atlantic that his warmest admirers were to be found. Between 1837 and 1840, Carlyle delivered at Willis's Rooms and elsewhere, courses of lectures on some of his favourite subjects—"German Literature," "The History of Literature," "The Revolutions of Modern Europe," and "Heroes and Hero-Worship." Each of these lectures was a considerable event in literature. Their effect was such as it is difficult now to conceive. The audience included most of the chief men of letters of the day, and by them the genius of the lecturer was frankly recognised and revealed to the still doubtful public.

About 1839 Carlyle's activity found a fresh channel. It was the period when all sorts of chimerical projects for the reform of politics, society, and philanthropy were springing up with mushroom growth. In a series of works published from 1839 to 1850 — in "Chartism," "Past and Present," and "Latter-day Pamphlets" — Carlyle poured unmeasured scorn and contumely on the false teachers and blind guides of the time. It was the kernel of his philosophy that legislation, Reform or Ballot Bills, statutory measures of social improvement of any kind, would do of themselves next to no good, and he sternly reminded his generation of the obvious duties and plain truths it was in danger of forgetting.

In 1845 he published "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," perhaps the most popular and best received of his works, judging from the number of editions through which the work rapidly passed. It vindicated Cromwell from the aspersions of which he had been the object for upwards of two hundred years, and turned the current of national feeling in favour of the great Protector. In 1850 the "Latter-day Pamphlets" appeared, followed at a short interval by the "Life of Sterling," whose acquaintance Carlyle had made through John Stuart Mill, and for whom he soon conceived a warm sympathy. His next work was the longest and most laborious of all his undertakings, the "History of Frederick the Great." The ten volumes to which the work extended appeared at intervals between 1858 and 1865, and may be said to have closed Carlyle's literary life. Subsequently he undertook no great work, and of the pamphlet-like productions which appeared with his name, the principal were outbursts of political spleen. Among these were "Ilias in Nuce," an appreciation of the issues at stake in the American war; "Shooting Niagara and After" (1867), expounding his views of Parliamentary Reform and an extended suffrage; and occasional letters on passing political questions. His last productions were some papers on the "Early Sea Kings of Norway," and in 1875 a portrait of John Knox—all of which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*.

In 1865 he was elected Rector of Edinburgh University, and on his installation delivered a lecture on "The Choice of Books," full of good counsel to those who, like himself, cared for literary distinction During his absence Mrs. Carlyle, who had long been an invalid, but was not thought to be in any danger, died suddenly whilst driving in Hyde Park. From the shock Carlyle never wholly recovered, as his "Reminiscences," published since his death, clearly show, and from that time to his own death he lived a more than ever secluded life. He declined the distinction of a G.C.B. which was offered to him, but on the death of Manzoni he was presented with the Prussian order "For Merit," an honour limited to thirty German and as many foreign knights.

Sir Richard Graves Mac-Donnell, K.C.M.G., C.B., who died on February 5, was born in Dublin on September 3, 1814, and was a son of the Rev, Dr. Mac-Donnell, who was Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, from 1852 to 1867. He was the ninth indirect lineal descendant from Colla, of Ternakille, Queen's County, cousin of Sorley Boy, one of the Mac-Donnells of the Antrim family, and his mother was a daughter of Dean Graves, Senior Fellow of Trinity College. Sir Richard was educated in the University of Dublin, and obtained a scholarship in 1833, and other distinctions, both in classics and science. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1838, and to the English Bar at Lincoln's-inn in 1840. In 1843 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Gambian settlements, where he had an adventurous and perilous experience. In 1847 he was appointed Governor of the colony, and before setting out from England to fill the office he married Blanche, daughter of Mr. Francis Skurray, of Brighton. In

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recognition of his successful administration of the affairs of that settlement, he was made a C.B. in 1852, and promoted to the Governorship of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, and in 1854 to the Governorship of South Australia. In 1855 he received the honour of knighthood from Her Majesty at Buckingham Palace. After seven years' service he returned to England, and in 1864 was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia. When Nova Scotia was merged in the Dominion of Canada he resigned the office. In 1868 he became Governor of Hongkong, and discharged the duties with the same conspicuous ability which he had shown in other parts. In 1870 he was obliged by ill-health to relinquish it, and retired altogether from official life. In 1871, on his return to Ireland after a long absence abroad, while holding high and distinguished appointments under the Crown, the University conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. *Honoris Causâ*, as a tribute to his public services.

Lord John Thynne, sub-Dean of Westminster Abbey, died on February 9. He was the third son of Thomas, second Marquis of Bath, and was born November 7, 1798. He was educated at Eton, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, and held the living of Walton-Street-cum-Walton, in the county of Wilts, for thirty years. While occupying that position he was appointed by the Duke of Wellington sub-Dean of Lincoln. This office he exchanged for a canonry at Westminster, in July 1831, and in this post remained for the rest of his life. In 1835, he was appointed sub-dean by Dean Ireland, and this office he held till his death, being appointed by the successive deans who have ruled over Westminster Abbey. When Dean Ireland appointed him sub-dean, the Dean was already beginning to fail in health, and said, "Now I shall go to bed." From that time Lord John Thynne for a large period of his tenure of the office became virtually Dean. Dean Turton, who succeeded to Dean Ireland in 1842, was not disposed to interfere with his authority. Samuel Wilberforce next occupied the deanery for one year in 1845, and on his preferment to the Bishopric of Oxford, the Deanery of Westminster was offered to him by Sir Robert Peel, but was declined The post was then accepted by Dean Buckland, with whom Lord John Thynne worked on terms of friendly intimacy, and then, after Dean Buckland's unfortunate malady, he became by Letters Patent from the Home Office possessed of the powers of Dean. This lasted till 1856, when Dean Trench succeeded to the post. Dean Trench was assisted in enterprises for the benefit of the Abbey by his sub-dean, as was also his successor, Dean Stanley.

Sir Richard Courtenay Musgrave, M.P., of Eden Hall, Cumberland, died on February 13, at his residence in Cavendish Square. He was the last surviving son of the late Sir George Musgrave, of Eden Hall, by his marriage with Charlotte, daughter of the late Sir James Graham, of Netherby, Cumberland, and was born in the year 1838. Sir Richard was formerly a lieutenant in the 71st Highlanders, and succeeded his father as 11th baronet in 1872. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Westmoreland in 1876, and he was also a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for Cumberland, and hon. colonel of the Royal Westmoreland Militia. At the general election of 1874 he unsuccessfully contested East Cumberland in the Conservative interest, and again in 1876 on the vacancy arising through the death of Mr. W. N. Hodgson. At the general election in 1880 he was returned for that constituency as the colleague of Mr. Edward Stafford Howard. The family of the late baronet came to England with the Conqueror, and settled at Musgrave, in Westmoreland. In the reign of Edward III. Thomas Musgrave was summoned by writ, and sat as a Peer of the Realm for 23 years. The baronetcy was conferred on Sir Richard Musgrave by James I. in 1611. Sir Philip, the second baronet, a distinguished Royalist, was M.P. for Westmoreland in 1640-42. He was Commander-in-Chief at Cumberland and Westmoreland, and Governor of Carlisle. After the battle of Worcester, he attended Charles II. in France, Holland, and Scotland, and he received for his services a warrant creating him Baron Musgrave of Hartley Castle, but did not take out the patent. The fifth baronet was M.P. for Carlisle and Clerk to the Privy Council, and the sixth baronet sat as M.P. for Westmoreland. The late baronet married in 1867 Adora Frances Olga, only daughter of Mr. Peter Wells, and granddaughter of the late Sir John Hesketh Lethbridge, by whom he left a family of three sons and two daughters.

The Right Hon. John Charles Grant-Ogilvie, Earl of Seafield, Viscount of Reidhaven and Seafield, and Lord Ogilvy of Deskford and Cullen, in the county

of Banff, in the Peerage of Scotland, Baron Strathspey of Strathspey, in the counties of Inverness and Moray, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, a baronet of England and of Nova Scotia, and a Knight of the Thistle, died at Cullen House, Banff, N.B., on February 18. He was the third but eldest surviving son of Francis William, sixth earl, by his marriage with Mary Anne, only daughter of Mr. John Charles Dunn, of Higham House, Surrey, and was born in September, 1815. He succeeded his father as seventh earl, in July, 1853. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Banffshire in 1841, and was a representative Peer for Scotland November, 1853, down to April, 1859. He was created in 1858 a peer of the United Kingdom, with the title of Baron Strathspey, and in 1879 he was nominated a Knight of the Order of the Thistle.

Lord William Pitt Lennox, fourth son of Charles, fourth Duke of Richmond, sometime Governor-General of Canada, died in Hans Place on February 18. He was born in September, 1799. His mother was Lady Charlotte Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon. He was the godson of William Pitt, and cousin of Charles James Fox. He received his education at Westminster School under Dr. Cary, and was only a boy when he obtained a commission in the Royal Horse Guards (Blue). Almost at the same time he joined the Embassy at Paris as attaché, and accompanied the Duke of Wellington to the battle-field of Waterloo and to the Congress at Vienna. On the proclamation of peace, Lord William found but little prospect of employment, but he served as aide-de-camp to his father while Governor-General of Canada. He retired from the army in 1829. In 1831 he was returned to Parliament as one of the members for King's Lynn as a moderate Reformer and as a supporter of the Government, and contrived to regain his seat at the general election of 1832; but politics were not his *forte*, and he preferred the easy life of a man about town, with sporting and literary proclivities.

William Ellis, who died on February 18, at the age of 81, was honourably associated with the history of education in England for nearly 40 years. He became in early life the manager of the Indemnity Assurance Company, and in that capacity was long known in the City, not only as a keen and successful man of business, but also as a student of economic and commercial science. His intimate acquaintance with James Mill, with Tooke, with George Combe, with John Stuart Mill, and, subsequently, with the late Professor W. B. Hodgson, of Edinburgh, strongly confirmed his interest in these subjects, and helped him to the conviction that the study of the elementary truths of industrial and social economy could be made intelligible and interesting to children, and might, if well taught, exercise a valuable influence on character and conduct. This conviction dominated his whole life, and determined the activities of nearly all the leisure which could be spared from an engrossing and prosperous commercial career. In 1846 he tried the experiment of giving in a British school a series of conversational lessons on the rudiments of economic science. Encouraged by his success, he formed a class of schoolmasters and young teachers, to whom he gave similar instruction, with illustrations of his method of exposition and of Socratic questioning, and many of whom he succeeded in inspiring with much of his own enthusiasm and delight in teaching the subject. In rapid succession he wrote for the use of schools a number of text-books, some of which have had considerable circulation and repute. Of these the chief were "Progressive Lessons in Social Science," "Outlines of Social Economy," "Philo-Socrates," "Religion in Common Life," and "Education as a Means of Preventing Destitution." The small volume which appeared under the name of the late Dean Dawes, of Hereford, who contributed a preface, probably exercised a larger influence than any of his other works. It was entitled "Lessons on the Phenomena of Industrial life, and the Conditions of Industrial Success." Subsequently, in connection with his friend, the Rev. W. Jowitt, then the head master of the Middle-class School in Finsbury, he wrote another text-book, with the same general aim, entitled "Helps to the Young." He was the founder, in 1848, of the first Birkbeck school, and soon afterwards of six or eight similar institutions on a large scale, in different parts of London. In these schools, besides a good general education, somewhat in advance of the standard then reached by ordinary elementary schools, special provision was made for the teaching of the subjects in which he felt the strongest interest—the elements of social economy and the laws of human well-being and of health. To these

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schools, as well as to the great school of the Middle-class Corporation, of which he was a governor, he was a munificent contributor, and his strong interest in the education of the young and in all modern movements for its improvement continued unabated until the day of his death. Several of his text-books on economics have been translated into foreign languages; and two of them have recently been introduced, by the authority of the Government, into the primary schools of France.

The Hon. Grantley Berkeley died at Longfleet, Poole, on February 23. For many years Mr. Berkeley resided at Alderney Manor, Poole, but during the last few months he occupied a villa at Longfleet, nearer to the town. A younger son of the Earl of Berkeley, and heir-presumptive to that title, he was born in 1800, and while yet in his teens was presented by the Prince Regent, his godfather, with a commission in the Coldstream Guards. In 1832, having some years previously retired from the Army on half-pay, he was returned for the Western Division of Gloucestershire, which he represented until 1847. It was during this period that his memorable quarrel with *Fraser's Magazine* occurred. One of his earliest works, a novel entitled "Berkeley Castle," was sharply criticised in that periodical—so sharply, indeed, that he was led to assault its publisher. Mr. Fraser brought an action against him, and he had to pay 100*l.* damages. On Maginn avowing that he was the author of the article in question, Mr. Berkeley sent him a challenge, and in the duel which followed was wounded. For some years Mr. Berkeley has been an indefatigable writer. Not to speak of a few poems and many contributions to periodical literature upon sporting subjects, he wrote "The Upper Ten Thousand at Home and Abroad," "My Life and Recollections," "Landon Hall," "Reminiscences of a Huntsman," "A Month in the Forests of France," "The English Sportsman in the Western Prairies," and "Fact against Fiction: the Habits and Treatment of Animals practically considered: Hydrophobia and Distempers, with some Remarks on Darwin." He had been a master of stag and fox hounds, and was an ardent votary of all kinds of field sports until within comparatively recent period. He ried, in 1824, Caroline Martha, hter of the late Mr. Paul Benfield, and had by this marriage a son—Captain Edward Stratton Fitzhardinge, born in 1827.

General Sir George Pomeroy Colley, who was killed in the engagement at Laing's Nek on February 26, was the third and youngest son of the late Hon. George Francis Colley, of Ferney, county Dublin, who assumed that name in lieu of his patronymic Pomeroy, and grandson of John, fourth Viscount Harberton in the peerage of Ireland. His mother was Frances, third daughter of the late Very Rev. Thomas Trench, Dean of Kildare. He was born in the year 1835, and entered the Army in 1852 as ensign in the 2nd Regiment of Foot, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1854. In 1858 he went to Africa for the first time, and served in the Caffre war. During the following year he was employed in the survey of the Transkeian district, a duty which, in consequence of the disturbed state of the country, was attended with considerable danger. During the China war of 1860 he served with distinction, being present at the taking of the Taku Forts, the actions of August 12 and 14 and September 18 and 21, and took part in the advance on Pekin. From 1871 to 1873 he served on the staff at the College at Sandhurst, and at the end of 1873 he went out with Sir Garnet Wolseley to Ashantee, where he took command of the transport arrangements. For his services there he was nominated a Companion of the Order of the Bath, and it was acknowledged that the success of the campaign was in a great measure due to the most efficient manner in which he conducted the department under his charge. In 1879, when Lord Lytton was Governor-General of India, he appointed Sir George Colley his private secretary, but Sir Garnet Wolseley, when he went to Zululand, asked Lord Lytton to permit Sir George to accompany him. This Lord Lytton consented to do, but when Sir Louis Cavagnari was murdered at Cabul and the Afghan war broke out again, Lord Lytton telegraphed for Sir George to rejoin him. In 1880 he was appointed to succeed Sir Garnet Wolseley as Governor of Natal, High Commissioner of South-East Africa, and Major-General commanding the forces in Natal and the Transvaal. He was nominated a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1878, and a Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India in 1879. He married, in 1878, Edith Althea, eldest

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daughter of Major-General Henry Meade Hamilton, C.B.

The Countess of Pourtalès, a lady who had been connected in her time with some of the most remarkable events and personages of the century, died, in her 89th year, at Geneva, on February 28. Born a Castellane, one of the most ancient and illustrious names of Provence, she was a near relation of Marshal de Castellane, who served with great distinction in the Napoleonic wars. The late Countess was a special favourite of the Empress Josephine, and it was at her instance that she became the wife of Count Frédéric de Pourtalès, a native of Neuchâtel. After the fall of Napoleon the Count was fortunate enough to obtain the appointment of Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court of Frederick William III. of Prussia. He and his wife lived many years in the Prussian capital, but her predilection was for a more southern climate, and after her husband's death she divided her time pretty equally between Geneva and Rome, spending the summers in Switzerland, the winters in Italy, until, growing infirmities rendering long journeys too fatiguing for her, she remained altogether in Geneva. The Countess preserved her faculties unimpaired to the last, and, having an excellent memory, being a brilliant *raconteuse*, and possessing an almost inexhaustible fund of anecdote concerning the time and personages of the First Empire, and the many celebrities whom she had met, her company was much sought, and she enjoyed great popularity among all who had the privilege of her acquaintance.

Amongst the other deaths of the month may be mentioned—On February 2, aged 58, **A. T. Pisemsky**, a distinguished Russian novelist and dramatic writer. On February 2, at Richmond, Surrey, aged 72, **Sir Henry Watson Parker, K.C.M.G.**, the fourth son of the late Mr. Thomas Watson Parker, of Lewisham, Kent. He was formerly a member of the Executive Council and House of Assembly of New South Wales, and was twice chosen First Minister and Principal Secretary there. On February 3, at Rome, **Herr Treuenfels**, a painter. Born at Breslau in 1847, he studied art at Weimar, among others, under Karl Gussow, till failing health, combined with an ardour for improvement in his profession, impelled him to settle in Rome. On February 7, aged 21, the **Princess Elizabeth Marie**, of Thurn and Taxis, wife of Don Miguel, Duke of Braganza, Lieutenant in the Austrian Dragoons, at Oedenburg, Hungary. On February 8, aged 51, at Ramsgate, **Major-General Thomas James Maclachlan**, late of the Royal Horse Artillery. He served throughout the Central India campaign of 1857–58, under Sir Hugh Rose, being present at the capture of Rathgur, Jhanie, and Gwalior, and in numerous other engagements. On February 8, at Alverstoke, aged 75, **Canon Walpole**, Rector of Alvershoe, the eldest son of Mr. Thomas Walpole, of Stagbury Park, by Lady Margaret Perceval, daughter of John, second Earl of Egmont. He was educated at Eton, and then at Balliol College, Oxford. In 1833 he married Margaret Harriet Isabella, eldest daughter of the late Colonel H. H. Mitchell. On February 8, aged 61, **Michael Charles Blunt**, of Mapledurham House, Oxfordshire. On February 10, at Paris, aged 67, **Vice-Admiral Dupré**, a native of Strasbourg. He took a brilliant part, as captain of the ironclad *Tonnante*, in the bombardment of Sebastopol, served in the China and Cochin-China expeditions, and was Governor of Réunion in 1864, and Governor of Cochin-China in 1871. During the German war he blockaded a number of German ships in Chinese and Japanese ports. On February 10, aged 65, at Bishop's Stortford, **Mr. James Odams**. About 1866, when the rinderpest had been brought to this country, Mr. Odams, having in vain urged the Privy Council to pass an order for a waterside market, provided on ten acres of land, near the Victoria Dock, a wharf and landing-stage, lairs for resting the cattle, a place for marketing, and slaughterhouses. He tendered these to the Privy Council, whereupon an order was issued, and all foreign animals were landed, marketed, and slaughtered at this spot. On February 12, at Forest Hill, aged 69, **General John Henry Francklyn, C.B., R.A.** He commanded the siege train of the left attack before Sebastopol, and was present at the bombardments of June 6 and 17. On February 12, aged 61, at St. Petersburg, **Baron Budberg**, a well-known Russian diplomatist of German extraction, successively Secretary of the Russian Embassy at Frankfort, Vienna, and Paris, and Envoy Extraordinary at Berlin. On February 13, at Paris, aged 80, **M. Paulin Paris**, the translator of Byron's entire works and memoirs (1827 to 1332), and Professor of Mediæval Literature at the Collége de France. On February 13, at Hot Springs, Arkansas, aged 71, **Mr. Fernando Wood**,

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member of Congress for New York City. On February 17, in London, **Colonel George Latham Thomson**, late of the 4th (King's Own) Regiment. He joined the Cape Mounted Rifles as a provisional ensign in 1835, in which capacity he served until 1838. He took part in the Caffre war of 1853, under Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and served with the 4th Regiment in the Eastern campaign of 1854–55, including the battles of Alma and Inkerman, the capture of Balaclava, and the siege and fall of Sebastopol. He was appointed Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General at headquarters in the Crimea in May 1855, and Assistant Adjutant-General in April 1856. He retired from the service with the rank of colonel in 1865. On February 17, at Noisiel, aged 54, **M. Menier**, the well-known chocolate maker, and Republican deputy for Meaux. About 1864 M. Menier established a cocoa plantation in Nicaragua, a sugar refinery in the Somme, and an india-rubber factory at Neuilly. He supported the Empire till it fell, but then became a zealous Republican. He was, however, by no means so successful as the leading advocate of an income-tax scheme, and of a Franco-American commercial treaty, which evoked little sympathy across the Atlantic. On February 20, in London, aged 72, **Colonel Charles Bagot**, Assistant Master of the Ceremonies in Ordinary to Her Majesty, eldest son of the late Right Hon. Sir Charles Bagot, G.C.B., by his wife Mary Charlotte Anne, eldest daughter of William, fourth Earl of Mornington, and niece of the late Duke of Wellington. On February 21, at Chelsea Hospital, aged 65, **Major-General Richard Herbert Gall, C.B.**, Lieutenant-Governor of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. He served with the Persian expedition in 1857, and commanded the left wing of the 14th Light Dragoons in the field from June 1857 till June 1858, during the Indian Mutiny. On February 23, in London, aged 73, **Professor James Tennant, F.G.S** He was the author of a "Treatise on Geology, Mineralogy, and Crystallography," (jointly with Professors Ansted and Mitchell) of "Art Gems and Precious Stones," of "A Description of the Imperial State Crown, preserved in the Jewel-house at the Tower of London," &c. On February 24, at Raheenduff, Queen's Co., Ireland, aged 88, **Commander Edwin Toby Caulfeild, R.N.** He entered the navy in 1806. He was employed with the expedition to the Scheldt, where his ship led those which effected a passage between the batteries of Flushing and Cadsand. In 1811 he joined the *Conquestador*, in which vessel he served at the blockade of the enemy's ports in the Basque Roads, and took part in several brilliant exploits. He was engaged at Walcheren, and received the thanks of the Admiral of the Fleet for his distinguished service and gallant conduct. On February 25, aged 63, at Crohana, near Stoneyford, county Kilkenny, **Maurice Fitz-Gibbon**, "The White Knight" and "Mac-an-t'sen Riddery." He was the lineal descendant and representative of the "Old Knight" (Mac-an-t'sen Riddery) sept of the Fitz-Gibbon family of the Desmond Geraldines, as well as of the "White Knight" sept of the same family. The septs of the "White Knight," the "Knight of Glyn," and the "Knight of Kerry" had a common origin—viz., John Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Gerald, called "of Callan," near Kenmare, county Kerry, where, in 1261, he was, with his son and heir, Maurice, killed in battle against The Mac-Carthy More. John of Callan was Lord of Decies and Desmond, and was descended from Maurice Fitz-Gerald (ancestor of the Earls of Kildare and Dukes of Leinster), companion in arms of Strongbow during his invasion of Ireland A.D. 1172, and was ancestor of the celebrated and powerful Geraldine Earls of Desmond, who became extinct A.D. 1601. On February 25, at Bonhill, Dumbartonshire, aged 79, **Mr. Alexander Smollett**, who represented that county in the Conservative interest from 1841 down to 1859. On February 26, aged 86, at Holt Lodge, Kintbury, Berkshire, **General James Arthur Butler**. He entered the army in 1813, and served the campaign of 1815 with the 3rd battalion of the Grenadier Guards, and was present in the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, where he carried the colours; he also took part in the storming of Peronne and capture of Paris.

MARCH.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, one of the leading men of the French Empire, died on March 2, after a long illness. Born in 1805, he became *attaché* at the Madrid Embassy in 1830, when M. d'Harcourt was Ambassador. In a year or two he was appointed *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Hague, where he remained for three years, returning in 1836 to Madrid as First Secretary to the Legation. In 1840 he was made head of the commercial section of the

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Foreign Office, but, in spite of holding that official position, he contested the representation of Melun in 1842 with a Ministerial candidate, and was elected a deputy over his head. This independence of his colleagues and his chief he pushed still further in the Chamber, till in 1845 he voted against the Government on the question of the Pritchard indemnity, and was dismissed by Guizot. M. Drouyn then went definitely into opposition, and signed the impeachment of Guizot on the eve of the 1848 revolution. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and was elected President of its Committee of Foreign Affairs; and in Louis Napoleon's First Cabinet he held the office of Foreign Minister. He was only six months, however, in this Bureau this time, leaving it for a two years' tenure of the London Embassy. He was twice again Napoleon III.'s Foreign Minister —from 1852 to 1855, and from 1862 to 1866. The Crimean war was the cause of his retirement in 1855, the Austro-Prussian war in 1866. In his last tenure of office he made various ineffectual efforts to mediate between the Federals and Confederates in America, and he was responsible for the Convention of September 15, 1864, with the King of Italy, for fixing a limit to the French occupation of Rome. He retired shortly after Sadowa, the climax of a series of diplomatic failures. After 1870 he eschewed politics and founded the French Agricultural Society, of which he remained president until disabled by ill-health.

Lieutenant William Andrews Nesfield died at his residence, 3 York Terrace, Regent's Park, on March 3, in his 88th year. Mr. Nesfield was the son of the late Rev. William Nesfield, Rector of Brancepeth, in the county of Durham; he was educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Cambridge, was cadet at Woolwich in 1809, and joined his regiment, the old 95th (now the Rifle Brigade), at San Sebastian, in the Peninsula, and was engaged in the operations in the Pyrenees, and present at the action of St. Jean de Luz. He afterwards exchanged into the 89th, then stationed in Canada, and became Junior A.D.C. to Sir Gordon Drummond, and was at the siege of Fort Erie and the defence of Chippewa. On the conclusion of the general peace he retired on half-pay. After leaving the army, his taste for painting led him to become one of the earliest members of the old Water Colour Society, of which he was for 30 years an active exhibiting member, his contemporaries and friends being Turner, Copley Fielding, Cox, Prout, and Stanfield. Later in life he took up landscape gardening as a profession, which his education as an engineer at Woolwich and his talent as an artist (as quoted in Ruskin's "Modern Painters") well qualified him to fulfil. In this capacity he was constantly consulted in the improvements and alterations of the London parks and Kew Gardens. He planned the Horticultural Gardens at Kensington, and there are few of the large parks and gardens of this country that do not owe something to his taste and skill.

Mrs. Horatia Nelson Ward died on March 6, at Beaufort Villa, Woodrising, Pinner, Middlesex, in the 81st year of her age. She was Lady Hamilton's little daughter Horatia, the same whom her reputed father, Lord Nelson, bequeathed with his dying breath to the care of his country. But, in truth, a cloud of doubt, which has never been properly dissipated, covered her birth, and the identity of both her reputed parents has been called in question. Born in the last year of the last century, she spent her infancy and childhood at Merton. In the garden of Lady Hamilton's villa there was a little streamlet (which she called "the Nile"), and a pond, dammed up and crossed by a rustic bridge. The banks of this pond were the little child's playing-grounds; and Nelson writes thus to her mother: "I would not have you lay out more than is necessary at Merton; the rooms and the new entrance will take a deal of money. . . . . The road can be made to a temporary bridge, for that part of the Nile shall one day be filled up. . . . The footpath should be turned; and I also beg, as my dear little Horatia is to be at Merton, that a strong netting, about three feet high, may be placed round the Nile, that the little thing may not tumble in." Lady Hamilton continued to live on at Merton for three years after Nelson's death, when pecuniary difficulties overtook her, and she went abroad, and ultimately died in poverty. Her daughter Horatia married the Rev. Philip Ward, sometime vicar of Tenterden, Kent.

Sir Henry Mather Jackson, Bart., within a few hours after the formal completion of his appointment as one of the Judges of the High Court of Justice, died in Portland Place, on March 8. The first baronet, Sir William

Jackson, of the Manor-house, Birkenhead, was well known in the House of Commons, where he represented first Newcastle-under-Lyme, and afterwards North Derbyshire. He was for some time an African merchant, but is best known by the Birkenhead improvements, which were largely due to his energy and foresight, and added so much to the wealth of the Port of Liverpool and to his own. Sir William Jackson had married the daughter of Lieutenant Thomas Hughes, by whom he had fourteen children. The subject of the present notice was the eldest son. He was one of the first pupils of Dr. Vaughan at Harrow, and afterwards went up to Oxford, where he entered at Trinity College, took second-class honours in the final school in classics, and held a Langley exhibition. The date of Sir Henry Jackson's B.A. degree was in Michaelmas Term, 1853, and his name appears in the same class-list in which were those of Mr. Goschen, the Marquis of Lothian, the Hon. George Brodrick, Professor Lewis Campbell, Mr. William Stebbing, and Mr. R. G. W. Herbert. He had already become a law student in London, and was called to the Bar by the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn on November 17, 1855. Before his call, Mr. Jackson married (on August 8, 1854) Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Thomas Buddcom Blackburne, of Grange House, Birkenhead, who survives him. During his early years as a junior, Mr. Jackson, who could naturally command much influence in Lancashire, attended the Palatine Court of that county. His industry and intelligence were seconded by charming qualities of heart and manner, which attached to him as personal friends those who had once become his clients. Ample means enabled him to devote his mind entirely to the practice of his profession; and the activity of his father in public business promoted the employment of the son. Mr. Jackson became one of two recognised leaders of the Palatine Court (the other was Mr. Ford North) before he left it. His great opportunity in London came in 1866. His rank as Queen's counsel was shortly afterwards recognised by his election to the bench of Lincoln's Inn; he became second only to Mr. Kay in his court, and when Mr. Kay retired from the court and confined himself to "special" business, Mr. Jackson (by this time Sir Henry Jackson) became the acknowledged leader of the court. On March 2 he was appointed a Judge of the High Court of Justice, but never took his seat. The illness which proved fatal having been induced by overwork, he accepted the offer of a judgeship with gratification, hoping to find in it some relief from the demands of his Parliamentary and professional career. It came, however, too late, and at the age of 49 he succumbed rather to overwork than to any other cause.

Lord Hanmer.—The Right Hon. John Hanmer, Baron Hanmer of Hanmer and Flint, both in the county of Flint, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, and a baronet, died at Knotley Hall, Kent, on March 8. He was the eldest son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Hanmer (who died in 1818); grandson of Sir Thomas Hanmer, the second baronet; and a descendant of Sir John de Hanmere, Constable of Carnarvon Castle, temp. Edward I. He was born on December 22, 1809, was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, and succeeded as third baronet on the death of his grandfather in 1828. In 1832 he was elected in the Liberal interest as member of Parliament for Shrewsbury, and he represented that constituency down to 1837. He sat as one of the members for Hull from 1841 to 1847, and for the Flint boroughs from the latter date till his elevation to the peerage in 1872. Lord Hanmer, who was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for the county of Flint, married in 1833 Georgiana, youngest daughter of the late Sir George Chetwynd, of Grendon Hall, Warwickshire, but was left a widower a twelvemonth ago. By his death the barony of Hanmer becomes extinct, while the baronetcy passes to his next brother, Wyndham Edward, a major in the army, late of the Royal Horse Guards.

James Spedding died on March 9, at St. George's Hospital, whither he had been conveyed in consequence of injuries he had received when crossing the road at Hay Hill, near Curzon Street. As he stepped from behind a carriage he was knocked down by a hansom cab, the approach of which, being deaf, he had not heard.

Mr. Spedding was born in 1810, and after was a graduate of Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1831, being placed in the second class in classics, and among the junior optimes in mathematics. He had long been an Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, the college thus paying a merited tribute to the man who devoted a great part of his life to the study and elucidation of the

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works of one of its greatest luminaries. Though not a voluminous writer, Mr. Spedding's range of literature was a wide one, as may be seen from the titles of the essays in a volume published by him in 1879, called "Reviews and Discussions, Literary, Political, and Philosophical, not relating to Bacon." But the real work of Mr. Spedding's life was to produce a complete edition of Bacon's works, and to write the history of Bacon's life and times. In the earlier portion of his edition of Bacon's works Mr. Spedding had the invaluable assistance of the late Mr. R. L. Ellis; but Mr. Ellis died when the edition of the "Novum Organum" was incomplete, and the remainder of the task was carried on by Mr. Spedding alone, with the occasional assistance of Mr. D. D. Heath. What the nature of the task was and how it was accomplished is well known to all students of Bacon. Mr. Spedding did not aspire to be a complete commentator on all Bacon's writings, and there are many editions of isolated works, such as the "Essays" and the "Advancement of Learning," which give more assistance to the student by means of copious and instructive commentary. He did even more than this in some cases, for he not only determined the text, but illustrated it from his profound knowledge of the literature and history of Bacon's time, as Mr. Ellis had illustrated the "Novum Organum" in his introduction and notes from his rare acquaintance with the history of pre-Baconian science. Thus Mr. Spedding's edition of Bacon's works became the *édition définitive* of that great writer. When he had accomplished it he set himself to write the life of his favourite author in a manner never before attempted. The "Life and Letters" of Bacon is the only book on the subject which furnishes all the materials for a complete judgment on the many points of controversy connected with the strange career of the author of the "Novum Organum." Every extant letter, every scrap of information, manuscript or printed, is collected together, and as Carlyle had done in his "Cromwell," Mr. Spedding leaves the life of Bacon to tell its own tale, only supplying the thread of comment necessary to string the collected material together. Other lives of Bacon will doubtless be written, and possibly better ones from a purely literary point of view; but it is to Mr. Spedding that every future biographer must go for his materials. He not only knew Bacon thoroughly, but he knew not less thoroughly the history of his times and its literature.

Alexander II., Emperor of Russia.—The Emperor Alexander II., Nicolaievitch, was born on April 29 (17), 1818, whilst his uncle, Alexander I., was still on the throne. His father was Nicholas I. Paulovitch. His mother was the Princess Alexandra Feodorovna—or, as she was christened, Louisa Charlotte Wilhelmina, daughter of Frederick William III. of Prussia. His first tutor was General Mörder, a German by birth and a Protestant by religion. But Nicholas did not leave his heir to be brought up under German influence. He gave the conduct of his education to the Russian patriotic poet Joukowski, a prominent member of the old Russia party, which was in full ascendency in the days of Nicholas. He had only just passed his sixteenth birthday when he was declared to be of age, and was appointed to several military commands, for which even at that early time he was by no means unfitted. His paternal home was a sort of barrack; the life of the imperial family was that of a group of soldiers, even the Princesses being put through military exercises. The young Czarewitch was made first aide-de-camp to his father, Commandant of the Lancers of the Guard, and Hetman of the Cossacks—and was expected to perform all the duties of his various offices. The overwork soon told on a somewhat delicate constitution, and he was attacked with a kind of depression which in those days was spoken of as an attack of the spleen. Travel was recommended, and he made a tour in Germany, where he was received with great cordiality. In the course of his tour he visited Hesse Darmstadt, and was detained there by the pleasure he found in the company of the Princess Maria, daughter of the Grand Duke, whom he married and took back with him to Russia in 1841. His ill-disguised preference for civil over military life, so contrary to the tradition of the Russian Court, filled many with anxious forebodings as to his peaceable succession to the Crown. The old Muscovite party openly pronounced its preference for the Czar's second son, the Grand Duke Constantine, and thus engendered distrust between the two brothers. The peaceful views of the new Emperor were, therefore, a great assistance to the attainment of this object, and Alexander gave immediate proof of his pacific

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intentions by a reduction of the army to the lowest limits compatible with the dignity and safety of the empire. Vigorous efforts were made to place the national finances on a firmer basis, and to promote commercial prosperity. But the greatest reform of all was his emancipation, with the unanimous consent of the nobility of the empire, who owned these so-called slaves, of 23,000,000 human beings from the bondage of serfdom.

On March 3, 1861, the law received the Imperial signature, and during the next two years its numerous provisions were put into execution by landed proprietors named by the Government. In February 1864 the Polish serfs were similarly liberated, though in their case the desire to weaken the power of the Polish nobility may have entered into the mind of the Czar and his advisers.

Alexander, however, displayed in his home policy a real desire to improve the condition of his people. He made serious efforts to raise the standard of the universities and colleges of the empire; he inaugurated elective provincial assemblies, the first of which met in 1865; he introduced a general military conscription on trial by public jury.

Gradually, however, his faith in reform weakened, and his fear of revolution proportionately increased. A decided change in this respect occurred in 1866 and 1877, when he narrowly escaped assassination.

In his foreign policy Alexander aimed at the subjugation of the half-civilised hordes of Central Asia, and during his reign the limits of the Russian Empire were made coterminous with those of the Chinese. In 1866 the expedition in Turkestan was undertaken, ending, in May 1868, by the overthrow of the Ameer of Bokhara and the occupation of Samarcand. In 1873 Khiva was conquered by General Kaufmann, and the suzerainty of the Czar over the Khanate established. Two years later Khokard was invaded by the same commander, and his successes resulted in the formal annexation of the Kokhard territory north of the Sir Darya to the Russian Empire. In 1867, Alaska territory, or Russian America, was sold to the United States for 1,400,000*l*. In Europe Russia held aloof from all the wars in which the other countries of Europe were successively engaged, but in 1870, whilst Paris was besieged by the Germans, she declared herself no longer bound by those provisions of the Treaty of 1856 which limited Russian rights in the Black Sea. Although at that moment the act was warmly criticised in Parliament and the press, the general public took but small interest in what was regarded as a natural vindication of national rights. When, in 1874, after the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of Edinburgh, the Czar visited this country, he met with a very cordial reception from all classes.

In the war which had in 1876 broken out between Turkey and Servia, the Czar did not openly interfere, beyond demanding an armistice after the taking of Alexinatz by the Turkish troops. A Conference was subsequently held at Constantinople, at which the representatives of the European Powers imposed conditions upon Turkey which the Sultan refused to accept. Russia thereupon declared war against Turkey, and although the latter power made a gallant resistance, she was forced to sue for peace, and the Treaty of San Stefano was signed on Feb. 19 (March 3), 1878, the terms of which were subsequently modified at the Berlin Conference.

Up to this time only two attempts had been made on the life of the Czar; the first on April 16, 1866, when he was fired at by an ex-student, named Karakosof, while entering his carriage at St. Petersburg; and the second at Paris on January 6, 1867, by a Pole, named Berezowski, who fired into the carriage in which were seated the Czar, his two sons, and the Emperor Napoleon. The assassin was about to fire another shot, when the barrel of his pistol burst, shattering his arm.

In February the hand of Nihilism again struck heavily at the life of the Czar. The dining-hall in the Winter Palace was wrecked by an explosion proceeding from the cellars beneath. Several soldiers in the intervening guard-room lost their lives. The Emperor himself probably owed his life to a breach of his usual punctuality, the company not having yet sat down to dinner. All this took place amid the minutest precautions, and within a perfect cordon of sentries. At this very time, and in the Winter Palace itself, the Empress was lying in a precarious state of health, from which she never rallied. She died in June. Increased rigours on the part of the Government followed the Winter Palace explosion. General Gourko, the Prefect of St. Petersburg, was succeeded by General Loris Melikoff, whose stern strictness was tempered by reasonable

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concessions to the liberty of the press. The measures of repression adopted by Melikoff seemed successful beyond those which had preceded them. The seizure of many printing presses checked to a considerable degree the circulation of revolutionary literature, and the police tracked out many of the leading Nihilists. But it is impossible to crush an organisation the members of which were willing to sacrifice their lives in the attainment of their object. On March 13 their efforts were at length successful, and the Czar was brutally assassinated in broad daylight in the midst of his body-guard.

Earl of St. Germans.—William Gordon Cornwallis Eliot, Earl of St. Germans, and Baron Eliot, of St. Germans, county Cornwall, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, who died on March 19, at his residence, Grosvenor Gardens, was third, but eldest surviving, son of Edward Granville, third Earl of St. Germans, by his wife, Lady Jemima Cornwallis, third daughter of Charles, second Marquis Cornwallis, and was born at Port Eliot, December 14, 1829. He was, however, returned in the following year to the House of Commons, in conjunction with Mr. M. Chambers, for Devonport. He was not a candidate at the ensuing general election. In September 1870 he was summoned to the House of Peers, as Baron Eliot, of St. Germans, in the county of Cornwall. He succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father, October 7, 1877.

Sir Charles Reed, LL.D., chairman of the London School Board, died on March 25, at his residence, Earlsmead, Page Green, Tottenham, after a short illness. The second son of the late Rev. Andrew Reed, D.D, of Hackney, founder of the London Orphan Asylum, the Earlswood Asylum for Idiots, &c., by his marriage with Eliza, daughter of Mr. J. T. Holmes, he was born in the year 1819, and was educated at Hackney Grammar School and at the London University. He was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for Middlesex and Westminster, a Commissioner for Lieutenancy for London, a Conservator of the River Thames, representative of the Corporation of London for Irish Estates in Ulster, an English executor for the late Mr. George Peabody and a trustee of his funds for the poor, and was also actively concerned in the charitable institutions founded by his father. He was also senior partner in the firm of Sir Charles Reed and Sons, type founders, in Fann Street, City. In 1868 he was returned to Parliament, in the Liberal interest, as one of the members for Hackney, and he represented that borough, in conjunction with Mr. John Holms, down to the general election in 1874. He remained out of Parliament down to the general election last year, when he was chosen as the representative of St. Ives, defeating Mr. C. C. Ross, the Conservative candidate. Sir Charles Reed received the honour of knighthood in 1874. He had been chairman of the London School Board since 1871, having previously been vice-chairman. Sir Charles, who was the author of "The Life and Philanthropic Labours of Andrew Reed, D.D.," and an "Historical Narrative of the Plantations and Settlements in Ulster of the Irish Society," was created an honorary LL.D. of Yale University, United States, in 1876. He was President of the Judges on Education at the International Exhibitions of Philadelphia and Paris, and was an officer of the Legion of Honour, and also of Public Instruction in France. He married in 1844 Margaret, daughter of the late Mr. Edward Baines, M.P., and sister of Sir Edward Baines, of Leeds.

Marchese Giacchimo Pepoli, one of the band of patriots to whom the unity and freedom of Italy were due, died at Bologna on the morning of March 26. He was born in the year 1825, son of the Marchese Guido Taddeo Pepoli, by his marriage with the Princess Letizia Murat, daughter of General Joachim Murat, King of Naples. At the age of twenty-one he joined the revolutionary party, and on the death of Gregory XVI. he, together with Minghetti, Janari, and Marchetti, drew up that celebrated address to the Conclave, asking for the reforms desired, which is described as the active initiation of the Italian movement in the Pontifical States. In 1848 Pepoli headed the Civic Guard in the repulse given by the Bolognese at the Montagnola to the Austrian soldiers under General Welden. Antagonistic to the Pontifical Government, he became, after the return of Pius IX. from Gaeta, the active head of the Liberal party in Bologna, and his house was the rendezvous of all who strove for the independence and desired the unity of Italy. In 1853 he went to Paris to use his influence with his relation, Napoleon III., in favour of

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the Italian cause, and at that time wrote articles on the subject which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He was more or less directly concerned in all the important political negotiations between the Government of Victor Emmanuel and the Emperor of the French. On the breaking out of the war of 1859 he became a member of the provisional government of Bologna, holding first the portfolio of Finance and then that of Foreign Affairs; and after the *plébiscite* of March 12, 1860, which united the Emilia to the constitutional government of Victor Emmanuel, he held the portfolio of Finance under the dictatorship of Farini. On the liberation of Umbria Pepoli was named commissary-general of that province. In 1862 he became a member of the Italian Government, holding the portfolio of Agriculture and Commerce in the Rattazzi Administration; and when, in 1863, Russia acknowledged the kingdom of Italy, he was sent as ambassador to St. Petersburg. He resigned that post in 1864 in order to return to his place in the Chamber, and take part in the debate on the Franco-Italian convention of September 15, and continued actively occupied in Parliamentary matters until, at the end of 1866, he was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to Vienna. In 1868 he was made a senator of the kingdom, and from that time Pepoli devoted himself entirely to the amelioration of the condition of the working classes. In Parliament he sat on the Left Centre, and his ardent advocacy of the repeal of the grist tax was greatly influential in finally carrying that Bill through the Senate. He married, at the age of nineteen, his cousin, the Princess Frederica Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, who survived him.

Prince Roman Sanguszko, who died on March 26, at Slawuta, in Volhynia, belonged to one of the most ancient and wealthy families in Poland. Born in 1800, he finished his education in Germany, embraced the military career, and served with distinction as aide-de-camp of the Generalissimo of the Polish National Army in the war of independence against Russia in 1830–31. Wounded and made a prisoner at the battle of Lysobyki, he was detained in several fortresses, and eventually condemned by a court-martial to be incorporated as a private in the Russian Army in Caucasus. On the sentence being submitted for approval to the late Emperor Nicholas, his Majesty added on the margin the words "He shall make the journey on foot." Accordingly, put in chains and in company with the lowest criminals, the prince, a descendant of an illustrious family, had to march about 2,000 versts before he reached his destination. After many years of service he obtained the rank of sub-lieutenant, and towards the end of the reign of the Emperor Nicholas was allowed to return to his native place. Unable to serve further his country through ill-health and the deafness caused by a contusion of a bullet in one of the battles, he devoted his talents and energy to the amelioration of his large estates and of the condition of the people living on them, and the family seat of Slawuta has now become a very flourishing town in the empire, containing many industries, a large library, and a gallery of pictures by the most distinguished artists in Europe.

Rev. Wm. H. Bateson, D.D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, died on March 27. He was a native of Everton, near Liverpool, and was educated first at Shrewsbury School, and afterwards as a pensioner of St. John's College in 1829, but did not graduate until 1836, having received permission to degrade on account of illness. He was a Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos of that year, and obtained the high position of third classic in the Classical Tripos. Among his contemporaries in the Mathematical Tripos were Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, who was Second Wrangler; Dr. Bickersteth, the Bishop of Bangor; and Dr. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta. Mr. Bateson was in due course elected to a Fellowship. Soon after taking his degree he established himself as a private tutor in classics, and attained much celebrity. He was, however, never appointed either a lecturer or tutor of the college, and it was well known that his pronounced opinions as a Liberal stood in the way of his advancement. The only college offices he held were those of Bursar and President. At the time of his appointment many complaints had arisen as to the management of the college estates, but under Mr. Bateson's vigorous superintendence great improvements were effected, and the revenue of the college considerably augmented by his constant supervision. On the resignation by the Rev. Joseph Crick in 1848 of the office of Public Orator in the University, Mr. Bateson was elected by a majority of 62; his opponent was the Rev. Rowland Williams, Fellow of King's College, who

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secured 396 votes against 458 polled by Mr. Bateson. On the issue of the University Commission in 1851 Mr. Bateson was appointed secretary, and after their report was issued he took an active part in carrying out the reforms suggested. In 1857 Dr. Tatham, the Master of St. John's, died, and Mr. Bateson, on February 2, 1857, was elected to succeed him. Of the twenty-nine Fellows who took part in the election twenty-six voted for Mr. Bateson, and three for the Rev. F. W. Collison, Rector of Marwood, Devon, a former Fellow. In 1858 Dr. Bateson filled the office of Vice-Chancellor, but it was an office he declined to accept a second time. He was a member of a great number of syndicates, and also one of the Council of the Senate, and a large number of most important schemes originated with him. He supported with great vigour the scheme for the examination of persons not members of the University, the admission of unattached students, and the proposal for recognising the claims of the promoters of the higher education of women, so that his name will be inseparably connected with the University reform of more than a quarter of a century. He was a member of the University Commission in 1872 to inquire into the property and income of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and on the death of Lord Chief Justice Cockburn was appointed a member of the present University Commission. He held for a short time the vicarage of Madingley, a village near Cambridge, and also the vicarage of Horningsea. He was an examiner for the Classical Tripos in 1842 and 1843. Dr. Bateson was married in 1857 to Anna, daughter of Mr. James Aikin, of Liverpool.

The Earl of Caithness (Sir James Sinclair), and Lord Berriedale in the Peerage of Scotland, Baron Barrogill, of Barrogill Castle, in the county of Caithness, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, and a baronet of Nova Scotia, Lord-Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral of Caithness, died at New York on March 28. Lord Caithness was well known in the scientific world. He invented a steam carriage for travelling on macadamised roads, a gravitating compass so remarkable for its steadiness that it has been used on many ships in preference to others, and a tape loom by which a weaver might stop one of the shuttles without interfering with the action of the whole.

The following names may also be mentioned:—**Major-General Gother Frederick Mann, C.B.**, on March 2, at Norwood, aged 63, who entered the army in 1836 as second lieutenant in the Royal Engineers. In December 1857 he commanded that corps at the capture of Canton, and in 1860 he was in command as lieutenant-colonel at the storming of the Taku Forts and throughout the subsequent operations which resulted in the surrender of Pekin. **Prince George Charles of Hesse**, younger son of Frederick Landgrave of Hesse, uncle of the present Landgrave, and brother of the Duchess of Cambridge, at Frankfort on March 4, aged 88. **The Dowager Lady Raglan**, Emily Harriet, second daughter of William, Earl of Mornington, and niece of the late Duke of Wellington, was born in March, 1792, on March 6, in London, in her 89th year; she was married in 1814 to the late Lord Raglan, who died in the Crimea in 1855. **Friedrich Hecker**, on March 6, at St. Louis, in the United States, was leader of the Baden Revolution of 1848, a man who, in his time, was one of the most interesting political personages in Germany. Born at Eichtersheim in 1811, he studied law and settled as an advocate at Mannheim, though devoting most of his attention to the popular movement which culminated in the premature, and therefore unsuccessful, attempt of the Badeners to acquire a Constitution toward the middle of the century. On the defeat of the Baden insurgents in the spring of 1848 Hecker fled to Switzerland, whence, a few months later, he passed to America, and took to farming in Belleville, in Illinois. **Caroline Amelia, Dowager Queen of Denmark**, daughter of Frederick Christian, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg, born June 28, 1796, died on March 9, at Copenhagen: she was married to King Christian VIII. on May 22, 1815. **General John Hankey Bainbrigge**, on March 15, at Rohais Manor, Guernsey, aged 89. He entered the army in 1808 as an ensign in the 20th Foot, served in the Peninsula in 1808 and 1809, and again in 1812 and 1813, and was present at the battles of Vimiera, Corunna, Vittoria, and the Pyrenees, where he was twice wounded, and lost an arm. He also served in the Walcheren expedition. **Princess Louise Caroline Marie Frederica of Hesse-Cassel**, sister of the Duchess of Cambridge, on March 16, at Rumpenheim. The eldest of the three

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daughters of the late Landgrave Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, by his wife Caroline Polyxène, Princess of Nassau Usingen, she was born on April 9, 1794, so that she was within a few weeks of completing her 87th year, and married on April 4, 1833, Count George Von der Decken, Seigneur d'Oerichsheil, General in the Hanoverian army, who died in 1859. **Theobald Fitzwalter Butler, Baron Dunboyne** in the Peerage of Ireland, on March 22, at Knoppogue House, county Clare, aged 75, was the eldest son of James, thirteenth lord, by his wife Ellen, daughter of Mr. David O'Connell. He was a representative peer of Ireland and a J.P. and D.L of the county Clare. In 1832 he married Julia Celestina Maria, daughter of the late Mr. William Brandon, of Morden Hall, Surrey. He succeeded his father on July 6, 1850, and in 1868 was elected a representative peer. **Major P. Cahill**, Military Knight on the Royal Foundation, on March 25, at Windsor. He had served in the 49th Regiment throughout the first China War, and subsequently in the Eastern campaign of 1854. He was present at the battle of the Alma, when he carried the regimental colours. **Admiral C. G. E. Patey, C.M.G.**, on March 25th, at Newton St. Loe, Somerset, aged 68. He entered the navy in 1824, and served in all the operations on the coast of Syria, including the bombardment of Acre in 1840, for which he was made commander and received the medal. In 1851 he was specially appointed to organise the great rush of emigration which occurred in that year from Liverpool to the newly discovered Australian gold-fields, and was presented with a testimonial of plate by the shipowners of Liverpool. He received severe injuries while in command of her Majesty's ship *Amphion* in 1853, for which he was granted a pension for wounds. From 1857 to 1864 he held the appointment of superintendent of the packet service, and during the civil war in America he was intrusted by the Government with delicate transactions regarding the "Trent affair," and the arming and detention of belligerent American ships at Southampton. He obtained flag rank in 1864, and was appointed Administrator of Lagos in 1866. Removed to the Gambia the same year, he was appointed Governor of St. Helena in 1869, but on account of the reduced condition of the colony was retired with a compensation allowance in 1873, and was made a C.M.G. in the following year. **M. Oscar de Lafayette**, a grandson of the great Lafayette, and a Republican Life Senator, on March 26, at Paris, aged 75. **Mr. John Prescott Knight, R.A.**, for many years Secretary of the Royal Academy, died on March 26, in London. The son of an actor, Mr. Knight was born at Stafford early in the present century, and became a clerk in a mercantile house in Mark Lane. He, however, soon evinced an aptitude for drawing, and was placed by his father for a time under Mr. H. Sass and Mr. G. Clint. He began to exhibit portraits at the Academy about 1827. In 1836 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, and in 1844 he attained full honours. He was appointed Secretary to the Royal Academy in 1846, and held the post until 1873. **Sir Daniel Brooke Robertson, C.B., K.C.M.G.**, on March 27, in Arlington Street, Piccadilly. He was for many years a distinguished member of the British Consular Service in China. **Lieutenant Karl Weyprecht**, of the Austrian navy, who, with Lieutenant Payer, discovered Franz Joseph's Land during the Austrian Arctic expedition (1872-4), on March 29th, at Michelstadt, aged 43. **Admiral James Wigston**, of Bitterne Hill, Southampton, on March 30, at Southsea. He was the second son of the late Mr. John Wigston, of Trent Park, Hertfordshire, and was born in 1792, his mother being Mary, daughter of the late Sir James Winter Lane. He was educated at Harrow, and entered the navy in 1804. He served as midshipman on board the *Greyhound* at the capture of the Dutch frigate *Pallas* in 1806, took part in the attack of two French frigates off Barfleur, and was employed in the boats of the Norge in co-operation with the army against New Orleans. He became vice-admiral in 1862, and an admiral in 1866. He married, in 1833, Mary Theodora, only daughter of the late Major-General Sir John Chalmers, K.C.B., of the Madras Army. **Princess Caroline of Denmark**, on March 31, at Copenhagen, aged 87. Her Royal Highness was the elder daughter of the late King Frederick VI. of Denmark; her mother being the Princess Mary Sophia, daughter of Charles, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. She was born in October 1793, and married in 1829 Ferdinand, Hereditary Prince of Denmark.

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APRIL.

Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, M.P. for West Cheshire, who died on April 7, was the eldest son of the late Rev. Sir Philip Grey Egerton, the ninth baronet, and was born at Malpas in 1806. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. 1828. He sat for Chester in the Parliament of 1830, having just previously succeeded to the baronetcy. In 1832 he contested South Cheshire unsuccessfully, but three years afterwards was returned by that constituency. In the interim he married Anna Elizabeth, second daughter of the late Mr. G. J. Legh. In 1868 he stood for the western division of Cheshire, which he has continuously represented since. At the late election he fought for his seat for the first time. He was a trustee of the British Museum, Antiquary to the Royal Academy, a J.P. and D.L. for the county of Chester, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry.

Prince Pierre Bonaparte died on April 8, at Versailles, of gout, which had ascended to his heart. He was born at Rome in 1815, and was the third son of Lucien Bonaparte, by his second wife Marie de Blexampe, the divorced wife of M. Jouberthon. He early in life adopted the profession of arms, and first served in South America. On returning to Italy he made himself disagreeable to the Pope, who in 1836 had him seized by the *sbirri* and confined for a long time in the Castle of St. Angelo. On regaining his liberty he wandered in America and Europe, and in 1848 came to France, where, in consideration of his father's Republican opinions, he obtained the grade of *chef de bataillon*. Elected by Corsica to the Constituent Assembly, he voted with the Extreme Left. After the *coup d'état* he retired into privacy with the title of Prince and Highness. He married a sempstress named Riffin, and in spite of his cousin, then Napoleon III.'s vigilance, the civil and religious ceremonies were performed in Luxemburg. This marriage was pronounced void, but after the fall of the Empire it was celebrated again in 1871 at the French Embassy at Brussels. For a short time—1870—the Princess Pierre Bonaparte opened a milliner's shop in Bond Street, London. His shooting of Victor Noir, in January, 1870, on account of reflections on his wife, and his acquittal by the High Court, subject to 25,000f. damages to the victim's family, will be remembered as the opening scene of the last act of the Second Empire. His literary efforts were confined to the translation of a play of Niccolini's into French, and a pamphlet published at Brussels in 1876, containing fragments of his father's memoirs.

The Rev. William Morley Punshon, D.D., the eminent Wesleyan preacher, died on April 14, at his residence on Brixton Hill, from an attack of bronchitis. He was born in 1823 at Doncaster, in Yorkshire, where his father was in business as a draper. In early life he was placed with his grandfather, a timber merchant at Hull, but his tastes and aspirations lay in another direction. In 1840 he became a local preacher at Sunderland and its neighbourhood, and, after a course of training at the Wesleyan College at Richmond, Surrey, was sent to Marden, near Staplehurst, in Kent, to undertake a pastoral charge. When the Wesleyan Conference of 1845 was held his name already stood so high that he was offered by that body the charge of the Wesleyan congregation at Whitehaven. There, and subsequently at Carlisle, Sheffield, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and at Leeds, and during frequent visits to the metropolis, he made himself a high reputation for eloquence as a preacher, and for ability in the practical business of his co-religionists. In 1868 he left this country for Canada, and during his residence in the Dominion he was five times chosen President of the Canadian Conference. When in Canada he had married his deceased wife's sister, a step which led to his being struck off the "Legal Hundred" by the Wesleyan Conference. After her death he returned to England in 1873, and in July 1874 was elected President of the Wesleyan Conference for the ensuing year. Dr. Punshon was a man of high culture in other matters besides those which appertain to the pulpit; he published a volume of poems, and was not unknown as an enthusiastic antiquary, and especially as a collector of autographs.

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The Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G., who died in Curzon Street on April 19, was the eldest son of Isaac Disraeli, the author of the "Curiosities of Literature" and numerous other works, by his wife, Maria Basevi. Benjamin Disraeli, the eldest of four children, was born on December 21, 1805, in the Adelphi according to one account, but in St. Mary Axe according to another and more probable statement. He was educated chiefly at home, and was first destined for a Government office. This view was soon abandoned, and he entered a solicitor's office, where, however, he remained but a few months. In 1826 he made his *début* in public, contributing a satirical poem, "The Dunciad of To-day," to an obscure and short-lived periodical named the *Star Chamber*. Early in the following year he completed his first novel, "Vivian Grey," the publication of which at once obtained for its author an enviable notoriety. Shortly afterwards he commenced his travels in Europe and the East. On his return in 1831 he dedicated to Lord Lyndhurst a pamphlet, "A Vindication of the English Constitution," in which may be found the explanation of many of his subsequent inconsistencies, and the first idea of his most successful novel, "Coningsby," in which he sketched with masterly hand the upheaval of the British political system. The country was then in the fever of Reform, and the young Disraeli, an ardent Radical, in the autumn of 1842 was presented to the electors of High Wycombe by Mr. Joseph Hume and Daniel O'Connell.

At first he was supported by a combination of the Radicals and Tories, but at the poll he was defeated by the Whig, the Hon. Charles Grey. He subsequently issued an address to the electors of Marylebone on the same principles, but no vacancy occurring, Disraeli retired into privacy to write "Contarini Fleming," "Alroy," &c., as well as the "Revolutionary Epic," a work which fell completely flat. In 1834, on the dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry, he again presented himself to the electors of West Wycombe, in an address which was subsequently published under the title of "The Present Crisis Examined;" and showed the transitional state of the writer's opinions. He was again unsuccessful, and equally so when in the following year he stood as a Conservative in opposition to Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton). "The Letters of Runnymede," which appeared shortly afterwards in the *Times*, were a bitter attack on Whig principles and Whig leaders, and when republished (1836) they were dedicated to Sir Robert Peel. In the following year King William IV. died, and at the general election which followed Mr. Disraeli was returned for Maidstone as the Conservative colleague of Mr. Wyndham Lewis. He took his seat with the Tories, but there was little anxiety displayed in their ranks to welcome their new ally, whose only title to their notice was the bitter hatred with which he was regarded by the Whigs, and the *éclat* of his rupture with his former friend and patron D. O'Connell. Early in his first session Mr. Disraeli made his memorable maiden speech. The subject was an Irish Election petition, and he immediately followed in the debate the great Liberator. Neither the orator's style nor manner was to the taste of the House, and the speech finally came to a stop in the midst of unrestrained merriment; but the peroration of his maiden effort has been, as it well deserved to be, preserved. "I am not at all surprised at the reception I have experienced. I have begun several times many things, and I have often succeeded at last. I shall sit down now; but the time will come when you will hear me." He was not daunted by this rough reception, and spoke at least once again in the same session; but it was not until 1839 that he succeeded in gaining the ear of the House on the subject of the Chartist riots. He condemned the violence of which the Chartists had been guilty, but he insisted that it was unwise to refuse to listen to their complaints, some of which were of a substantial kind. In 1841 he exchanged his seat at Maidstone for one at Shrewsbury, and for some time longer continued to give a general support to Sir Robert Peel. Whether he was disappointed at not being offered office by that Minister cannot be known, but in 1844—the year in which "Coningsby" appeared and Mr. Disraeli invented the "Young England" party—began that series of bitter attacks on the Conservative leader, which increased after Peel's return to office in 1845, pledged to abolish the Corn Laws. From this moment he turned himself towards the Protectionists, a scattered mob without a leader, and set to work to reform out of it the new Tory party, which he was ultimately destined to lead to power and office, though nearly thirty years were to pass before his

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aims were thoroughly accomplished. A few months previously in 1845, "Sybil" had been published, and in it, as well as in "Coningsby," it was thought that a remedy was suggested for the political ailments of the time. In the struggle against Free Trade, under the nominal leadership of Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Disraeli displayed an inexhaustible talent of invective in assailing his political opponents without ever apparently bearing any malice towards them as men.

In 1847 he was elected for Buckinghamshire, a seat which he retained until his elevation to the Peerage, and two years later succeeded his friend, Lord George Bentinck, in the nominal leadership of the Conservative party, when his literary activity gave place to the requirements of political life, and he set to work to reconstitute the party which so grudgingly accepted his guidance. In 1849 his best division was 189 against 280. In 1850 he had detached twenty-two members from the Ministerial side, and was beaten by a majority of only twenty-one, Mr. Gladstone himself, for the first time since 1846, being seen in opposition to Sir Robert Peel. In 1851 Mr. Disraeli divided 267 against 281, a result which contributed in no small degree to the resignation of Ministers soon afterwards. Lord Stanley, however, after vainly appealing to Mr. Gladstone, to whom Mr. Disraeli would at that time have surrendered the lead of the House of Commons, declined the formation of a Government, and Lord Russell was obliged to resume office. But in the following year he was again driven to resign, but this time the leader of the opposition—who had now become Lord Derby—felt himself compelled to form a Ministry.

In the new administration Mr. Disraeli filled the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in his first budget, December 1852, developed the views of his party with reference to taxation. His proposition was to render its incidence on all classes more equal, and starting from the idea that representation and taxation should go together, he proposed that the house duty should, like the franchise, start from a 10*l.* rental. He proposed also the reduction of both the malt and tea duties. Mr. Gladstone replied in a masterly speech which united the Whigs, Radicals, and Peelites, and placed the Government in a minority of nineteen, and the first Derby administration resigned, and Lord Aberdeen succeeded to power. The conduct of the Crimean campaign brought about the downfall of the Coalition Ministry in 1855. Lord Derby, to the chagrin of Mr. Disraeli, refused to take office without the assistance of Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone, and on Lord Palmerston devolved the conduct of affairs at this critical juncture. In 1858 the Conservatives were again in office, and Mr. Disraeli occupied his former place, pledged to Parliamentary Reform. His Reform Bill, proposed in the following session, was chiefly noteworthy for the 10*l.* county, the "fancy" franchises it contained; but whilst it displayed much originality, it failed to command general confidence, and Lord Derby resigned. Eight years later on another Reform Bill, prepared by Lord Russell and based on a 6*l.* franchise, the Conservatives recovered office, and in the session of 1867 brought in their own measure, of which household suffrage was the keynote.

The scheme which subsequently received the Royal assent, and which had been the original design of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, had been abandoned, in the first instance, in deference to the feelings of other members of the Cabinet, and the Chancellor undertook to propose the measure which had been kept in reserve as a substitute, instead of the bolder one which he had matured himself. Very short notice was given to him of the inability of Lord Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon and General Peel to support the measure. Mr. Disraeli had hardly more than one day to prepare himself for the task; and it may not be generally known that he offered to resign office rather than break up the Cabinet or undertake a task so much to his own distaste.

The Bill, however, was only born to perish, and the Ministry and the Conservative Party had now to consider what course they were to take. But this the Government was not left to decide. A meeting was held at the Carlton Club, the result of which was to inform the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Tory Party now would support the original scheme, and no other. This is the history of the "Ten Minutes Bill," and thus, so far from Mr. Disraeli having dragged an unwilling Party after him, the Party itself insisted on his acting as he did, and he had no sincerer supporters through the desperate struggles which ensued than some of those very county members whose trust he was said to have abused.

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On February 25, 1868, Lord Derby resigned the Premiership and was succeeded by Mr. Disraeli, and early in the Session Mr. Gladstone gave notice of his Irish Church Resolutions, which sealed the fate of the Disraeli Administration. In the general election which followed the majority against the Government was so decided that Mr. Disraeli resigned without waiting for the meeting of Parliament. Before doing so, the Queen conferred upon Mrs. Disraeli the title of Viscountess Beaconsfield, and in 1870 Mr. Disraeli, who had published nothing for nearly a quarter of a century, dedicated to her his new novel of "Lothair." In December 1872 "the perfect wife," as he designated her, died, at an advanced age, and for a time it was thought that her husband would withdraw altogether from public life. But he was speedily recalled to it by the popular voice. Mr. Gladstone had been compelled to fight the Radical party on Mr. Fawcett's Dublin University Bill. Beaten by a majority of three, he at once tendered his resignation, and without a moment's delay her Majesty sent for Mr. Disraeli. He declined to form a Government at once, he and Lord Derby having previously made up their minds what to do in the contingency which happened. Mr. Disraeli informed her Majesty that he should have no difficulty in constructing an Administration, but that he would not undertake to do so with the existing House of Commons. Eventually, after the most desperate efforts to dislodge his antagonist from the position in which he had entrenched himself, and to force him to come down and take office, Mr. Gladstone was compelled to go back again, and it was generally supposed he would dissolve Parliament at once. He gave it to be understood, however, that he felt himself under no obligation to do so, and the prevailing opinion began to be that he would tide over another Session.

The event justified Mr. Disraeli's foresight. Early in 1874 Mr. Gladstone suddenly dissolved Parliament, and finding himself in a minority of fifty at once resigned. The Queen again sent for Mr. Disraeli, who then had no scruples about assuming office. In the autumn of 1873 he had been elected Lord Rector of the Glasgow University, and in 1874 he was re-elected by a majority of 200 votes over Mr. Emerson. Mr. Disraeli made his last speech in the House of Commons on August 11, 1876, in reply to certain questions upon Eastern affairs. The next morning came the announcement of his having accepted the Earldom of Beaconsfield. The principal object of his Administration had been to indicate for Great Britain a position in the councils of Europe, and towards the foreign policy of the country all his attention was directed. His firmness with reference to Russian encroachments brought about the withdrawal of Lords Derby and Carnarvon from the Cabinet, and subsequently induced him to go to Berlin to watch over the interests of this country. On his return he was at the zenith of his fame and popularity, and the stability of his Government seemed assured for many years. The Afghan and South African wars which soon afterwards broke out gave ground for criticism and complaint, whilst the rising cry of distress from Ireland called attention to questions nearer home which pressed for solution. The Parliament, however, which had brought the Disraeli Cabinet to power was allowed to run for nearly its full time, and when in 1880 a dissolution was suddenly announced, it found the Liberals well provided with subjects of grievance and criticism. The results were fatal to the Conservative party, and the Earl of Beaconsfield retired without meeting the new Parliament, and at the close of the year published his last novel, "Endymion."

With the opening of Parliament in January he was in his place and apparently robust. Speaking on the Address on January 6, he delivered himself with all his accustomed force and felicity of expression. He spoke several times afterwards on Foreign Policy, more especially on India, and was scarcely ever more effective in his best days than in the recent debate on Lord Lytton's motion condemning the abandonment of Candahar. This was his last great speech in the Parliament he had so long adorned; nor could he have chosen a theme more suitable to mark the end of his illustrious career. Not, however, that this was his last service to his country. The advice which he tendered to the Constitutional Party in the House of Commons on the change proposed by Mr. Gladstone in the mode of conducting public business, was his final contribution to the cause of Parliamentary independence, recommending the leader of the Opposition to resist the attempt of the Government to apply their Urgency rules to the ordinary business of supply. At the close of an exceptionally severe winter he was attacked by bronchitis and gout, and succumbed after a

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long and painful struggle, which was watched with the deepest interest and sympathy by all his fellow-countrymen irrespective of party or station.

Louis von Benedek, a distinguished general in the Austrian Service, died on April 27. Born in 1804, at Œdenburg, in Hungary, he studied military science at the Academy of Neustadt, and entered the Austrian army in his 18th year. His promotion was rapid, but it was not until 1845, when the insurrection in Galicia was in progress, that he had a good opportunity of distinguishing himself. He figured with some prominence in the warfare of 1848 and 1849, under Radetzky, and contributed in no small degree to the victory at Novara. His next service was in Hungary where he was wounded at Raab and Szegeden. He there established his reputation as a skilful and bold general, and still more in the contest ten years afterwards between France and Austria. At Solferino, he was in command of the right wing of the Austrian army, which for a time had the advantage over the left wing of the allied forces. In the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 he led the army of the north. After the reverse of Sadowa his military conduct was sharply criticised; he was superseded by Archduke Albrecht, and in the following October retired into private life.

Emile de Girardin, the *doyen* of French journalism and for half a century a prominent public character, died on April 27 at the age of 74. He was born at Paris in 1806, his mother being Madame Dupuy, and his father General Alexandre de Girardin. He bore the assumed name of Delamothe till about 1828, when he took the name of his father, who afterwards publicly acknowledged him; and his first attempt in literature was a novel, pleading the cause of adulterine children. He conceived in 1830 the idea of a halfpenny newspaper, but did not carry it out till 1836, when he founded the *Presse*. He had previously married Mdlle. Delphine Gay, a poetess and beauty, and had published several cheap popular magazines, one of which attained a sale of 120,000 copies. The *Presse*, which supported the Orleans Dynasty with Conservative leanings, was accused by the Democratic rivals which it undersold of being subsidised by the Government, and these imputations led to a duel between M. de Girardin and Armand Carrel. The latter was mortally wounded, and M. de Girardin, who had a shot pass through his thigh, thenceforth rigidly forswore duelling. He was then a deputy, and sat in the Chamber almost uninterruptedly from 1834 to 1848, but was much less powerful as a debater than as a journalist. He was in general a supporter of Louis Philippe's Conservative Cabinets, but in 1847 was prosecuted for an article charging a Minister with promising a peerage as a bribe. He defended himself, and the Chamber of Peers unexpectedly acquitted him. On the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848 he waited on the King and induced him to abdicate in favour of his grandson, but the document was wrenched from M. de Girardin's hands by the mob, and its tenour was not known till too late. In 1849 he re-entered the Chamber. He usually voted with the Radicals, but promoted Louis Napoleon's election to the Presidency. He disapproved the *coup d'état*, but advocated a simply platonic resistance to it by a universal closing of shops and suspension of work. After a short exile he was allowed to return to France, Prince Napoleon interceding for him; and in 1856 he sold his share in the *Presse* for a considerable sum. In 1866 he established the *Liberté*, which incurred a fine of 5,000 francs for opposing the Government, and was deprived of the right of outdoor sale. He rallied to the Empire on the accession of the Ollivier Cabinet, an eleventh-hour conversion which helped to fasten on him the nickname of "the Weathercock," and to create the half serious idea that he had the "evil eye," and that his adhesion to any party betokened its approaching fall. On the outbreak of the war of 1870 he surpassed all his fellow journalists in braggadocio, predicting that the French would drive back the Prussians with the butt-end of their muskets, and would make a simple promenade to Berlin. During the Commune he launched a scheme for splitting up France into fifteen federal states. He was thenceforth, however, a staunch Republican, founded the *France* in 1874, and, by his command both of that paper and the *Petit Journal*, contributed not a little to the defeat of the Reactionary plot of 1877.

Edward Miall, late M.P. for Bradford, the founder and editor of the *Nonconformist* newspaper, and for many years well-known in connection with the Disestablishment movement, died at his residence, Sevenoaks, on April

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27, within a few days of completing his 72nd year. He was in early life the pastor of a Congregational church at Ware, and subsequently at Leicester. He came to London in 1841, and with the assistance of many friends established the *Nonconformist*, with the avowed object of enlisting public feeling, especially among Dissenters, in favour of the separation of Church and State. Mr. Miall soon gathered around him a vigorous school of what have been designated "political dissenters," and mainly as the result of his teaching the British Anti-State Church Association was formed in 1843, which still exists under the more familiar title of the Liberation Society. Two years later Mr. Miall unsuccessfully contested Southwark against Sir William Molesworth, and subsequently one or two other constituencies, but in 1852 he was returned for Rochdale, and sat for that borough five years. He failed to secure his re-election in 1857, when Lord Palmerston appealed to the country in support of his war policy in China. While member for Rochdale, Mr. Miall proposed a resolution condemnatory of the Irish Church, but the House of Commons was not yet ripe for so drastic a measure. Afterwards, at the invitation of the Marquess of Salisbury (the father of the present peer), he became a member of the Duke of Newcastle's Education Commission (prominent members of which were also Sir J. D. Coleridge and Professor Goldwin Smith). The labours of this Commission extended over two years, and its report and recommendations, to which Mr. Miall gave a qualified assent, furnished a mass of information, which, though not of immediate service, owing to the political unsettlement of the times, cleared the way for the legislation of 1870. For his services and co-operation in this work, Mr. Miall received the hearty thanks of the Duke of Newcastle. During his exclusion from Parliament, Mr. Miall took a foremost part in the outdoor movement in favour of the abolition of church-rates, the abrogation of University tests, the throwing open of parish churchyards, &c., and he lived to see all of what were called "Dissenting grievances" removed. At the general election in 1868 Mr. Miall stood for Bradford, in conjunction with Mr. Forster, but was defeated by Mr. Ripley. On that gentleman being unseated on petition next year, Mr. Miall was elected by a large majority. He sat for Bradford till 1874, when growing infirmities obliged him to retire from Parliamentary and public life. Twice before he disappeared from Parliament, Mr. Miall moved a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the English Church. On the second occasion the motion was firmly opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who advised him first to convince a majority of the constituencies. During his public career, Mr. Miall twice received from his many friends substantial marks of their appreciation of his services as a public man. On the first occasion, at the Freemasons' Hall, about the year 1863, he was presented with 5,000 guineas; and on the second, at the Crystal Palace, in 1870, when about to retire from public life, the sum of 10,000 guineas was put in trust on behalf of himself and family; and on his 70th birthday Mr. Miall was presented at his residence at Forest Hill with a congratulatory address by a deputation of friends, including his old colleagues, Mr. Bright and Mr. Richard, M.P. His published writings consist chiefly of ecclesiastical and social papers contributed from time to time to his own paper. Among his other publications are "The British Churches in relation to the British People," and "Title Deeds of the Church of England"—the latter an elaborate investigation of the origin of tithes, &c. The most argumentative and least ephemeral production of his pen was "The Bases of Belief"—a work which is in use as a text-book in many Nonconformist colleges. Mr. Miall married in 1831 the eldest daughter of the late Mr. Holmes, of Clay Hill, near Wymondley.

To the above-named may be added the following:—**Mr. Charles John Blount**, who died on April 2 at Mapledurham House, Oxfordshire, aged 58. He was the head of a branch of the old Roman Catholic family, which, according to Burke, is descended from the Counts of Guisnes, in Picardy, and from the ancient Scandinavian rulers of Denmark. Mapledurham House, which has been in the possession of the family for nearly 400 years, is of note as being constantly mentioned and occasionally visited by Pope, among whose friends and correspondents Theresa and Martha Blount held a foremost place. They were sisters of Michael Blount, the great-great-grandfather of the gentleman now deceased. **Theodor Scheibe** died at Vienna on April 6, aged 61. He was the most popular of German novelists. He produced no fewer than 120 romances relating to the social life of

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Vienna or with familiar incidents in the national history, most of which appeared originally as *feuilletons* in the newspapers. **Miss Jane Bewick**, on April 7, at Gateshead, aged 94, the elder daughter of Thomas Bewick, the famous designer, draughtsman on wood, and painter in water-colours. She edited the memoir of her father. **Herr Max Maria von Weber**, on April 18, at Berlin, aged 58, eldest surviving son of the author of *Der Freischütz*, and one of the first railway authorities of Germany, perhaps of Europe. Not many hours before his death he had finished a work on canal systems, for which he had himself collected material as Commissioner of his Government in Sweden, England, France, and America. **Dr. Joseph Goldmark**, on April 18, at New York, aged 63, one of the leaders in the revolutionary movement in the Austrian capital in 1848. Having completed his studies in the University of Vienna, he was appointed assistant-surgeon in the general hospital. When the 1848 movement broke out, he joined the revolutionary party, became a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and was returned a deputy of the Constituent Assembly. He was sentenced to death, but escaped to America, where he devoted himself to practical chemistry with great success. Availing himself of the amnesty in 1867, he returned to Vienna, where he obtained a review of the proceedings at his former trial, and his conviction was annulled. Satisfied with the rehabilitation of his character, he returned to New York, where he conducted a successful chemical manufactory. **Lady Juliana Robartes**, on April 20, owing to a shock to her system occasioned by the burning of the family mansion, Llanhydrock, near Bodmin. She was a daughter of the late Right Hon. Reginald Pole-Carew, of East Antony, Cornwall, by his marriage with the Hon. Caroline Lyttelton, daughter of William Henry, first Lord Lyttelton, and was married in January 1839, to Mr. Thomas James Agar-Robartes, of Llanhydrock (grandson of the first Viscount Clifden), who was many years M.P. for East Cornwall, and was raised to the peerage in 1869 as Baron Robartes, of Llanhydrock, and of Truro, Cornwall. **Sarah Mary, Countess of Cawdor**, on April 21, at Stackpole Court, Pembrokeshire, second daughter of the late General the Hon. Frederick Compton Cavendish, colonel of the 2nd Dragoons, and granddaughter of George Augustus Henry, first Earl of Burlington. **Arthur James Plunkett, Earl of Fingall, Baron Killeen**, of Killeen Castle, County Meath, in the peerage of Ireland, and Baron Fingall of Woolhampton Lodge, Berkshire, in that of the United Kingdom, died at his seat at Tara, Meath, on April 23. He was born at Naples in 1819, and succeeded his father as 10th Earl in 1869. **Louis, Baron von und zu der Tann-Rathsamhausen**, on April 26, at Meran, Tyrol, aged 65, better known as the Bavarian General von der Tann. In 1848 he distinguished himself in the campaign of the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein against the Danes. In the war of 1866 he was Chief of the Staff to Prince Charles of Bavaria, Commander-in-Chief of the South German contingents. During the war between France and Germany he commanded the First Bavarian Corps, which formed a portion of the army led by the Crown Prince. He was prominently concerned in the attack upon the Fifth Corps at Bazeilles, the investment of Paris, and the operations on the Loire. **Mr. Brampton Gurdon**, on April 28, in London, aged 83, of Letton, Norfolk, and of Grundisburgh, Suffolk, formerly M.P. for West Norfolk, eldest son of the late Mr. Theophilus Thornhaugh Gurdon, of Letton and Grundisburgh, by his marriage with Anne, daughter of the late Mr. William Mellish, M P. of Blyth, Nottinghamshire. He was elected in the Liberal interest, in 1857, as the colleague of Mr. George Bentinck in the representation of the western division of Norfolk, and he retained his seat at St. Stephen's till 1865. In 1828 he married the Hon. Henrietta Susannah Ridley-Colborne, eldest daughter of Nicolas William, late Lord Colborne.

MAY.

Prince Peter of Oldenburg, the son of Prince Peter George of Oldenburg, died at St. Petersburg on May 15. He was born on August 26, 1812, in the Russian capital, which he never deserted. Cousin of the reigning Grand Duke of Oldenburg, the deceased was also second cousin to the late Czar, his mother, Princess Catharina Paulowna, having been daughter of the murdered Emperor Paul. The widowed Princess marrying King William of Würtemberg, the deceased, at the age of seven, was intrusted to

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the care of his Imperial relatives, and at twenty he was made a major-general, receiving full rank ten years later with the title "Imperial Highness." Enjoying similar favour from the successor of Nicholas, he was created a Senator and intrusted with the presidency of the department of the Imperial Council for civil and ecclesiastical affairs. But though by training a soldier, he was at heart a philosopher, leaning to the arts and humanities more than to the profession of arms, which he looked upon as a great curse. Seeing no way to prevent war, he devoted much of his time to devising means for mitigating its horrors, and he took a great interest in the action of the Red Cross Society. An author in various fields, he was best known by a pamphlet, published some years before his death, wherein he propounded a scheme of general European disarmament.

Dr. Humphry Sandwith, C.B., died in Paris on May 16. The eldest son of a well-known Yorkshire physician, he was born at Bridlington in 1822. His connection with the East, by which he was popularly known, began before he was thirty, in 1849, when he went out to Constantinople to practise medicine. He was attached to Mr. Layard's expedition to Nineveh, and he may be said to have never completely recovered from the hardships which he there underwent. When the war between Turkey and Russia broke out in 1853, he joined General Beatson's force on the Danube as medical officer; and later, when General Williams set out to defend the fortress of Kars, Dr. Sandwith was appointed chief of the medical staff. On the termination of that gallant defence, General Mouravieff was so much impressed by Dr. Sandwith's treatment of the Russian wounded after the battle of September 29 that he gave him his liberty. He hurried home, and by the publication of his diary, under the title of "The Siege of Kars," he made the story familiar to every Englishman. With the other members of General Williams's staff he was made a C.B., and the University of Oxford gave him, at the Commemoration of 1856, the honorary degree of D.C.L. The next year he was appointed Colonial Secretary in Mauritius, but he resigned this post in 1860. Since that time, with the exception of periodical visits to the East, especially to Servia, he resided in this country, devoting himself to politics, both home and foreign. In 1868 he stood as an advanced Liberal candidate for Marylebone, and though he was unsuccessful he polled a heavy vote. His speeches and writings on the Eastern Question during the crisis were numerous and attracted much notice. During the Servian and Russian campaigns he devoted himself for long periods to the care of the wounded and to the organisation of hospitals. On more than one occasion, broken down by fever, he had to be brought away from the scenes of his indefatigable labours, and his health was completely shattered before he consented to take that rest which his doctors deemed imperative. His loss was widely felt, especially in Servia, where he was regarded as the chief representative in Western Europe of Servian interests.

Count Harry Von Arnim, ex-Ambassador of the German Empire at Paris, died on May 19, at Nice, where he had latterly been living for the benefit of his failing health. Born in Pomerania in 1824, of a landed family, whose surname is legion in Prussia, the deceased, whose uncle and adopted father rose to be a Minister of Foreign Affairs, enjoyed a various and thorough education, and after passing through the usual apprenticeship of official routine, was intrusted in 1864 with the mission at Rome, where he first became known to the world. It had been customary hitherto for the Kings of Prussia to confer this important post on distinguished men of letters, but while Harry von Arnim was by no means destitute of erudition, he was much more of a sagacious diplomatist than of a dreamy *savant*. So skilfully was he deemed to have performed the duties of his post, which he continued to hold until February 1871, that shortly before the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops he was elevated to the rank of Count. In particular, he gained no small credit by his attitude to the Œcumenical Council, his theory on the subject being embodied in his celebrated *pro memoriâ* addressed to Dr. Döllinger, though it now seems that the personal difference with Prince Bismarck, which ultimately led to his ruin, may be partly traced to this time. Count Arnim vainly tried to mediate between the Curia and the Italian Government after the departure of the Papal French Guard, but his diplomatic activity was more successful in various special missions, for which he was summoned to Versailles

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in 1871, and in the negotiations which ultimately led to the Treaty of Frankfort. Having so brilliantly assisted Prince Bismarck to negotiate peace, Count Arnim was selected by the Chancellor of the new Empire as the likeliest man to help in preserving it, and in June 1872, he was appointed German Ambassador to the French Republic. He had not, however, been long in Paris before there arose fatal differences between him and Prince Bismarck. M. Thiers gave place to Marshal MacMahon as President of the French Republic, and in April 1874, Count Arnim was recalled from Paris and transferred to Constantinople. Soon afterwards his Roman despatches were published at Vienna; but, notwithstanding that the Count denied being a party to this breach of official secrecy, an exchange of official communications took place upon this and kindred subjects, which led to his being placed on half-pay before he had time to repair to his new post. In October of the same year he was arrested at his residence near Stettin, at the instance of Prince Bismarck, and conveyed to Berlin, where he was consigned to prison. A few days afterwards, in consequence of ill-health, he was temporarily liberated on bail, but was soon after again imprisoned. The charge preferred against him was that he had embezzled important State documents from the archives of the German Embassy at Paris. On December 19, the Municipal Court of Berlin sentenced him to three months' imprisonment and to the payment of the costs of the trial. The sentence was never enforced, owing to the Count having quitted the country and got beyond the reach of his enemies. On an appeal against the sentence, in June 1875, heard before the Court of Second Instance, the claims put forward by the Government were even more decisively sustained than on the first trial, and the term of imprisonment was increased from three to nine months. At this time, the Count was residing at Lausanne, where, under the plea of ill-health, he continued to remain for some time. Shortly afterwards, a pamphlet was published, anonymously, bearing the title of "Pro Nihilo," which was afterwards proved to have been written by the Count, and in which the public was led to believe that the prosecution had been prompted throughout by the personal hatred of the Chancellor. The Count was subsequently indicted at Berlin on the charges of betraying his country, offending the Emperor, and insulting Prince Bismarck and the Foreign Office, and he was sentenced to five years' penal servitude. While living in exile at Vienna, the deceased Count published anonymously, in the course of the year 1878, two pamphlets—"Der Nuntius Kommt," and "Quid Faciamus Nos,"—in which he sought to vindicate his conduct during the Vatican Council, and criticised the policy of the Prussian Government towards the Catholic Church, the general tendency of his arguments being to prove that Prussia could and ought to have promoted the formation of a national Catholic Church in Germany. In marked contrast to the tone of his "Pro Nihilo," these later productions of the Count displayed a strikingly impartial and even appreciative criticism of his great opponent; but reconciliation was out of the question. Since then the Count made repeated but fruitless attempts to procure from the legal authorities permission to return to Germany and stand his trial for high treason, the sentence of which *in contumaciam* continued suspended over him, and of which he firmly believed he could prove himself innocent.

Right Hon. William Patrick Adam, Governor of Madras, better known in England as a former Liberal Whip in the House of Commons, died on May 24, at Ootacamund. The Right Hon. William Patrick Adam was the elder son of the late Admiral Sir Charles Adam, of Blair Adam, N.B., sometime M.P. for the counties of Clackmannan and Kinross, and Lord of the Admiralty, and Governor of Greenwich Hospital. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of the late Mr. Patrick Brydone, F.R.S. Mr. Adam was born in 1823, and was thus 58 years of age at the time of his death. He came of a Parliamentary family; not only his father, but that father's father and grandfather before him had been connected with the representation of the counties of Clackmannan and Kinross. He was educated at Rugby and Trinity, taking his Bachelor's degree at Cambridge in 1846; he was called by the Inner Temple in 1849, and duly went to sessions in the county of Kent and the old Home Circuit. The year after his call he went down to Scotland and stood unsuccessfully for the combined counties of Clackmannan and Kinross, which he was afterwards to

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represent. The young barrister was beaten by Mr. Johnston, of Alvah, a locally very popular candidate. Next year he went out to India, and there obtained the official experience which furnished the ground for intrusting to him his latest office. He was private secretary to Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, from 1853 to 1858; and immediately after his return, having in 1856 married Emily, daughter of Gen. Sir William Wylie, G.C.B., entered Parliament as M.P. for Clackmannan and Kinross in 1859. That position he retained for 21 years. He was a Lord of the Treasury in 1865 and 1866; and came in again to occupy the same post after the overthrow of the short-lived Conservative Administration of 1867-8. In August, 1873, he was appointed to the Chief Commissionership of Works, and became a member of the Privy Council. Early in 1874 Mr. Gladstone's dissolution of Parliament came, and soon after Mr. Adam assumed the thankless task of reorganising the broken and dispirited Liberal party. When the dissolution came in 1880, he prophesied a majority of at least forty. The prophecy was discredited, but proved in the result to be well within the mark. Mr. Adam returned to his former post at the Office of Works, and towards the end of the year was appointed to succeed the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos as Governor of Madras.

Samuel Palmer, a distinguished water-colour painter and etcher, was born on the south side of the Thames in 1805. He began to exhibit almost before he had begun to learn his art, and on his fourteenth birthday sold his first exhibited picture at the British Gallery. Later on, Mr. Linnell discovered the youth's talent and gave him a course of instruction and subsequently introduced him to William Blake, whose influence upon Palmer was very marked. In 1819 he also contributed three works to the Royal Academy; but his health, never strong, gave way under his continued application to work, and he retired to Shoreham, near Sevenoaks, where by degrees were gathered round him a circle of congenial friends, under whose guidance and influence he developed the taste for that poetic pastoral painting with which his name has been associated. His Shoreham life continued for some years; but in 1835 he was strong enough to return to London, fixing himself in Marylebone, whence in 1848 he removed to Kensington, where he remained until health obliged him once more to retire to the country. He married in 1837 the eldest daughter of John Linnell, a childhood companion, and herself an artist of considerable skill. Soon after his return from Italy, where he had passed a two-years' honey-moon, he almost wholly gave up oil painting for water-colours, to which he gave a brilliancy of colouring and richness of tint till then unknown in that branch of the art. During some years of his early London life, Samuel Palmer taught drawing both at schools and in private families, but the work was scarcely congenial to his nature. In 1846 he executed drawings on wood for an illustrated edition of Dickens' "Pictures from Italy." In 1853 he seems by the advice of his friend and master, Mr. Cope, R.A., to have turned his attention to etching, and it was not long before he acquired a place in the ranks of English etchers. An associate of the old Society of Painters in Water Colours, he was elected full member in 1854; but though he continued to paint for many years, and for a time was forced to give up etching, he returned to this art which had become his favourite work. In 1861 sorrows fell upon him; he lost his eldest son, to whom he was much attached, and his own health gave anxiety to his friends. He decided then to quit London altogether, and in 1863 fixed himself at Mead Vale, near Reigate, in full view of Leith Hill, where he spent the remainder of his useful and well-occupied life. He illustrated many of Milton's Pastorals and some of Virgil's Eclogues, and in these etchings the full measure of his power and sympathy with nature can be best appreciated. He continued to work up to the very eve of his death, and after a few days of illness, passed away quite painlessly on May 24.

Henry Pease, of Stanhope Castle, county of Durham, and Pierremont, Darlington, died on May 30, in London. He was the son of Edward Pease, the father of railways, and was born in 1806, at Darlington. After receiving a sound commercial education, he was sent to learn the business of a tanner, but did not long follow that occupation. The official records of the Stockton and Darlington Railway Company, the earliest in the world, show that when quite a youth, and soon after the line was opened, he took an active part

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in the direction of the affairs of that undertaking. Since that time he had been on the board of management, and when the Stockton and Darlington was merged in the North-Eastern Railway Company he still retained his seat, and was, in fact, the oldest railway director in the world. In 1857 he was returned in the Liberal interest as member for South Durham, and eight years afterwards he voluntarily retired from Parliamentary life in favour of his nephew, Mr. Joseph Whitwell Pease. As representing the Society of Friends, Mr. Pease, along with the late Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, and Robert Charlton, of Bristol, journeyed to Russia in 1853 for the purpose of endeavouring to prevent the war which was then threatened between England and that country. At St. Petersburg they had an interview with the late Czar, who not only received them kindly and introduced them to the Empress, but pressed them to prolong their stay and visit Moscow. Their efforts were unavailing, although the Czar declared his anxiety to maintain cordial relations between the two countries. Mr. Pease was one of another embassy of three who shortly afterwards visited the late Emperor of the French at Paris to urge him to use his influence in calling together a Congress of European nations to promote the interests of peace. Here again the object of their mission was unsuccessful, notwithstanding the cordial sympathy of the Emperor, who received the deputation graciously at the Tuileries. On the death of his brother Joseph, who was the first Quaker member of Parliament, Mr. Pease succeeded him as President of the Peace Society. He was elected first Mayor of Darlington in 1867, when that town was incorporated. His horticultural taste led him to beautify the principal thoroughfares of his native borough by planting trees in such a way as to give the roads the appearance of boulevards. Mr. Pease was twice married, his first wife being Miss Fell, of the great Quaker family, in Westmoreland, and secondly to Miss Mary Lloyd, of Wednesbury.

To whom might be added:—**Mr. Edward Hermon, M.P.** for Preston, who died on May 6, in London, aged 60, was born in London, and until lately was a member of the firm of Hotrocks, Miller and Co., cotton spinners and manufacturers, Preston. He had sat for that town since 1868, being returned at each election at the head of the poll. In 1848, he married Emily, youngest daughter of the late Mr. George Udney, of the Bengal Civil Service, formerly member of the Supreme Council. **Sir John Digby Murray**, of Blackbarony, county Peebles, who died on May 8, at Florence, aged 83, was the second son of Sir John Murray, by Anne, daughter of Mr. J. Digby, of Cork. **Sir Robert Bowcher Clarke, C.B.**, late Chief Justice of Barbadoes, died on May 9, at Chislehurst, aged 78. In 1827 he took his degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple in the same year. Having settled in the island of Barbadoes, he held the office of Solicitor-General there from 1837 to 1842, and was also Speaker of the House of Assembly. In 1842 he was appointed Chief Justice of Barbadoes, and he also held the Chief Justiceship of St. Lucia from 1848 to 1859. He retired in 1874. **Fredrik Vilhelm Scholander**, best known under the pseudonym of "Acharius," died on May 9, at Stockholm, aged 64. In 1848, he became Professor of Architecture at the Swedish Academy of Fine Arts. His best poetical works are "Luisella" and "Stories in Ottava Rima." He was a man of varied accomplishments, a poet, an architect, a painter. **Rev. Charles John Elliott, M.A.**, vicar of Winkfield, and hon. canon of Christ Church, Oxford, connected by family and sympathy with the old Evangelical School of the Venns and Elliotts, died on May 11, aged 61. He graduated at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, in 1840, in which year he obtained the Crosse University Scholarship, and also the first Tyrwhitt University Scholarship. He was appointed a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee. **Vice-Admiral la Roncière le Noury** died on May 14, at Paris, aged 67. Leaving the naval school in 1830, he was sent on several missions to England, served with distinction in the Crimean campaign, commanded Prince Napoleon's Polar expedition, brought back the French troops from Mexico, and during the siege of Paris was at the head of the Marines. **Lieutenant-General Edward Blagden-Hale, C.B.**, late Colonel of the 82nd Foot, died on May 17, at Alderley, Gloucestershire, aged 66. He served in the North-west Provinces of India during the mutiny; commanded three companies of the 82nd Regiment at the relief of Lucknow by Lord Clyde, and also commanded that regiment during

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the latter part of the defence of Lucknow and at the battle of Cawnpore. **Major Malan**, second son of the Rev. S. C. Malan, D.D., vicar of Broadwindsor, and grandson of the late Dr. Cæsar Malan, of Geneva, died on May 17, in London, aged 43. He was dangerously wounded in the assault of the Redan, June 18, 1855, for which he received the medals of the Crimean war and the Medjidie. He served in India, and in 1866 he was appointed aide-de-camp to Major-General Sir David Russell, with whom he went to Canada. In 1868 he returned to England, and shortly after embarked in the *Juno* for China. He commanded a wing of his regiment at Singapore. In 1871, while at Cape Town, he made a tour of the mission district of the Transkei, sold his commission, and devoted himself to Africa and Africa's mission work. **Lady Georgina Anne Emily Bertie**, died on May 20, at Weston Manor, Bicester. She was the second daughter of Admiral Lord Mark Kerr, born in 1806, and married in 1825 the Hon. and Rev. Frederic Bertie, rector of Wytham, Berks, and of Albury and of South Hinksey, near Oxford, son of Willoughby, fourth Earl of Abingdon. **Francesco Arese**, who died on May 25, at Florence, aged 73, was said to be the last survivor of those who took part in the Italian movement of 1821, and was Senator of the Kingdom and Knight of the Supreme Order of the Annunziata. A Milanese patrician by birth, he joined the Carbonari, conspired with Silvio Pellico and others against the Austrian rule, was sentenced to death for high treason, and for twenty-seven years was a wandering exile in France, Belgium, and England. In 1848 he returned to his native city, but was again obliged to fly and, taking refuge in Piedmont, was elected member of the Subalpine Parliament, and in 1854 was raised to the Senate. Bound by old ties of friendship, formed in exile, to Napoleon III., he was on several occasions employed as intermediary between Victor Emmanuel and the French Emperor, with great advantage to his country. For many years he had comparatively withdrawn from political life, dedicating his attention to industrial and agricultural matters. **Lady Hill**, the widow of the late Sir Rowland Hill, K.C.B., died on May 27, at her residence, at Hampstead, in her 85th year. **Dr. Jakob Bernays**, Professor of Classical Philology and Librarian of the University of Bonn, died on May 30, at Bonn, aged 57. He was one of the profoundest and most learned Greek scholars of modern Germany, and the author of many works on Aristotelian philosophy.

JUNE.

Maximilien Paul Emile Littré, the distinguished philosopher and philologist, was born in Paris in 1801, and began his career as a medical student. After walking the hospitals, he gave up the study of medicine and devoted himself entirely to philology and history, studying Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic, and the chief modern languages. The first result of his labours was a translation of the works of Hippocrates, a publication which was deemed from the first volume sufficiently important to be rewarded in 1839 with a seat in the Academy of Inscriptions. He entertained democratic views, had figured among the July combatants, and now joined the staff of the *National*, to which he remained a contributor till 1851. When Comte brought out his system of philosophy, M. Littré adopted it warmly, and published in 1845 a lucid and able defence of it. In 1848 he became a councillor of the Paris Municipality, but he soon retired from active political life to continue his *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, and to prepare for the chief work of his life, the "Dictionary of the French Language," which began to appear in 1863, and which he continued without interruption till he completed it in 1872. In spite of the at once acknowledged unrivalled excellence of the dictionary, the Academy, influenced by the denunciations of Bishop Dupanloup, kept him for eight years out of its pale. After his reception, the fiery bishop never again appeared within the precincts. In 1874 M. Littré was elected deputy for the Seine; he advocated Republican opinions in letters which he published in the papers, and strove to inculcate on the Republican party the necessity of prudence and moderation. He died at Paris on June 2.

Sir William Milbourne James, one of the Lords Justices of Appeal, who died in Wimpole Street on June 7, was born at Merthyr Tydvil in 1807. He was educated at the Glasgow University, where he took his M.A. degree, and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's

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Inn, 1831. He became Queen's Counsel in 1863, and in the same year was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a post which he held for sixteen years, when he succeeded Sir George Giffard as Vice-Chancellor. In the following year he was raised to the Court of Appeal, over which he presided in conjunction with Sir George Mellish, and in which he earned unanimous praise for the judgments he delivered. He twice attempted to enter Parliament, soliciting the support of the Liberals at Derby, but on one occasion he retired before the contest, and on the other, in 1859, he was defeated by two other Liberals. During his career at the bar he served on various commissions which preceded the reforms in equity procedure, and at a later date on the Indian Code Commission, and that for the Abolition of Purchase in the Army, as well as on the Judicature Commission, of which he was a most active member, showing himself a more thorough reformer than the majority of his colleagues, going so far as to propose the abolition of pleadings altogether. He married, in 1846, Maria, daughter of Dr. Otter, Bishop of Chichester.

Andrew Wilson, author of "The Abode of Snow," died at Ullswater, on June 8, aged 51. He was the eldest son of the late Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, the well-known missionary and Orientalist, and commenced his literary career as a writer for the *Bombay Times*. Circumstances led him subsequently to return to England, where he became a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*—a literary connection which was maintained during the remainder of his life. When about thirty years of age he became editor of the *China Mail*, and he accompanied the Pekin Expedition to Tientsin. He travelled a great deal in the south of China from time to time, and by living among the natives as one of themselves he obtained a knowledge of the people such as few foreigners possessed, and was eminently fitted for the task which was afterwards intrusted to him of writing the history of the Taiping Rebellion and chronicling the deeds of Colonel Gordon's "Ever Victorious Army." This work was done in England. Mr. Wilson afterwards travelled a great deal on the continent of Europe, and a series of articles on Switzerland which appeared in *Blackwood* attracted a good deal of notice. Some eight or nine years ago he returned to India and edited for a time the *Star of India* and the *Bombay Gazette*; but the impulse of travel was so strong upon him that in 1874, when he was on his way to Simla to recruit his health, he felt impelled, on beholding the snow-clad peaks of the Himalayas, to undertake a journey into the upper valleys of the "Abode of Snow." At the time he was physically unfitted for such an arduous undertaking, as he was unable to walk a hundred yards or mount a horse; but he organised a party of native bearers, by whom he was carried in a *dandi*; and, unaccompanied by any European, he completed his journey from Simla to the borders of Chinese Thibet, and thence along the whole line of the Western Himalayas. His way lay through valleys for the most part 12,000 ft. above the level of the sea, and sometimes reaching to an altitude of 18,000 ft. At times he had to travel along narrow goat paths or ledges of deep precipices, across immense glaciers, and over rough blocks of granite and treacherous slabs of slate. But no danger or difficulty daunted him, and the graphic narrative of his wanderings in those remote regions and his graceful descriptions of the snowy solitudes of the "Stony girdle of the earth" made his "Abode of Snow" a most fascinating book.

Professor George Rolleston, Linacre Professor of Physiology in the University of Oxford, died at Oxford, on June 18, in his 52nd year. Dr. George Rolleston was born at Maltby, in Yorkshire, in 1829; he was educated at Gainsborough and Sheffield, and, after a distinguished career at Oxford (he was placed in the First Class in Classics in 1850), became a Fellow of Pembroke College in 1851. After studying medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, he went to Smyrna as assistant physician to the British Civil Hospital during the Crimean war. On returning he was appointed assistant physician to the Children's Hospital in London, in 1857; and in the same year was recalled to Oxford to succeed Dr. Acland as Lee's Reader in Anatomy at Christ Church, when that gentleman became Regius Professor of Medicine. In 1860 he was appointed to the newly-founded chair of anatomy and physiology as the first Linacre Professor. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1862, and Fellow of Merton College in 1872. His chief book, "The Forms of Animal Life," is an outline of zoological classification based upon anatomical investi-

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gation, which he wrote chiefly for the purpose of scientific education at Oxford. He also made important contributions to Canon Greenwell's "British Barrows," and to the transactions of several learned societies.

Sir Josiah Mason, who died on June 16, at Norwood-house, Erdington, at the ripe age of 86, was of humble parentage, born at Kidderminster on February 23, 1795. He began life as a street hawker of cakes, fruits, and vegetables. After trying his hand in his native town at shoemaking, baking, carpentering, blacksmith's work, house painting, and carpet weaving, he migrated in 1814 to Birmingham, where an uncle was then residing. Here he soon found employment in the gilt toy trade at which he continued to work till 1822, when, through his connection with Mr. Heeley, a steel toy maker, he was induced to take up the manufacture of split-rings. In 1824 he set up on his own account as a manufacturer of split-rings by machinery, to which he subsequently added the manufacturing of steel pens. Mason divides with Gillott and Mitchell the credit of perfecting the modern steel pen, the history of which practically dates from the discovery of the art of splitting by machinery. Although less known to the public than the other makers named, owing to the circumstance of his pens being supplied through Messrs. Perry of London, Sir Josiah Mason was really the largest producer of steel pens. In 1874, when the business was converted into a limited company, he had over a thousand workpeople consuming over three tons of rolled steel weekly. Besides his steel pen trade, Sir Josiah Mason carried on for many years the business of electro-plating, copper smelting, and india-rubber ring making in conjunction with the late George Richard Elkington, of the firm of Elkington and Mason. Sir Josiah Mason was almost entirely self-educated, having taught himself to write when a shoemaker's apprentice, and in later life he appeared to feel his educational deficiencies very keenly. It was his sense of the value of education which led him in 1860 to establish his great orphanage at Erdington, where 300 girls, 150 boys, and 50 very young children are gratuitously lodged, clothed, fed, and educated. Upon this foundation Sir Josiah Mason expended altogether about 300,000*l*., of which the building alone absorbed 60,000*l*. For this munificent benefaction Sir Josiah Mason received, in November 1872, the honour of knighthood. He had previously given a dispensary to his native town and established an almshouse at Erdington. In February 1880, he set the seal to another great public benefaction by presiding at the opening of the Mason Science College, the inaugural address of which was delivered by Professor Huxley. In this case also about 60,000*l*. was expended upon the building, and the total value of the endowment probably falls little short of a quarter of a million. Sir Josiah married in 1817 his cousin Anne Griffiths, who died February 2, 1870, leaving no issue.

Charles Wyndham Stanhope, Earl of Harrington, county Northampton, Viscount Petersham, Surrey, and Baron Harrington, county Northampton, in the Peerage of Great Britain, who died on June 26, at Harrington House, Craig's Court, Charing Cross, was the eldest son of the late Hon. and Very Rev. Fitzroy Henry Richard Stanhope, Dean of St. Burian, by his wife, Caroline Wyndham, daughter of the Hon. Charles Wyndham, and was born in 1809. He married in 1839 Elizabeth Still, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Thomas Lucas Pearsall, of Willsbridge, Gloucestershire. He succeeded to the earldom on the death of his cousin, Seymour Sydney Hyde, sixth earl, in February, 1866.

Jules Armand Dufaure, who died in Paris on June 27, was born on December 4, 1798, at Saujon (Charente Inférieure), studied law at Paris, and joined the Bordeaux Bar, where he became one of the leading advocates. In 1834 he was elected Deputy for Saintes, and continued till 1848. He was then, as throughout life, a moderate Liberal. In 1836 the Thiers Cabinet appointed him a Councillor of State. He resigned that post on the accession of the Molé Cabinet, which his attacks helped to overthrow. In the Soult or Right Centre Cabinet of 1839 he was Minister of Public Works, then for the first time made a distinct department, and became a high authority on railways and canals. In 1840 he went out of office, but abstained from opposing the Thiers Cabinet. He refused to join the Guizot Ministry, opposed the Paris fortifications, and was the leader of a third party more influential than numerous. He condemned the reform banquets of 1848 as unconstitutional, and declared, on the Cabinet being threatened with im-

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peachment for forbidding them, that they would have deserved impeachment had they done otherwise. On the fall of Louis Philippe he accepted the Republic, and in the Assembly was one of the leaders of the Moderate Republicans, voting for the banishment of the Orleans family, against a Senate, and, on the other hand, against all Socialist proposals. He was within a few votes of becoming President of the Chamber in June 1848. General Cavaignac made him Minister of the Interior, in which capacity he vainly exerted himself to procure the election as President of "a man, not a name"—Cavaignac, not Louis Napoleon. On the success of the latter he went out of office, but he supported the new President's home and foreign policy, and in June 1849, again became Minister of the Interior, Tocqueville being one of his colleagues. After the Ledru Rollin insurrection he proposed or supported repressive legislation as to public meetings, the National Guard, &c. On the abrupt dismissal of the Cabinet by Louis Napoleon, M. Dufaure opposed its successor, withstanding all schemes for a revision of the Constitution and the excision of the non-re-eligibility clause. "People will get used," he said, "to a new President, just as they are used to new Chambers." After the *coup d'état* he returned to the Bar, and had a large practice. In 1868 he was nominated for a by-election in the Var, but was signally defeated, and refused to stand at the general election of 1869. He had entered the Academy in 1863 as successor to Pasquier. In 1871 returned by four departments to the National Assembly M. Dufaure elected to sit for Charente Inférieure. In Paris, where he had organised a committee which excluded from its list of candidates all members of the 4th of September Government and all the generals intrusted with the defence of the city, both he and his list were defeated by the Radicals. M. Thiers gave him the portfolio of justice, in which capacity he warned the judges against all political partisanship. He went out of office with Thiers, but resumed it under Marshal MacMahon after the passing of the Constitution. On the meeting of the two Houses in March 1876, he became Premier, but resigned office at the end of the year, owing to a succession of petty defeats. At the close of the crisis of 1877 he again became Premier, continuing so till January 1879, when he retired.

To the above-mentioned may be added the following:—**Major W. H. Pierson, R.E.**, who died on June 2, in the Punjab, aged 41, was one of the original constructors of the Indo-European Telegraph, charged with conducting the negotiations with the Persian Government, and latterly military secretary to the Viceroy, Lord Ripon. **The Austrian General Uchatius** died by his own hand on June 4, at Vienna, aged 70. He was the inventor of the steel gun which bears his name. **M. Vieuxtemps**, the violinist, died on June 5, at Brussels, aged 60. **Lady Alice Emily Mary Stuart**, who died on June 7, in Jersey, aged 45, was the youngest daughter of William George, late Earl of Erroll, and sister of the present Earl. She married in 1874, Colonel Charles Edward Stuart, Count d'Albanie, only son of the late Count Stuart d'Albanie. **General Sir Duncan Macgregor, K.C.B.**, died on June 8, at Vanbrugh Park, Blackheath, in his 95th year. **Colonel and Alderman Sir William Anderson Rose**, one of the senior magistrates of the City of London, died on June 9, aged 60, while driving from his residence at Upper Tooting to his place of business at Queenhithe. Sir William Rose was elected Alderman of the ward of Queenhithe. In 1863 he succeeded Mr. Alderman Cubitt, M.P., as Lord Mayor, and it fell to his duty to receive in the City of London the Princess Alexandra on her entry there prior to her marriage with the Prince of Wales. From 1862 to 1865 he represented Southampton in the House of Commons in the Conservative interest, and in 1867 he received the honour of knighthood. **Admiral Sir James Hope, G.C.B.**, died on June 9, at Carriden-House, Linlithgowshire, aged 76. The early years of his career were spent with the African squadron in the suppression of the slave trade. He served in the Baltic in 1854–5, was Commander-in-Chief in East India and China in 1859–62, in the West Indies and North America in 1864, and at Portsmouth from 1869 till 1872. **Vittorio Salmini**, who died on June 23, in the hospital at Venice, was a distinguished poet and dramatist, author of *Lorenzo de Medici*, *Violante*, *Madame Roland*, *Giovanni d'Arco*, and other successful plays. **Dr. Andreas Edler von Hofer**, a grandson of Andreas Hofer, the famous Tyrolese patriot and hero, died on June 24, in a private hospital at Vienna. **Mr. Edmond Beales**, County Court Judge of Circuit 35, died on June 26, at South Kensington, aged 78. He was educated at Bury St. Edmunds and

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at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1830, and practised as a conveyancer, and was Revising Barrister for Middlesex from 1862 to 1866. He unsuccessfully contested the Tower Hamlets in 1868, was President of the Reform League from 1865 to 1869, and in September 1870, he was appointed a County Court Judge. The deceased gentleman was the author of several pamphlets on Parliamentary Reform, and was a member of the Emancipation Society, during the American Civil War, of the Jamaica Committee under Mr. John Stuart Mill, and of the Garibaldi Committee. In the last-named capacity he signalised himself by defending the right of the people to meet on Primrose Hill. His name, however, will be best remembered in connection with the League which, on the rejection of the Reform Bill of 1866, began to agitate in its favour, and which organised the famous meeting in Hyde Park. **Mathias Jacob Schelidea**, the celebrated botanist, died on June 26, in the 78th year of his age, at Frankfort-on-the-Main.

JULY.

Theodor Benfey, the greatest Sanskrit scholar of these times, was born in 1809, of Jewish descent. He was educated at the Gymnasium of Göttingen, studied at that University and at Munich, and was appointed professor at Göttingen in 1834, where he worked and lectured till his death on July 2. His first work was the "Griechisches Wurzel-lexicon," 1839–1842. To this early period in Benfey's career belongs likewise his elaborate article on India, in "Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopædie," which, like the "Wurzel-lexicon," is now to a great extent antiquated. Later in life Benfey was one of the first to contribute to that revival of Sanskrit philology which began with the study of the Vedas. In 1848 he published his text, translation, and glossary of the Sâma-Veda, and he also gave at that early time a complete translation of the first book of the Rig-Veda. He then stopped for a while, chiefly because he saw that no real progress could be made in Vedic studies before the text of the Rig-Veda, and, above all, before Sâyana's complete commentary on the Rig-Veda had been published. In the meantime he devoted himself to the publication of several Sanskrit grammars, in which he showed a mastery of Pânini, very unusual at that time. He also published a Sanskrit Chrestomathy, a dictionary, and other useful works. But suddenly he surprised the world by a discovery in a totally new line of research, namely, by his "Pantschatantra," in which he established on a safe basis, not only the Indian origin of European fables, but what was even more important, the Buddhist origin of Indian fables. Another truly monumental work, his "History of the Science of Language and Oriental Philology in Germany" (1869), has to be mentioned. The concluding years of his life were consecrated again to Vedic studies, which he resumed with all the ardour of youth and the experience of the veteran general. The results of these were published from year to year in the "Transactions of the Royal Göttingen Society" and elsewhere.

The Earl of Home.—The Right Hon. Cospatrick Alexander Home, Earl of Home, Baron Dunglass and Home, in the Peerage of Scotland, and Baron Douglas, of Douglas, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, was the eldest but last surviving son of Alexander, tenth Earl, by his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Montagu-Scott, second daughter of Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch. He was born at Dalkeith House, N.B., in October, 1799, and was for some years in the diplomatic service, having held the post of attaché at St. Petersburg in 1822–23, and served as a précis-writer in the Foreign Office from 1824 to 1827. He was Conservative in politics, was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from June, 1828, to November, 1830. He succeeded his father as 11th Earl in October, 1841, and was a Representative Peer for Scotland from 1842 to 1874. In the following year he was made a peer of the United Kingdom as Lord Douglas. He was appointed, in 1853, Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, and was Lieutenant-General of the Royal Archers (Her Majesty's Body-Guard of Scotland), and a deputy-lieutenant for the counties of Berwick and Lanark. He married, in December, 1832, the Hon. Lucy Elizabeth Montagu, eldest daughter of Henry James, late Lord Montague. He had a family of ten children. His death was very sudden, his lifeless body being found in the grounds of his country seat, The Hirsel, Coldstream, on the 4th.

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The Rev. Henry Octavius Coxe, M.A., Bodley's Librarian, died at Oxford, on the 8th, in the 70th year of his age. He was born in the year 1811, was educated at Westminster and at Worcester College, Oxford. He took the B.A. degree in 1833, and entered at once upon work in the MS. department at the library of the British Museum—work which had been offered to him while yet an undergraduate. His work at the Museum continued till 1838, in which year he became one of the sub-librarians of the Bodleian Library; he succeeded the late Dr. Bandinel as Head Librarian in 1860. He was sent out by Sir G. C. Lewis on the part of the Government to inspect the libraries in the monasteries of the Levant, and although his work was cut short by a fever before he could visit Mount Athos or Thessaly, his report on the Greek manuscripts yet remaining in the Levant, though it brought to light no new author, finally settled the value and character of the actual remains in the districts visited by him. He was an authority on the date and character of a manuscript, as was proved by his detection of one of Simonides' forgeries. Mr. Coxe edited the chronicles of Roger of Wendover in 1841, the "Metrical Life of Edward the Black Prince," by Chandos Herald, 1842, and Gower's "Vox Clamantis," in 1850, as well as a facsimile of the Bodleian manuscript of the Apocalypse, the three latter works for the Roxburghe Club. He was author of various catalogues—that of the manuscripts of the college libraries; of the Greek manuscripts in the Bodleian; of the Laud and the Canonici collections. Many other catalogues, as of the Tanner, Row, Anson, and other collections, were edited under his superintendence; but the greatest work achieved under his direction was the new catalogue of the Bodleian Library, containing upwards of 720 volumes. With all this literary work Mr. Coxe found time throughout his life for active clerical labours. He was curate in a London district while working at the Museum, and he was in charge of Wytham, near Oxford, whether as curate or rector, for twenty-five years, and until the day of his death. He was Oxford select preacher in 1842, and Whitehall preacher in 1868. He was an Honorary Fellow of Worcester and Corpus Christi Colleges, of which latter society he was chaplain till the closing years of his life.

Lord Hatherley.—William Page Wood, Baron Hatherley, was the second son of Alderman Sir Matthew Wood, the friend of Queen Caroline, by his marriage with Maria, daughter of Dr. John Page of Woodbridge, in Suffolk, surgeon. He was born on November 29, 1801, and was named after his uncle, William Wood Page, to whom he attributed the early taste he had for literature. Although his conduct was afterwards to be so exemplary, Lord Hatherley began life by being expelled from a public school. He had spent his infancy at his grandmother's, in Woodbridge, and received the rudiments of his education at the free grammar school of that town After a year at the grammar school, he went to Dr. Lindsay's at Bow, for three years; and in 1812 removed to Winchester College, where he was a pupil of Dr. Gabell and Dr. Williams. In May, 1818, he was a prefect, when the memorable barring-out of that year occurred. It was one of the most formidable school rebellions recorded, involved the destruction of a manuscript on which one of the masters against whom the outbreak was directed had spent a laborious life, and was not suppressed until the military were called in. Lord Hatherley took part with his schoolfellows, without, however, engaging actively in the disturbance, and refused afterwards to render any information to the authorities. He had gained the prize in every class through which he had passed, and had acquired favour by the general regularity of his conduct. He was offered, on condition of giving full information, an exemption from the order of expulsion which was directed against all the other prefects. This he refused unhesitatingly to do; ordered a post-chaise, and carried off with him his younger brother, Western Wood, afterwards member for the City of London. Lord Hatherley seems always to have looked back with pleasure to his school-days at Winchester, in spite of their unfortunate termination. But the most considerable fruit of his school-life was his life-long intimacy with Dean Hook. Lord Hatherley was instrumental in the appointment of his friend to the incumbency of Leeds, and contributed to the success of the Dean's appeal for help in repairing Chichester Cathedral. Wood and Hook formed at school a new order of chivalry, the Shakespeare and Milton Knights, for studying the works of those authors and their contemporaries. Wood was much ridiculed at Winchester for professing the political principles

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of his father, who supported in those early days the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Test and Corporation Acts, Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform.

On leaving Winchester, William Wood was sent to Geneva, where, having perfected himself in French, he studied Roman law at the University, attending the lectures of Professor Rossi, afterwards assasinated while Minister to Pius IX. After acting as translator and interpreter to the Commissioners sent on Queen Caroline's behalf to collect evidence in Italy, Wood returned to England, and in 1819 entered Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1824 he came out twenty-fourth wrangler, in spite of the continued ill-health from which he had suffered during his residence at the University. Having been admitted a student at Lincoln's Inn, he was called to the bar in 1827, and commenced practice as an equity draftsman and conveyancer; but it was not until the railway period began that his period of lucrative employment commenced. In 1830 he married Charlotte, only daughter of Major Edward Moor, F.R.S., of Great Bealings, Woodbury. In 1841 he attached himself to Vice-Chancellor Wigram's Court, then just established, and four years later was appointed Queen's Counsel. In 1847 he entered Parliament as member for Oxford, and a decided Liberal, and in 1849 succeeded Lord Campbell as Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. As a member of Parliament, Mr. Wood took from the first a warm interest in general political questions. He introduced Bills to allow the testimony of scrupulous persons to be received on affirmation, but under the usual penalties for perjury, and advocated the removal of Jewish disabilities. He supported Parliamentary reform and vote by ballot; but resisted all attacks upon the Church Establishment, among which he classed the proposal for the abolition of Church-rates and the Bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

Having been Vice-Chancellor of the County Palatine since May, 1849, he became Solicitor-General to Lord John Russell's Government on March 28, 1851, and was, according to the usual practice, knighted. Lord Chancellor Truro offered him the post of Vice-Chancellor in this year, but the Prime Minister requested his Solicitor-General to continue to act as law officer. He retired with his political chief in 1852, and went back to private practice. In the meanwhile, he had served on the Commission for reforming the procedure in Chancery, and had been made an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford. On January 10, 1853, his party was again in office, Lord Aberdeen being Premier; and Sir William Page Wood took his seat as a Vice-Chancellor on Sir George Turner's joining the Lords Justices of Appeal. In addition to his labours as a regular Judge and on legal commissions, he was selected by Lord Chancellor Cranworth to act with Lord Wensleydale and Sir Laurence Peel as arbitrators between Her Majesty and the late King of Hanover with reference to the Crown jewels claimed by the King. He became Lord Justice of Appeal on March 5, 1868; and it was a mark of the respect in which he was held that on this occasion Lord Justice Selwyn, whose appointment was of earlier date, gracefully gave up to him the seniority in deference to his long services and experience. He was, however, to take precedence in the Court of Appeal in Chancery by a still higher title. Before the end of the year, Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister, and Sir W. Page Wood became his Lord Chancellor, being raised to the Peerage by the title of Baron Hatherley, of Down Hatherley. He held this high office for four years, but retired in 1872, owing to increasing failure of eyesight, and was succeeded by Lord Selborne. After his retirement, Lord Hatherley underwent a successful operation for cataract, and recovered his vision; but the death of his wife, in 1878, definitively banished any idea he might have entertained of again taking any very active part in public life. He sat occasionally in the House of Peers as a law lord, and at Downing-street in important appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In the career of his nephew, Sir Evelyn Wood, Lord Hatherley took the greatest interest. The meeting of Sir Evelyn with his white-haired uncle was one of the most affecting scenes on the General's return from the Cape after the crushing of the Zulu rebellion. For some time his health had been gradually failing, and after a few days of complete prostration, he died in his house in Great George Street, Westminster, on the 10th, leaving behind him the reputation of a sound lawyer and a high-minded Christian.

The Hon. Peter Campbell Scarlett, youngest son of the first Lord Abinger and brother of the late General Scarlett,

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commander of the heavy cavalry at Balaclava, after protracted illness, died at his seat, Parkhurst, Dorking, on the 15th, aged 76. He entered the diplomatic service as an attaché under Sir Stratford Canning, whom he accompanied from Naples to Constantinople in 1824-25. He remained at that post during the battle of Navarino and the destruction of the Janissaries. Transferred to Paris while Lord Stuart de Rothesay was ambassador, he watched the flight of Charles X. in 1830. About 1834 he was appointed to Rio Janeiro, and after serving for some time in the Brazilian capital, he undertook an adventurous excursion across the pampas and the Andes, of which, in 1838, he gave the public an account in two volumes, under the title of "South America and the Pacific." After a considerable interval, during which, he acted as marshal and associate to his father, the Lord Chief Baron, he was sent to Florence as Secretary of Legation to Lord Normanby. His first independent post was that of Minister at his old station in Brazil. Becoming afterwards our representative at Florence, he saw the disappearance of the Grand Duke and the general collapse of all the minor principalities, which the war of 1859 had doomed to perish. He was next Minister at Athens when King Otho finally withdrew, and was the depositary of the popular enthusiasm which clamoured for Prince Alfred (now the Duke of Edinburgh) as his successor. A year later he was accredited to the new empire of Mexico, and where he continued to serve the Queen, until the fall of Maximilian was decided, and until his throne was absolutely vacant. On his return to England no new professional employment was assigned to him, and his leisure was partly filled in collecting the memorials—too fragmentary in their nature—of the first Lord Abinger, which recently appeared under his auspices. His mind down to the beginning of the present year was active upon foreign policy.

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley was born in 1815. His father, the Rev. Edward Stanley, son of Sir John Thomas Stanley of Alderley and younger brother of the first Lord Stanley of Alderley, was for nearly thirty years incumbent of the family living of Alderley, in Cheshire, before he was appointed by Lord Melbourne to the Bishopric of Norwich in 1837. His mother was Catherine, daughter of the Rev. Oswald Leycester, rector of Stoke-upon-Tern, in Shropshire. The early education of young Arthur was superintended by his father, but in 1829, the year after Arnold's appointment to the head mastership of Rugby, Arthur Stanley was placed under his charge, and he remained at Rugby till 1834, when he won a scholarship at Balliol, and went into residence at Oxford. Thus began that long and devoted friendship which was brought to a tragic close by the sudden death of Dr. Arnold, in 1842, and was consecrated in the beloved pupil's "Life and Letters" of his revered teacher.

Stanley's career at Oxford was a series of triumphs. He was elected Ireland Scholar in 1837, being placed in the first class in classics in the same year, and winning the Newdigate Prize for a poem on "The Gipsies." In the same class list occur the names of Arthur W. Haddan, the ecclesiastical historian, and of Ryle, the first Bishop of Liverpool. In 1839 Stanley, already a Fellow of University College, won the Chancellor's Prize for a Latin essay on the suggestive theme for the future Secretary of the first Oxford University Commission, "Quænam sint erga Rempublicam Academiæ officia;" and in 1840 he won the English essay on the question, "Do States, like individuals, inevitably tend after a certain period of maturity to decay?" as well as the Ellerton Theological Prize for a dissertation on the thesis, "Good works do spring necessarily out of a true and lively faith." He became fellow and tutor of University College, retaining the latter office for twelve years, until he was appointed secretary of the Oxford University Commission—a body whose irksome and unpopular, but still most valuable and productive labours were materially assisted by the ready tact and suavity of its indefatigable secretary. In 1845 he was appointed Select Preacher to the University, and shortly afterwards published his first theological work—"Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Ages." He was made Canon of Canterbury in 1850, and, besides publishing a volume of "Canterbury Sermons," he found during his tenure of the State a congenial literary task in his fascinating "Memorials of Canterbury." In 1853 the Chair of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford became vacant by the death of Professor Hussey. Dr. Stanley was appointed to it, and shortly afterwards to the canonry at Christ Church, which had been attached to the Professorship by the

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University Reform Act. But before entering on his second residence in Oxford the Professor had, during the winter of 1852 and in the spring of 1853, undertaken that journey through Eastern lands, especially "Sinai and Palestine," which was not only to be recorded in what is probably considered by the majority of readers the most fascinating of all his works, but was destined to be an appropriate preparation, such as he alone perhaps could have turned to such good account for his labours in the Chair of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford.

Dr. Stanley was chosen by the Queen to accompany the Prince of Wales in his Eastern tour in 1862. In 1863, when the Deanery of Westminster became vacant by the nomination of Dr. Trench to the Archbishopric of Dublin, he was appointed to the office. His appointment was made the subject of a controversy and a protest raised by the present Bishop of Lincoln, who was at that time one of the Canons of Westminster. This fruitless controversy was brought to a graceful termination by the just and eloquent tribute paid by the new Dean to the Canon in his inaugural sermon preached in Westminster Abbey. In the same year the Dean was married to Lady Augusta Bruce, sister of Lord Elgin, and for many years a personal friend and attendant of the Queen. His marriage gradually drew the Dean from the comparative retirement of his former life into the choicest circles of London society, intellectual, literary, political, and aristocratic. He was wont to say that he had never really lived until his marriage. His friends had always been among the leading spirits of the time, and his house at Oxford was renowned for his abundant and catholic hospitality. But in London he moved in a larger circle, and under the auspices of Lady Augusta Stanley, the deancry at Westminster became one of the most distinguished *salons* in London. In 1872 Dean Stanley was a second time appointed Select Preacher to the University of Oxford, but this time not without a protest from Dr. Goulburn, the Dean of his father's cathedral, nor the vehement opposition of a party, headed and marshalled for the occasion by Dr. Burgon, subsequently Dean of Chichester. Dean Stanley's appointment was confirmed by a majority of 349 votes to 287. Thereupon the Dean of Norwich resigned a similar office to which he had been appointed in the previous year "as the most forcible protest he can give against what he must consider to be the unfaithfulness to God's truth which the University manifested by its vote in favour of Dean Stanley." As an ecclesiastical leader he occupied an exceptional position. Though he belonged himself to what is called the Broad Church party, yet his eloquent voice was always raised, and rarely wholly in vain, in favour of freedom, not only for his own party, but for each party in turn as it was assailed by its more determined ecclesiastical opponents. In his early days at Oxford he protested against the persecution of the Tractarians. In the almost forgotten Gorham Controversy he pleaded again for freedom. When "Essays and Reviews" were assailed once more, the brilliant *Edinburgh* Reviewer fought the battle of his own friends and ecclesiastical associates. In the later controversies of Ritualism —a system with which he had no sympathy, and whose pretensions he mercilessly exposed—he was faithful as ever to his cherished principles of toleration, charity, and comprehensiveness. His "Essays on Church and State," in which are collected his chief contributions to the literature of passing controversy, are thus a noble record of his life-long struggle in the cause of the Church and of liberty. In the Lower House of Convocation he frequently struggled, against overwhelming odds, on behalf of the same principles; and he was not to be deterred from admitting a layman to the pulpit of Westminster Abbey, or from inviting a Unitarian to partake of the Eucharist at its altar.

His health, never very robust, had sustained a severe shock by the loss of his wife; and though he never flinched from work, its burden became daily heavier to bear. Ten days before his death he had preached in the Abbey on the "Beatitudes," but had to retire during the service. From that moment his life ebbed rapidly away; erysipelas of the face set in and rapidly extended; and on the evening of the 18th he was pronounced to be sinking. Shortly after midnight he expired quietly and without suffering.

George Borrow, the author of many works relating to gipsies, died on the 27th at Oulton, near Lowestoft. He was the son of an officer in the army, and was born at East Dereham, Norfolk, in 1803. In his sixteenth year, after being educated at the High School of Edinburgh, he was articled to a solicitor in Norwich, his favourite pursuit being

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the study of languages, especially Welsh, Danish, and German. His first published works were "Romantic Ballads from the Danish" (1826), chiefly from "Oehlenschlæger"; and a "Life of Faustin," translated from the German (1826). His facility in acquiring languages attracted the attention of Mr. Taylor, of Norwich, who, writing to Southey at this time, declared that Borrow knew twelve languages. But he soon abandoned the law, came to London, and turned his attention to literature, his first work perhaps being the editing of the "Newgate Calendar," a work with which he was very familiar, as appears from the pages of "Lavengro." He is next heard of as having lodgings in Jermyn Street, in the same house with Benjamin Disraeli, who rehearsed before Borrow and others his maiden speech in the House of Commons. Even at this early period, it would seem, he had begun to take interest in the gipsies, a number of whom were encamped near Norwich while he lived in that city. In 1833 he became an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and in this capacity was sent to St. Petersburg. Here, among other work, he edited the New Testament in Manchu. Migrating to Spain, he lived for some time with the Zincali, whose language he found to bear a marked resemblance to Romany, and translated the whole of St. Luke for their benefit. He also attempted to circulate the Bible in the vernacular. By doing so, of course, he exposed himself to a good deal of inconvenience, if not positive danger. He was twice put under arrest, and at one time, in order to save himself from the fury of the fanatical populace, was compelled to take refuge in the woods in disguise. In 1839, severing his connection with the society, he returned to England, and two years afterwards brought out "The Zincali, or an Account of the Gipsies of Spain." The work attracted considerable attention, not only on account of the vivid descriptions it contained, but as showing that the language of the people to whom it referred had a close affinity to Sanskrit. In "The Bible in Spain," which followed, he recounted his personal adventures in that country with much vivacity, though with but little regard for order. In a debate in the House of Commons Sir Robert Peel bestowed a high eulogium upon this work. In 1844 Mr. Borrow started upon a tour in the south-east of Europe, fraternising with the gipsies, observing the peculiarities of the different Romany dialects, and making copies of their songs. "Lavengro," the first book he wrote after his return, is a sort of autobiography, in the course of which he again brings the gipsies before his readers. In 1857, six years later, he produced "Romany Rye," a sequel to "Lavengro," and in 1862 "Wild Wales." His most important work was "Romano Lavo-Lil," a vocabulary of the English gipsy language. It represents the labour of many years, and was published in 1874. During the later years of his life he resided in London, and his favourite walks were to the gipsy haunts of the suburbs. During this time he was an industrious contributor in both prose and verse to periodical literature.

To whom may be added:—On July 1, at Paris, **Henri St. Claire Deville**, aged 62, an eminent chemist, the discoverer of anhydric nitric acid, and of the principle of chemical "Dissociation." On July 2, at Hans Place, London, the **Dowager Lady Fitz-Hardinge**, aged 74. She was third daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Ducie, by his marriage with Lady Frances Herbert, only daughter of Henry, first Earl of Carnarvon. On July 4, **General von Alvensleben**, aged 77, Adjutant-General of the Emperor, commander of the 4th Army Corps (Prussian Province of Saxony), during the Austrian and French campaign. On July 5, at Chiswick, the **Rev. John Cumming, D.D.**, aged 73, late Minister of the National Scotch Church, Crown-court, Covent-garden. He was born at Aberdeen, and studied at the University there. He came to London in 1832, and was chosen minister of the Scotch Church in the same year. He distinguished himself as a platform orator by his decided opposition to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and as an exponent of prophecy. On July 9, at Kingstown, **General Sir Richard Waddy, K.C.B.**, aged 67, Colonel of the 63rd Regiment of Foot. In 1832 he obtained an Ensigncy in the 50th Queen's Own Regiment of Foot, and with much distinction served with that regiment, until 1868, in the Crimea and New Zealand. On July 13, at Paris, **Duc de Cambacérès**, aged 83, son of Napoleon's general, and himself page to Napoleon. He was wounded at Waterloo, being then 17 years of age, and was a senator and master of the ceremonies under the Second Empire. On July 14, at the Close, at Exeter, the **Rev. Edward Charles Harington**, aged 77, Canon and Chancellor of Exeter Cathedral, a descendant of

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the celebrated Sir John Harington, of Kelston, in the reign of Elizabeth. He was born in the year 1803, and graduated B.A. at Worcester College, Oxford, in 1828. On July 14, at Rio de Janeiro, **Colonel W. Milner Roberts**, aged 71. He began life as a chainman at the age of fifteen on the Union Canal. Three years later he was appointed executive engineer of the most difficult section of the Lehigh Canal, and afterwards he became assistant engineer on the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, the forerunner of the Pennsylvania Railroad. In this capacity he laid out the Portage section of the line over the Alleghanies, and after the completion of the railway to Columbia and of the State Canal to Pittsburg, he was appointed engineer of the Monongahela Navigation Company, for which he laid out and executed a large amount of important work. The Erie extension of the Pennsylvania Canal was also carried out chiefly under Colonel Roberts's supervision, especially the section from Newcastle to Erie. In the early development of the American railway system Colonel Roberts played a considerable part. The Sunbury and Erie line, now the Philadelphia and Erie, was built by him, and the Alleghany Valley Railroad as far as Kittaning. The Ohio and Mississippi Railway and the Iron Mountain Road in Missouri were also his work. After acting as chief engineer to the Ohio river improvements, he left the United States to undertake the construction of railway works in Brazil, where he spent some years. On his return in 1876 he was appointed by the Emperor of Brazil chief engineer of public works at Rio, where he died of typhoid fever. He was appointed engineer-in-chief of the Northern Pacific Railway, associate chief engineer of the St. Louis Bridge, and later a member of the Mississippi Jetty Commission. On July 25, at Killarney, the **Right Rev. Daniel M'Carthy, D.D.**, aged 55, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry, a successful ruler, endeared to his clergy and people, and esteemed and respected by all classes irrespective of religious and political opinions. On July 26, at Vienna, **Duke Augustus of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha**. He was born in 1818, married in 1843 Princess Clémentine, daughter of Louis Philippe, and was an uncle of the late Prince Consort. He left five children, of whom the eldest, Prince Philip, a resident in Pesth, married the Princess Louise of Belgium. On July 27, at Bushey, Herts, **General Sir Edward Walter Forestier Walker, K.C.B.**, aged 69, Colonel of the 50th Regiment. He entered the Army as Ensign and Lieutenant in 1827 in the Scots Fusilier Guards, and became Colonel in 1854, and as such took part in the Crimean campaign, having landed at the Alma on September 22, 1854, and commanded the Scots Fusilier Guards in the subsequent engagements, including the battle of Balaclava, the repulse and sortie on October 26, the battle of Inkerman, and the siege of Sebastopol. On July 28, at Highbury, **Mr. Samuel Sharpe**, aged 82, a scholar and Egyptologist of considerable reputation.

AUGUST.

Dr. John Hill Burton, Historiographer to the Queen in Scotland, died on August 9, at Morton-house, Lothianburn. Dr. Burton was born in Aberdeen in 1809, his father being Lieutenant Burton, of the 94th Regiment of Foot, and his mother the daughter of a laird in the north-east of Scotland. In his boyhood he lost his father. Having studied at Marischal College, where he took his degree of M.A., Burton was placed in the office of a legal practitioner in Aberdeen, and at the age of 22 was called to the Edinburgh Bar. In default of independent means, he turned his attention to literature. He established a connection with the *Edinburgh* and *Westminster Reviews*. He wrote on legal subjects for the latter volumes of and the supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.' He assisted Sir John Bowring in preparing his edition of "Bentham," and in the following year published an introduction to the study of Benthamism, and soon afterwards a collection of extracts from Bentham's works. He next occupied himself with the life and correspondence of Hume, wrote biographies of Simon Lord Lovat and Duncan Forbes of Culloden, edited some of the Hume papers bequeathed to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, contributed to Messrs. Chambers's "Books for the People" a treatise on political and social economy, discoursed on emigration in its practical application to individuals and communities, and, as though to prove once more that "truth is stranger than fiction," made a collection of narratives from remarkable criminal trials in Scotland. In regard to the last-

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named work, it should be mentioned that his materials for the story of Captain Green, who was hanged in 1705 for having, while in command of an English merchant vessel, plundered a ship fitted out by the Scotch Darien Company, were derived from documents found in an old chest in a cellar underneath the Advocates' Library. He took an active part in the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and as a consequence became closely acquainted with Mr. Cobden. In 1853 he brought out his "History of Scotland from the Revolution of 1688 to the Extinction of the Jacobite Insurrection," a work which gave him a prominent place among the historical writers of his time. In 1854, after preparing a "Manual of the Law of Scotland" and a "Treatise on Bankruptcy Law," both clear and well-digested works, he became secretary to the Prison Board. In about six years the functions of the Board were transferred to the Home Office, but Mr. Burton was continued in his post. From 1868 he was also charged with the duty of making the annual report to Parliament of the judicial statistics of Scotland. The leisure which his official avocations left him was turned to good account; indeed, it was at this period that his fame as a writer rose to its full height. Between 1867 and 1870 he brought out an elaborate "History of Scotland from Agricola's Invasion to the Revolution of 1688." Its merits were widely recognised, and the appointment of Historiographer Royal—an old office in the Queen's Scottish household — was conferred upon him. While engaged upon his *magnum opus* he wrote for *Blackwood* "The Scot Abroad" and the "Book-hunter." In 1877 he became a Commissioner under the Prisons' Act for Scotland, and for the next two or three years was more or less occupied with his "History of the Reign of Queen Anne." Mr. Burton was a Fellow of the Royal, the Antiquarian, and the Geological Societies, and received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen, and was also a D.C.L. of Oxford.

The Earl of Gainsborough.—Charles George Noel, second earl of Gainsborough, died suddenly on August 13. He was the eldest son of Charles Noel, first earl, who was better known to the world by his former title of Lord Barham. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of the late Hon. Sir George Gray, and a cousin of earl Gray. He was born in the year 1818, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was returned to Parliament in 1840 as a Liberal for Rutlandshire, but sat for only one Parliament. He was Lord-lieutenant of Rutlandshire, a magistrate for Gloucestershire, in which country also he owned property at Campden; and he was for many years in the Leicestershire Yeomanry Cavalry, of which regiment he became lieutenant-colonel in 1878. He succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1866. About 1850 he became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith, and subsequently to Conservative opinions. On the evening before his death he had attended the House of Lords, and voted in all six divisions on the Land Bill against the Government. Whilst driving to the railway station in a cab he was seized with a fit, and taken at once to University College Hospital, where he died in a very short time.

Edward John Trelawny, the younger son of an old Cornish family, was born in London in October, 1792. His only education was that obtained at a school in Cornwall. At the age of 11 he went to sea. After many adventures he reappeared in London as a man of fashion, and contributing to the literature of the day a partially auto-biographical novel, "The younger Son," and other more fugitive pieces. In 1820, when staying at Ouchy (Lausanne), he came across for the first time Shelley's "Queen Mab." In the winter of the following year he made the personal acquaintance of Shelley at Pisa, and soon after Byron arrived and they passed the winter there together. He was almost the last person to see Shelley alive, quitting him only when the latter went for his last sail in the Bay of Spezia, where in Mr. Trelawny's opinion the poet fell a victim of foul play. On the recovery of his body he carried out Shelley's wishes by burning it on the shore, and subsequently conveying the ashes to Rome. In the summer of 1823 Mr. Trelawny joined Lord Byron on his invitation at Florence, and became one of about a dozen persons who formed his lordship's bodyguard. He embarked with him at Genoa, and reached Cephalonia early in August, and crossed with him to Ithaca. Along with Mr. Hamilton Browne he acted the part of a diplomatic envoy from Lord Byron to the Greek Government, communicating to them his intentions and those of the London Committee with respect

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to the liberation of Greece; but he had the mortification to find that his intended efforts were long thwarted by the jealousies of rival chiefs and parties. It was not till the first week in 1824 that a loan having been arranged through friends in England, Lord Byron and his party arrived at Missolonghi. During the last month or two of Byron's life Mr. Trelawny was not with him, being engaged as aide-de-camp to one of the Greek chiefs named Odysseus, whose daughter he married, and dividing his time between Athens and Epirus. He was sent for when Lord Byron's illness threatened to prove fatal; but he did not reach Missolonghi in time to see him, except in his coffin. Mr. Trelawny contributed largely out of his own means, and from his stock of Hellenic experience, to the abortive campaign which ended thus sadly. He bore testimony, however, to the magic influence of Lord Byron's name in raising the loan in England to pay the cost of the effort, adding that the poet's death crushed alike the hopes of its contributors and their interest in the cause.

On his return to England he became a "lion" of London Society, especially at Lady Blessington's, Sir W. Molesworth's, and at Mr. Leader's Sunday dinners on Putney Hill. He gradually dropped out of, or outlived this phase of society, and for a time was known chiefly as a frequenter of the Reform Club, where, by his memories of former days and of celebrated men, he constituted himself a link between the past and the present. He next became an amateur farmer in Monmouthshire. In 1858 he published his "Recollections of Shelley and Byron," of which an enlarged and revised edition appeared as the "Record of Shelly, Byron," &c., in 1878. Mr. Millais introduced his handsome weather-beaten face into his well-known picture of the "North West Passage;" and this is supposed to be the only authentic portrait of him in existence. The dedication to him, in 1880, of Mr. Swinburne's "Songs of the Spring Tide," showed that his interest in English poetry had not relaxed. He died at Sompting, near Shoreham, in Sussex, on August 13, and his adopted niece, in compliance with his strongly expressed wish, conveyed his body to Gotha to be cremated, and then carried the ashes to Rome, to be placed in the Protestant Cemetery beside those of Shelley and Keats. He was more than once married; but left only one laughter, who survived him.

The Right Hon. Sir William Heathcote, formerly M.P. for the University of Oxford, died on August 17, at his seat, Hursley-park, near Winchester, at the ripe age of 80 years: "a fine old English gentleman" of the best and worthiest type. The eldest son of the late Rev. William Heathcoat, sometime Prebendary of Winchester, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Lovelace B. Wither, of Manydown-park, Hampshire. Born in 1801, he was educated at Winchester College, whence he proceeded to Oriel College, Oxford. Here he had as his tutor John Keble, to whom his grateful pupil afterwards gave the living of Hursley, and it may be reckoned to his credit that he was Keble's first and only patron. Having taken the usual degree, he was elected to a fellowship at All Souls College; but this he vacated in 1825, in which year he succeeded his uncle in the baronetcy, and also married the Hon. Caroline Frances Perceval, a daughter of the first Lord Arden. He was subsequently elected an honorary fellow of his old College, All Souls. He represented the county of Hants in the Parliaments of 1826–31, and served as its High Sheriff in 1832. He represented the northern division in the Conservative interest from 1837 down to 1849. Having remained out of Parliament for a few years, he returned to St. Stephen's in 1854 as the colleague of Mr. Gladstone in the representation of Oxford University. He retired, however, into private life in 1868, and shortly afterwards was sworn a member of the Privy Council in recognition of his long life of public usefulness. In 1841 he married, as his second wife, Selina, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Evelyn J. Shirley, M.P., of Eatington-park, Warwickshire, and left a family by both marriages. Sir William was descended from a common ancestor with the late Sir Gilbert Heathcote, afterwards created Lord Aveland.

The late **Right Hon. James Archibald Stuart-Wortley, Q.C.**, was the third son of James Archibald, first Lord Wharncliffe, by his marriage with Lady Caroline Crichton, daughter of John, first Earl of Erne, and was born in St. James's-square, London, on July 3, 1805. He graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, taking his Bachelor's degree in 1826; and he was afterwards elected to a fellowship at Merton College, where he proceeded M.A. in 1831. Having been called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple in

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Hilary Term, 1831, he joined the Northern Circuit, and in 1841 was appointed a Queen's Counsel. He was nominated Standing Counsel to the Bank of England in 1844, and in the following year was appointed Solicitor-General to the late Queen Dowager; he was also Attorney-General to the Duchy of Lancaster in the same year. Mr. Stuart-Wortley was Senior Bencher of the Inner Temple. From January to July, 1846, he held the office of Judge-Advocate-General in Sir Robert Peel's second Administration, on which occasion he was sworn a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council. In 1850 he was chosen Recorder of London. He was Solicitor-General for a few months, under Lord Palmerston's Administration, in 1856–57. Mr. Stuart-Wortley entered Parliament in the Conservative interest in 1835, as one of the members for Halifax, but was defeated at the general election in 1837. In 1842 he was returned as member for Buteshire, and retained his seat for that constituency down to the dissolution in 1859. At the general election in that year he was an unsuccessful candidate for the West Riding of Yorkshire. The deceased gentleman was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and also a magistrate for Surrey, a deputy-lieutenant for Buteshire, and a commissioner of lieutenancy for London. He married, in 1846, the Hon. Jane Lawley, only daughter of Paul Beilby, first Lord Wenlock, and died on August 22, at Belton House, Grantham, aged 77.

Arthur Herbert Cocks, C.B., late Bengal Civil Service, died at his residence in Ashburn-place on August 29. Educated at Haileybury, he went to India as a "writer" in 1837, and was first appointed to serve in Scinde under Sir Charles Napier. He was one of the late Sir Henry Lawrence's leading assistants in the Lahore Residency after the annexation of the Punjab, and one for whom Sir Henry and Lord Lawrence, and indeed all with whom he had acted, had an affectionate regard. A warm-hearted, energetic, able, and single-minded official, he won in a most unusual degree the confidence and esteem of the natives. He was political officer to Lord Gough at the battles of Guzerat, Chillian-wallah, and Ramnugger, and recieved at Guzerat a severe wound in a hand-to-hand encounter with a Sikh sowar, one of a party of cavalry who threatened to attack Lord Gough and his staff. In acknowledgment of this act, Lord Gough presented him with his own sword, and subsequently recommended him for the Punjab War Medal. For his services during the mutiny he was rewarded with a Civil Companionship of the Bath, besides several times receiving thanks not only from the Government of the North Western Province, but from the Governor-General Lord Canning. He retired in 1863, and returned to this country.

In the same month may be mentioned, on August 3, **Major Charles Heaphy, V.C.**, aged 63, of New Zealand, youngest son of Thomas Heaphy, the founder of the Old Water Colour Society and the Society of British Artists. When quite young he engaged himself as a draughtsman to the New Zealand Company, and made his first voyage in the ship "Tory" when she went out on her exploring expedition to that then almost unknown country. In 1842 he again returned to New Zealand, and until his death was attached to the Government of that country. He perfected himself in the Maori language, and by his judicious mediations he prevented much native heartburning and bitterness of spirit towards the colonists. He was a major in the colonial forces, and commanded a company in the war with the Maoris in 1864, when, for his great bravery, Her Majesty was pleased to confer on him the decoration of the Victoria Cross. On August 7, at his vicarage, the **Venerable Henry Golney Randall**, aged 71, Archdeacon of Bristol, and Vicar of Christian Malford, Chippenham, and a prominent member in Convocation. On August 17, at Brighton, **Colonel Sir Henry Atwell Lake, K.C.B.**, aged 73. He was the third son of the late Sir James Samuel William Lake, fourth baronet, by his marriage with Maria, daughter of Mr. Samuel Turner, and was born at Kenilworth, Warwickshire. He was educated at Harrow, and entered the Army in 1826. On August 18, at Newcastle, County Down, **Frederick Charles Polhill-Turner**, of Howbury-hall, Bedfordshire, the only son of Colonel Frederick Polhill, M.P., of Howbury-hall, by his marriage with Frances Margaretta, daughter of Mr. John Dakeyne, of Bagthorpe House, Nottinghamshire, and was born in 1826. At the general election in 1874 he was returned to Parliament, in the Conservative interest, as the colleague of Mr. Samuel Whitbread in the representation of Bedford, but was defeated by his former opponent, Mr. Charles Magniac, at the general election of 1880. On August 20, in Queensland, the **Right Rev.**

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James Quinn, aged 62, first Roman Catholic Bishop of Brisbane, native of Kildare, in Ireland. He received his clerical education at the Collegio Romano of the Jesuits in Rome. On August 25, in London, **Charles Lamb Kenney**, aged 68, a son of James Kenney, the dramatist, and a godson of Charles Lamb. He became a journalist at the age of 19, but in after years associated himself with M. Lesseps in the formation of the scheme for the Suez Canal, and also with Sir Joseph Paxton during his organisation of the transport service for the Crimean war. As a dramatist, an author, and a critic Mr. Kenney enjoyed a successful career.

SEPTEMBER.

The Princess of Salerno, mother-in-law of the Orleanist duc d' Aumale, died on September 3, at the Château of Nonnette, near Chantilly. Maria Clementine Francisca Josephine, Archduchess of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Francis I., sister of the Empress Marie Louise, and thus sister-in-law of Napoleon Bonaparte, was born on March 1, 1798, when all the world was in arms against the First French Republic. In 1815, which saw Napoleon's fall, she was married to Leopold, Prince of Salerno, her own uncle. In 1844 her daughter, Maria Caroline, gave her hand to the Duke of Aumale, whom the Princess accompanied in his exile to England, upon the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1848. After the death of her daughter she seldom left the side of her son-in-law, to whom she was devotedly attached. The Princess of Salerno was a woman of great natural gifts, well read, a skilful artist, and her memory was stored with reminiscences of remarkable men and events. She had seen in France three Republics, two empires, and at least three phases of monarchy. Her own memory reached little further with any distinctness than the time of the fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna. The education of her kinsman, "Napoleon II.," the Duke of Reichstadt, was entrusted to her, and in later life she stood in especially intimate relations with Pope Pius IX. and Czar Alexander II.

The Right Hon. John Parker, formerly M.P. for Sheffield, died in London on September 5, aged 81. The deceased was the son of the late Mr. Hugh Parker, of Tickhill, near Doncaster, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Mr. Samuel Walker, of Masborough, Yorkshire, and was born in the year 1799. He was educated at Repton School, and graduated at Brasenose College, Oxford, taking his Bachelor's degree in 1820 as a second class in classics, and proceeding M.A. in due course. He was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-inn in 1824, and went the Northern Circuit. In 1832 he entered Parliament in the Liberal interest as one of the members for Sheffield, and retained his seat till 1852, when he was defeated. Mr. Parker was a Lord of the Treasury from 1836 to May, 1841, when he was appointed First Secretary of the Admiralty, which office he held but for a few months. From 1846 to 1849 he held the post of Joint Secretary of the Treasury, and he was again First Secretary of the Admiralty from 1849 to 1852. He was sworn a member of the Privy Council in 1853. Mr. Parker, who was a magistrate for the East Riding of Yorkshire, married in 1853 Charlotte Eliza, daughter of Mr. George Vernon, of Clontarf Castle, county Dublin.

John Winter Jones, F.S.A., late Principal Librarian of the British Museum, died at his residence at Henley-on-Thames, on September 7. He was the son of Mr. John Jones, for some years Editor of the *Naval Chronicle* and *European Magazine*, and was born about the year 1805, claiming descent from the author of "Goody Twoshoes." He was educated at St. Paul's School, and studied for a time for the Chancery Bar. He was appointed an assistant in the British Museum in April, 1837; he worked in the library, and in 1850 was made assistant keeper of printed books, and keeper of the department in 1856. On the retirement of Mr. Panizzi, in 1866, Mr. Jones was appointed by the Queen to the office of Principal Librarian. The revision of the great manuscript catalogue of printed books was mainly performed by Mr. Jones. Mr. Jones edited and translated three volumes of voyages and travels for the Hakluyt Society, and contributed notices to biographical dictionaries and the *Quarterly* and other reviews.

Lord Carew.—The Right Hon. Robert

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Shapland Carew, Baron Carew, of the county of Wexford, in the peerage of Ireland, also Baron Carew, of Castle Borough, county Wexford, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, K.P., was the elder son of Robert Shapland, first lord, by his marriage with Jane Catherine, daughter of the late Major Anthony Cliffe, of Ross, county Wexford, and was born in Dublin in January, 1818. He was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, and was lord lieutenant of the county of Wexford; he was also a magistrate for county Waterford, for which county he had served as High Sheriff. In 1840 he entered Parliament in the Liberal interest as one of the members for county Waterford, and retained his seat till the dissolution of 1847, when he retired. He succeeded to the title on the death of his father in June, 1856; was colonel of the Wexford Militia, and was nominated a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick in 1872. He married in July, 1844, Emily Anne, second daughter of Sir George Richard Philips, of Weston, Warwickshire, and died in London on September 8, aged 63.

Richard Clewin Griffith, M.R.C.S. and **L.A.C.**, who died on September 8, at his residence in Gower-street, W.C., aged 90 years, was one of the first who commenced general practice—the combined practice of medicine and surgery—after the passing of the Medical Act of 1815, prior to which Act no diploma was required of any one who followed the pursuit of medicine. He was, therefore, one of the links which connected the past history of medicine with the changes which took place subsequent to the Act of 1860. He was the Father of the Apothecaries' Company, of which he was Master in 1854. He retired from medical practice in 1850. He was a member of most of the learned societies, some of which he helped to form. He helped to establish the Zoological Gardens and the Botanical Gardens. The public feeding of the carnivora at the Zoological Gardens was entirely due to his forethought, and the rule was carried by his personal effect at the Council. He succeeded his father and grandfather in the practice of medicine, and by direct male descent his family thus followed the calling of the same profession for nearly 150 years in London.

Rev. Robert W. Eyton, a distinguished antiquary, and author of "The Antiquities of Shropshire" and other works, died on September 8, at Winchfield House, Hants. He was the son of the Rev. John Eyton, vicar of Wellington and Eyton, Salop, by his marriage with Anna Maria, only child of Edmond Plowden, of Plowden, Salop, and was born December 21, 1815. He was educated at Rugby and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he obtained a second class in classics and graduated in 1839. He was rector of Eyton, Salop, from 1841 to 1863, during which time he composed his great work, 'The Antiquities of Shropshire.' The minuteness and extent of his researches into the history of his native county were such that, although his history is carried no further down than the reign of Edward I., the work extends over twelve volumes. Unlike most county histories, which deal almost entirely with genealogical and local questions, Mr. Eyton's work is a valuable contribution to the history of the feudal and judicial systems of the country for the first two centuries following the Norman Conquest. Mr. Eyton was also the author of "Digests of the Domesday of Dorset, Somerset, and Staffordshire," and of the "Itinerary of King Henry II.," and editor of the "Pipe Rolls" and early charters of Staffordshire for the William Salt Archæological Society.

Lady Ellenborough.—Jane Elizabeth Digby, daughter of Admiral Sir John Digby, and sister to Lord Digby, was born in 1807, was married in 1824 to Lord Ellenborough, was divorced in 1830, and in 1832 married the Bavarian Baron Venningen. Her next husband was a Greek general, who deserted both her and the Greek service. Shortly after the appearance of M. About's book *La Grèce Contemporaine*, in 1855, she quitted Athens, and on the road to Palmyra met Midjouel. A writer in the *République Française*, who visited Damascus in 1870, states that the version of their marriage given by 'Ianthe' was that, attacked by Bedouins, she owed her life to Midjouel; but others represent him as the head of her hired escort, and as fascinated by her fortune and beauty. The writer described the twenty-five years' union as a very happy one. Between husband and wife was, it is said, a stipulation that the offspring were to be Mussulmans if males, and Protestants if females, and that Midjouel was to spend half the year at Damascus with Ianthe, and half in the desert with his harem, Ianthe visiting him there only

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once a month. The news of her death reached Europe on September 21, it having apparently occurred about ten days previously.

General Lord Airey, G.C.B., died on September 14, at the Grange, Leatherhead, where he was staying on a visit to Sir Garnet Wolseley, in his 79th year, surviving his wife barely six weeks. Lord Airey was Richard, the eldest son of the late Lieutenant-General Sir George Airey, K.H., by his marriage with Catharine, third daughter of the first Baroness Talbot de Malahide, and he was born in April, 1803, and was educated at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. He entered the Army in 1821, as ensign in the 34th Foot, and rising by steady and gradual promotion became Lieutenant-Colonel of that regiment in 1838. From 1827 to 1830 he acted as aide-de-camp to the High Commissioner of the Ionian Isles, and for two years next ensuing, to the Governor of British North America. From 1832 to 1835 he was employed as Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, and afterwards as Assistant Adjutant-General and Assistant Quartermaster-General. He accompanied Lord Raglan to the Crimea in the summer of 1854 as acting Quartermaster-General, and incurred more than his fair share of obloquy for the defective arrangements of that campaign. In 1855, he was appointed Quartermaster-General of the Forces, receiving at the same time the local rank of Lieutenant-General in Turkey and being nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath. He was one of those who took part in the celebrated cavalry charge of the 'Six Hundred.' From 1865 to 1870 he held the command of Gibraltar. On his return to England, he was appointed Adjutant-General, and served with great ability at headquarters until October, 1876, when he retired on a well-earned pension, and a peerage bestowed on him in reward of his long and useful services. He was promoted to the rank of General in 1871, and was successively Colonel of the 17th and the 7th Regiments of Foot. He was placed on the retired list in 1877; his promotion to the dignity of a Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath dates from 1867. Lord Airey married, in 1838, his cousin, the Hon. Harriette Mary Everard Talbot, daughter of Lord Talbot de Malahide; but his sons having predeceased him, his title became extinct.

General Burnside, whose death took place on September 14 at Philadelphia, was born at Liberty, Indiana, in 1824. He graduated at the Military Academy of West Point in 1847, and was subsequently ordered to New Mexico. Having invented a breechloading rifle he resigned his commission in 1853, and established a manufactory of his rifles in Rhode Island. This proving unsuccessful, he became treasurer of the Illinois Central Railroad. Early in 1861 he was appointed Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Rhode Island Volunteers, and took part in the battle of Bull's Run, after which he was made Brigadier-General. After General Pope's defeat at the second battle of Bull's Run Burnside was placed under the command of M'Clellan, and fought during the Confederate invasion of Maryland. Subsequently he succeeded M'Clellan in command of the army of the Potomac, when he was defeated by General Lee. In 1863 he was placed in command of the department of the Ohio. He commanded a division under General Grant, and finally resigned his commission in 1865. In 1866 he was elected Governor of the State of Rhode Island, and, after being twice re-elected, he engaged in business pursuits until 1875, when he was elected to the Senate of the United States.

President Garfield.—General James Abram Garfield was born on November 19, 1831, at a village near Cleveland, in Ohio. His parents were very poor, and, like Abraham Lincoln, he was in early life familiar with rough manual labour of many kinds. During the summer months he worked in the fields, and in the winter at the carpenter's bench, doing little odd jobs of work for his neighbours. Up to the age of sixteen or seventeen he had neither learned to read nor write; but having at the age of seventeen become a canal boatman on the Ohio Canal, attracted by the high wages paid for that kind of labour, he set himself to work to secure an education, and having learned to read and write he obtained a post as teacher in a district school, and when he had saved enough money for the purpose he entered himself as a student at Williams College, in Massachusetts, where he graduated, not without distinction, in 1856, at the age of twenty-five. He ultimately became a professor of ancient languages at the Eclectic Institute at Hiram, Ohio, the college of the sect of the "Disciples," or "Campbellites," to which Garfield and his family belonged. He was made president of the college in 1857.

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He was elected to the State Senate of Ohio in 1859, and was admitted to the bar, when twenty-nine years old, in 1860. On the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 he was appointed to command an Ohio regiment, became Brigadier-General in 1862, and chief of staff to General Rosecranz in 1863, when he was elected a member of Congress for the first time. In Congress he took a high rank, and filled several important posts. In January 1880, he was elected to the Senate, and was chosen President of the United States in the following November. In 1857 he married Miss Lucretia Rudolph, who had been a fellow-student with him at Williams College. His death occurred on September 19. (See also "Chronicle.")

Sir Vincent Eyre, C.B., K.S.I., who died at Aix les Bains, Savoy, on September 22, in the 71st year of his age, was the third son of the late Mr. Henry Eyre, of Bath; his mother being a daughter of Mr. J. Concannon, of Loughrea, county Galway. He was educated at Addiscombe College, whence he entered the Bengal Artillery in the year 1828. He served at the defence of Cabul in the Afghan insurrection in 1841, when he commanded a detachment of Horse Artillery, and was severely wounded, for which he was honourably mentioned in General Elphinstone's despatch. When the General Commanding wished to negotiate with the Afghans, they demanded four married hostages with their wives and children, and Vincent Eyre was alone willing to offer himself with his young wife and child. The negotiations fell through, and the terrible retreat ensued, by which he was made prisoner. In the Indian Mutiny of 1857 he commanded the field forces sent for the relief of Arrah, one of the most brilliant exploits of the campaign, and was Brigadier of Artillery at the first relief of Lucknow under Sir Henry Havelock, and at the occupation of Alumbagh by Sir James Outram: he was again honourably mentioned in the home despatches of both these generals. During the final siege of Lucknow he was in command of the Artillery Division at Alumbagh, and took part in the repulse of an attack on that place in March 1858. He obtained the medal with two clasps, and the Commandership of the Bath, for his Indian services, and was knighted in 1867. Sir Vincent Eyre was twice married—first, to Emily, daughter of the late Colonel Sir James Mouatt, of the Bengal Engineers; and, secondly, to his cousin Catherine Mary, daughter of the late Captain Thomas Eyre, R.N.

The Earl of Airlie died suddenly on September 25 at an hotel in Denver City, Colorado, from a chill and congestion. At the time he was on a visit to Denver with his second son, for whom he had bought a farm. He was son of the sixth Earl of Airlie by his first wife, Clementina, only daughter and heir of Mr. Gavin Drummond, of Keltie. He was born on May 4, 1826, and received his education at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took a third class in classics in 1847. Two years later he succeeded to the title on the death of his father, and from 1850 he was a representative peer for Scotland. He was also Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In 1851 he married Henrietta Blanche, second daughter of Edward John, second Lord Stanley of Alderley.

During the same month:—On September 7, at Reynoldstone, Glamorganshire, aged 80, **General James Pattoun Sparks, C.B.**, colonel of 38th (South Staffordshire) regiment. On September 14, in London, aged 70, **General Henry Rigby**, Colonel Commandant of the Royal (late Bengal) Engineers; he distinguished himself especially as superintending engineer in the campaign in the Punjab during the mutiny. On September 14, at Brighton, aged 54, **The Right Hon. Edward Ward**, fourth Viscount Bangor, of Bangor Castle, county Down, in the Peerage of Ireland, died in the 55th year of his age. On September 15, at Baltimore, **Madame Susan Bonaparte**, widow of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, only son of Jerome, brother of the first Napoleon, and of Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore. Miss Susan Williams previously had married a Mr. Appleton, at whose death she was left a wealthy widow, bringing a large fortune to her second husband, who died in 1870, eight years before his mother, the divorced wife of Jerome.

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OCTOBER.

Sir J. B. Karslake.—The Right Hon. Sir John Burgess Karslake, Q.C., died in Chester Square on the 4th, after a long illness. He was the son of Mr. Henry Karslake, a solicitor, and the grandson, on his mother's side, of the great conveyancer, Richard Preston, Q.C., and formerly member for Ashburton. Sir John was born at Bencham, near Croydon, in 1821; after receiving his education at Harrow, he was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in January, 1846, and joined the Western Circuit, of which he before long became one of the leaders. There was a keen rivalry on the circuit between Karslake and Coleridge, subsequently Lord Chief Justice. They were exactly contemporaries, born in the same year, called to the Bar in the same year; they were long running neck and neck at the head of the circuit, which, in their persons well maintained its ancient reputation. Both obtained silk in 1861, and Sir John Karslake was appointed Bencher of his Inn in the same year. It was not until 1867 that Karslake entered the House of Commons as Conservative member for Andover; Coleridge having preceded him there by two years as Liberal member for Exeter. But the Conservative Counsel distanced his rival in regard to the great law offices. Though not then in Parliament, he was appointed Solicitor-General when the Earl of Derby came into office in 1866; he was advanced to the post of Attorney-General in 1867–68; and he acted in the latter capacity again for a time in Mr. Disraeli's Government in 1874; but was compelled to resign his office in the April following in consequence of failing sight, which resulted in total blindness. He had been knighted when he became Solicitor-General, and he was sworn of the Privy Council on his final retirement from Parliament in 1876. His Parliamentary career was not continuous. He lost his seat for Andover in 1868, and was out of Parliament till 1873, when he came in at a bye-election for Huntingdon, having unsuccessfully contested Exeter against his old rival in 1868.

Baron Haymerle.—Henry Charles, Baron Haymerle, was born at Vienna in December, 1828. His parents were Germans, but had been for some time settled in Bohemia. After studying at the Higher School for Eastern Languages in Vienna, he was sent to Constantinople in 1850 as assistant interpreter. During the Crimean war he fulfilled a mission to Omar Pasha for the protection of Austrian subjects. In 1857 he went, as Secretary of Legation, to Athens, where he acted for some time as Chargé d'Affaires. After acting as Secretary of Legation at Dresden and Frankfort-on-the-Main, he was sent, subsequently to the war of 1864, to Copenhagen with a view to re-establishing friendly relations between the two countries. In 1866 he returned to Frankfort, took part in the negotiations in connection with the Treaty of Prague, and was afterwards Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin until 1868. Called to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Count Beust, he again went to Constantinople, whence, as Chargé d'Affaires, he was transferred to Athens. He was at this post when the Emperor of Austria visited the King of Greece (1869). Baron Haymerle was appointed Ambassador to Rome in 1877, and in the following year acted as the third Austrian delegate to the Berlin Congress. After the retirement of Count Andrassy, in October 1879, Baron Haymerle was nominated as his successor. In this capacity he had to carry out the stipulations of the Austro-German treaty of alliance, concluded by Count Andrassy. Baron Haymerle received his title in 1867. He died very suddenly at Vienna on the 10th.

The Rev. Francis Knyvett Leighton, D.D., died, aged 75, at his lodgings in All Souls on the 13th. Educated at Magdalen College, he obtained a second class in 1828; in 1826 he had gained the prize for Latin verse with an exercise which good critics speak of as much above the usual mark of such compositions. He was subsequently elected to a Fellowship at All Souls. He became curate of Ilford, and later on rector of Harpsden. In 1858 he was elected Warden of All Souls in succession to Mr. Sneyd, and became at the same time rector of Lockinge, which preferment had up to this time been annexed to the Wardenship. In 1868 he was appointed to a Residentiary Canonry at Westminster. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1856–70. Dr. Leighton was an intimate friend of

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Bishop Wilberforce, and his house was that Bishop's head-quarters in Oxford. Dr. Leighton was distinguished by an amiable and refined, but genial courtesy. He was a good scholar of the old-fashioned type, enjoyed a quotation from a classical author, and appreciated the scholarship of others.

Raphael Monti.—A native of Milan, he studied sculpture under his father, Gaetano Monti, and at an early age won the Gold Medal of the Imperial Academy in that city by a group of "Alexander taming Bucephalus." His next considerable work, "Ajax defending the body of Patroclus," was exhibited before he was grown up. Between 1838 and 1842 he resided at Vienna, and between 1842 and 1847 was occupied with several groups designed to add to the attractions of Milan. In the last-mentioned year he came to England, where his "veiled statue," executed at the instance of the Duke of Devonshire, elicited high praise. Returning soon afterwards to Milan, he gave in his adherence to the popular party, and in 1848, as one of the chiefs of the National Guard, was sent on a mission to the camp of Charles Albert. The war over, he again came to England, and from that time devoted himself to his art. He died in London on the 16th, aged 63.

Dr. Förster.—The Right Rev. Henry Förster, Prince Bishop of Breslau, was born at Glogau, in Silesia, in November 1800. He was educated at the University of Breslau, and in 1837 was appointed preacher and inspector of the seminary. Here he acquired the reputation of being one of the first Catholic preachers of Germany. On all occasions he stood forth as a zealous defender of the Church, waging a lively war against the various attempts to modify Catholic doctrine and discipline. In 1853 he became Bishop of Breslau in succession to Bishop Diepenbrock. At the Œcumenical Council, Dr. Förster pronounced against the dogma of infallibility, but after its adoption was one of the first to support it. In the conflict between the Prussian Government and the Catholic clergy in regard to the May laws, it was at first thought that he was inclined to pursue a conciliatory course, but he soon engaged in open warfare, and excommunicated several of the clergy of his diocese who sided with the Government. In 1875 he was deprived of his see, but as a portion of his diocese belonged to Austria, he repaired thither to avoid further difficulties, and continued to exercise his functions from Johannisberg, where he died on the 20th. He wrote a life of his predecessor, and other works.

Professor Blüntschli.—Jean Gaspard Blüntschli was born at Zurich in March 1808. He was educated for the law and afterwards went to Germany, where he studied history under the auspices of Savigny and Niebuhr. His work on "Succession according to Roman Law," written in 1831, gained him the prize of the Berlin Academy of Sciences and the rank of Doctor of Law of the University. After his return to Switzerland he took an active part in the political struggles which divided his country, writing frequently in the Liberal newspapers of Zurich. He was a member of the Grand Council when, in 1839, the nomination of Dr. Strauss to the Chair of Dogmatic Theology gave rise to great commotion. Professor Blüntschli opposed the popular movement which brought back the Conservative party, and became a Councillor of State and a member of the Government and of the Federal Directory. In 1838 he published his important "History of Zurich from a political and judicial point of view." He was also associated with the Brothers Grimm in their researches into the traditions of the German races. He devoted several works to the national history, but it is his "General Political Law" (Munich, 1850), which has won for Professor Blüntschli his reputation as an historian and a jurist consult. When the University of Zurich was founded, in 1833, Professor Blüntschli became Titular Professor at the School of Law. In 1859 he was elected correspondent of the Academy of Moral and Political Science. He presided over the Congress of Jurist Consults at Dresden in 1861, and in the same year went to Heidelberg as Professor of Public Law. After 1866 Professor Blüntschli published several works on law, all well-known on the Continent. He died suddenly on the 21st at Carlsruhe, on his way back from Baden, where at the general synod he had spoken a few hours previously.

Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie, C.B., died on the 23rd, at Edinburgh, at the age of 75. He entered the army in 1826, and in 1834 served with General Lindsay's column in Coorg in all the actions which led to the conquest

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of Mercara. In 1841 he led the advanced guard at the forcing of the Khoord Cabul Pass. Subsequently he defended the fort of Nishan Khan, in the city of Cabul, and afterwards forced his way through the enemy's lines, bringing off the wounded, with the women and children. In January 1842, he was given up as a hostage at the special demand of Akbar Khan. He was twice sent disguised as an Afghan to negotiate with General Pollock, and was employed as Political Chargé of Prince Shahpur during the expedition to Istalif, and took a conspicuous part in the storming of that place in September 1842. General Mackenzie raised and commanded the 4th Sikh Light Infantry on the frontier during the Punjab campaign in 1848-9; and in 1853 took possession of the ceded districts of Berar. He was repeatedly thanked by Government for his services in India, and was nominated a Companion of the Order of the Bath.

Baron James Edward de Rothschild died at Paris on the 25th, of apoplexy. He was born on October 29, 1844, the eldest son of the late Baron Nathaniel de Rothschild, of London, who himself was the son of Nathan Meyer de Rothschild, the founder of the English house of Rothschild. Baron Nathaniel was thus a brother of the late Baron Lionel de Rothschild, of Sir Anthony, the genial host of Aston Clinton, and of Baron Meyer, the owner of Favonius. He married Charlotte, daughter of Baron James the elder, of Paris, by whom he had two sons, James Edward, the elder, here referred to, and Baron Albert de Rothschild. He had received a legal education, but taking up the enthusiasm for collecting works of art which has always characterised his family, gave to it a specially Parisian turn by becoming, above all things, a bibliophile. He presided over the society for publishing the works of old French authors and editing ancient manuscripts.

Joshua Williams, Q.C., died on the 25th, at his residence, 49 Queensberry Terrace, at the age of 68. Mr. Williams was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn on May 4, 1838. He devoted most of his attention to real property law, making a special feature of that portion of it which relates to commons, enclosures, and copyhold tenure. In the early part of 1865 he was made a Queen's Counsel. On April 20 of that year the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn elected him one of their body. He distinguished himself especially in cases in which there was an attempt by lords of manors to wrest from the public the enjoyment of the rights of common. But his reputation with the legal profession rests most of all on the "Law of Real Property" and on the "Law of Personal Property"—books which have the merit of setting forth in a compendious form, and a clear and by no means unattractive style, the whole of the principles and many of the details in regard to that most important department of law—the Law of Property. Besides writing these two works, which have passed through edition after edition, one or the other being issued afresh almost every year, he was successively Reader and Professor of the Law of Real and Personal Property to the Inns of Court, and his lectures had a very widespread repute.

The Right Hon. William Nathaniel Massey, M.P. for Tiverton, died in Chester Square on the 25th. He was born in the year 1809, and was descended from the family of the late Lord Clarina. He was admitted a student of the Inner Temple in 1826, and he was called to the Bar in Hilary Term, 1844, and joined the Western Circuit. In 1852 he was appointed Recorder of Portsmouth and in 1855 of Plymouth. He entered Parliament in the same year, in the Liberal interest, as one of the members for Newport, for which constituency he sat till 1857. He then represented Salford until 1865, when he was appointed a member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, and was nominated to the office of Finance Minister there, on which occasion he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. He retired in 1868, and in 1872 he was returned as one of the members for Tiverton. Mr. Massey was Under-Secretary for the Home Department from August 1855, under Lord Palmerston's first Administration, and remained in office until the return of the Derby Ministry to power in March 1858; and in the following year he was appointed Chairman of Committees of the whole House. In 1860 he spoke against Lord John Russell's Reform Bill. He was the author, *inter alia*, of a "History of England under George III.," and of "Common Sense *versus* Common Law."

Alexander Macdonald, M.P. for Stafford, was born in the year 1821, at New Monkland, in Lanarkshire, and in his 8th

year began to work alongside his father, who, originally a sailor, was at that time following the calling of a miner. The only education he received was at evening schools, but in this way he made such progress as to be able to take advantage during two sessions of certain classes at Glasgow University. Having known from his childhood the extreme hardships which miners then endured, Mr. Macdonald, according to his own testimony, at a very early age formed the resolution to endeavour to ameliorate their condition. He came first prominently forward among his fellow-workmen during a strike which occurred in Lanarkshire, and from that time till his death he had devoted most of his efforts to their service. Up till the year 1851 he was employed as a working miner. For four or five years subsequent to 1851 he was a country schoolmaster, but subsequently he filled various positions in connection with English and Scottish Miners' Associations. He took an active part in the passing of the numerous measures which have for their object the improvement of the miner's condition, and except during a brief period at the beginning of the last commercial crisis, when he lost the confidence of the Scotch miners, he was the trusted adviser of the men. At the general election of 1874 he was returned for Stafford as an advanced Liberal; and at the election of 1880 he was again selected by the working men to represent them. He died at his home in Scotland on the 31st, aged 60.

On the 4th, at Halle, **Karl Gustav Schwetschke**, aged 77, a popular author and political partisan.—On the 5th, at Speldhurst, near Tunbridge Wells, **Sir John Musgrove**, aged 88, formerly Lord Mayor of London.—On the 6th, at Guernsey, **General George Huyshe, C.B.**, aged 77, a distinguished Indian officer who had served under General Pollock throughout the Afghan war in 1842.—On the 10th, at Blankney Hall, Lincolnshire, **Lady Florence Chaplin**, aged 25, eldest daughter of the Duke of Sutherland and wife of Mr. H. Chaplin, M.P.—On the 10th, at Berlin, **Professor Richard Wuerst**, aged 57, member of the Senate of the Academy of Arts, a pupil of Mendelssohn, and the author of seven operas, one of which—"Faublas"—is held to be one of the most successful in the field of high musical comedy.—On the 12th, at Prague, **Franz Hilmar**, aged 79, the inventor of the polka, about the year 1840.—On the 15th, at Munich, **Dr. Martin Schleich**, aged 52, the founder and editor of the Munich *Punch*.—On the 16th, at his residence, Minley Manor, near Farnborough, **Raikes Currie**, aged 81, formerly M.P. for Northampton from 1837 to 1857.—On the 17th, **Gabriel B. Worms**, aged 80, was one of the founders of the modern prosperity of Ceylon.—On the 21st, **Mark Milbank**, aged 86, of Thorpe Perrow and Barningham Hall, Yorkshire, formerly M.P. for Camelford.—On the 23rd, at Jerusalem, **The Right Rev. Joseph Barclay, D.D., LL.D**, aged 50, Bishop of Jerusalem.—On the 23rd, at Heatherside, Woking, **Sir William Henry Ernest Bagge**, aged 42, of Stradsett Hall, Norfolk.—On the 29th, at Clarendon Park, Wilts, **Sir Frederick Hutchinson Hervey-Bathurst**, aged 74, after a protracted illness.—On the 29th, at Fritham Lodge, New Forest, Hants, **Admiral Edmund Heathcote**, aged 67.—On the 29th, at Rome, **Cardinal Prospero Caterini**, aged 86, the oldest member of the Sacred College. He had lived during the reigns of seven Pontiffs, and served the Holy See under the rule of four successive Popes.—On the 30th, at Edinburgh, **William Brodie, R.S.A.**, a distinguished Scotch sculptor.—On the 31st, at Seaforth Hall, near Liverpool, **Thomas Baines**, aged 75, one of the best known of local historians, third son of the late Mr. Edward Baines, who represented Leeds in several Parliaments, and brother of Sir Edward Baines, who represented the same town for many years down to 1874.

NOVEMBER.

Colonel Huber Saladin died at Montfleury, Geneva, on the 1st. Born at Rome in 1798, the child of a Genevese father, Huber Saladin was directly descended from the Barons Huber von Mauer, a family of Tyrol, who settled in Switzerland in 1509, at the time of the Swabian war. His mother belonged to the princely family of Ludovisi. Among the visitors to his father's house, on the banks of Lake Leman, were Necker, Schlegel, Sismondi, the Duke of Montmorency, Byron, Dumont, and Pictet-Diodati.

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At a later date he was on terms of close friendship with Chateaubriand, Queen Hortense, Bonstetten, Circourt, Cavour, Lamartine, Madame de Ranzau, and many other celebrities of a past generation. After studying at a military school in Holland, Saladin placed his sword at the disposal of his country, and in 1820 received a commission in the Federal Army. He obtained permission in 1835 to join the French Army in Algeria, where he was placed on the staff of Marshal Clausel. He took part in the expedition to Tlemcen, and his valour at the combat of Tafna was rewarded with the Cross of the Legion of Honour. On his return to Switzerland in 1837, he was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and in 1845 received the appointment of adjutant-general on the staff of General Dufour. In 1847 he resigned his commission and left Geneva for Paris. Ten years later, however, when the difficulty about Neuchâtel arose and a war between Switzerland and Prussia seemed imminent, Colonel Saladin resumed his position in the Federal Army, and in 1859 he commanded the brigade which watched the frontier during the war between France, Sardinia, and Austria. He participated actively in the formation of the Geneva Society for the protection of wounded soldiers. Shortly after the outbreak of the war of 1870 he crossed the frontier alone as delegate of the society, had several interviews with the King of Prussia and Von Moltke, and obtained a great amelioration in the lot of the French wounded and prisoners, and superintended the removal of the wounded from Metz into the interior of Germany. On the conclusion of peace he went to Versailles, entered Paris during the Commune, and afterwards visited the French sick and wounded in Germany, and made arrangements for their transport to France. For these services to humanity, the Government of M. Thiers conferred upon him the grade of Commander of the Legion of Honour. Colonel Saladin was the author of a "Life of General Jomini," and a "Biography of Count Circourt," which have become standard works, in addition to some minor productions.

Giovanni Domenico Ruffini, the member of a good Genoese family, was born at Taggia, near San Remo, in 1803, and educated at the same school as Mazzini, with whom he took part in the revolution of 1831. His elder brother was shot by the Sardinian Government, and he only escaped, after many adventures, by swimming across the Var in the presence of the Sardinian police. He then took up his residence for a short time in the south of France, and subsequently in Switzerland. In 1836 he came to London, where he remained until 1842, when he went to Paris. In 1848 he was recalled to Italy, elected a member of the National Italian Parliament, and sent by Charles Albert as his envoy to Paris; but on the disaster of Novara he retired from politics and remained in Paris until 1875. This was the period of his literary activity; his first work, "Dr. Antonio," appearing in 1850, was followed by "Lavinia," "Lorenzo Benoni" (in which he recounts his schooldays, and introduces Mazzini, under the name of Fantasie), and "Vincenzo;" his last work, "Carlino," was published in 1870. In 1875 he left Paris and settled at Taggia, in the Riviera, where, after a long decline, he died on the 3rd, aged 78.

John M'Hale, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, died on the 7th, at the age of 90 years. The fifth child of a small farmer, one Patrick M'Hale, of Tobernaveen, in the barony of Tyrawley, in the county of Mayo, by his wife, Mary Mulhern, he was born on Sunday, March 6, 1791. His early life was with other children who were taught under the hedgerow. He continued to be literally a "hedge schoolboy" until 12 or 13 years old, when he was sent to learn a smattering of the classics under a tutor at Castlebar. He remembered the French landing, under General Humbert, in the Bay of Killala, in their expedition from Rochelle, and marching on to Ballina, while the helpless peasantry fled in terror to the mountains. He well recollected also how, in passing through Crossmolina, the Roman Catholic priest gave refreshment to two French officers as they passed his doors, an act of kindness for which the priest shortly afterwards was hanged at Castlebar. In 1807, at the age of 16, young M'Hale was entered as an ecclesiastical student at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. His course here is said to have been brilliant, showing great proficiency in classical subjects. While pursuing the higher range of theological studies he was suddenly called upon to act as deputy for Dr. Hogue, the Professor of Dogmatic Theology, whose health was failing, and on his death he succeeded to the vacant Professorship. Previously to this—namely, in 1814, when only in

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his 23rd year, and while under the canonical age—he had been admitted to the priesthood by the hands of Archbishop Murray, the coadjutor Bishop of Dublin. He spent eleven years in lecturing on theology, six as Dr. Hogue's deputy, and five as Professor. Under the signature of "Hierophilos," he wrote frequently in one of the Irish newspapers in reply to certain attacks on his Church and its system. In the summer of 1825 the failing health of Dr. Waldron, then Catholic Bishop of Killala, calling for the appointment of a coadjutor, Professor M'Hale was summoned from College to undertake the Episcopal office, and was consecrated on the 5th of June of that year as coadjutor, *cum jure successionis*, under the designation of Bishop of Maronia. He had already gained considerable reputation in Ireland, and among the Roman Catholics of England also, by publishing a learned and able work upon "The Evidences and Doctrines of the Church." In 1831 the Bishop set out for Rome to pay homage personally to the Pope. Returning home to his diocese in the following year, Bishop M'Hale addressed to Earl Grey, in 1833, a temperate letter strongly protesting against a "Coercion Bill" which Ministers had introduced into Parliament; another denouncing the standing abuse of the then established Church of Ireland; and a third in support of the incipient agitation in favour of "Repeal." In 1834 he was promoted to the highest order in his Church as Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam. The letters which appeared in the public prints with the signature of "John, Archbishop of Tuam," during the next decade of years, treated of all sorts of subjects—Poor Laws, national education, the endowment of Maynooth, the "Godless Colleges," the famine in Ireland, the repeal movement, the Charitable Bequest Act, the differences among the "National" party after the death of O'Connell, the tenant-right agitation, the Ecclesiastical Tithes Bill, and indeed almost every subject of political importance to "Old Ireland." The publication of these letters rendered him the next prominent figure to the great "Liberator" on the political platform while the latter lived, and after his death the acknowledged leader of Irish feeling and action. It was about this time, too, that he received from Daniel O'Connell the since familiar name of the "Lion of the Fold of Judah." When O'Connell, towards the end of his life, went down to Connemara to hold his famous meetings of the peasantry on the hills about Clifden, the Archbishop was always by his side, and the faces of both the great layman and the great ecclesiastic have been handed down together in a striking picture of the scene. When Lord John Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was introduced into Parliament, Dr. M'Hale was one of those who took the most prominent part in the monster meeting held under the presidency of Archbishop Cullen in the Rotunda at Dublin, and one of the first to violate publicly its enactments and to defy its penalties, by signing his name, as before, "John, Archbishop of Tuam," to a letter dated from "St. Jarlath's." He preached, he heard confessions, he administered the Sacraments, he attended the dying, and no severity of weather or other impediment was allowed to stand in the way of the discharge of his pastoral duties. And yet, in the midst of this busy and active life, he found time to devote to light literature, as is proved by the fact that he translated Thomas Moore's "Melodies" into the Irish tongue, in which he was a great proficient. He showed also his love for the ancient classical tongues of antiquity by translating a considerable portion of the Homeric poems. Besides this he revised and edited a variety of prayer-books and catechisms for the use of his flock, and especially of its younger members.

Henry H. Solomon, of Edmonton, was born and lived in London, and, though but little known, was a somewhat remarkable man, more especially with regard to the subject of education. Devoting himself to study from his earliest years, he formed opinions on education which he carried into practical effect, and which he lived to see produce results of a most satisfactory character. He was one of the founders of the Jews' Free School, in 1817, which had at the beginning a very small number of pupils, advanced, by careful and persistent management, till during his lifetime 2,000 children were daily instructed within its walls in a sound English and Hebrew education. During the whole of his life he was a very active member of the Jewish community, and he devoted himself with untiring energy to the improvement of the members of his race. Descended from Mordecai Jaffa, the author of a series of works known as the "Levush," Mr. Solomon was proud of his great

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ancestor, and he himself translated the Jewish prayer-book into English. Both that and his rendering into the same language of the psalms of the daily service of the Jews have been greatly admired. As a Hebrew scholar he was acknowledged to be profound, and he was generally admitted to be the best English authority on the Talmud. Among the Jews his name will long be a household word, but among Christians also he will not be forgotten. The late Dean Stanley, of whom he was a great admirer, was one of his old correspondents.

Sir Hugh Owen died at Mentone, on the 20th, in his 78th year, He was born in January, 1804, at Voel, in the parish of Llangeinwen, Anglesea, came to London in 1825, and in 1836 entered the office of the Poor Law Commission, Somerset House, where he was soon promoted to a position of responsibility, and eventually appointed chief clerk of the Poor Law Board, which post he resigned in 1872 to devote himself exclusively to educational work, with which he had been closely connected from an early period. He was one of the founders of the Bangor Normal College for the training of teachers and also of the University College of Wales. To the latter institution he devoted his whole attention and energy, for many years acting as honorary secretary, and latterly as treasurer. The appointment of the Departmental Committee to inquire into the condition of education in Wales was in great part brought about by his labours, and to the production of evidence to lay before the committee and the formulation of a scheme which would meet the educational wants of the Principality he devoted many months. He was also mainly instrumental in introducing the British School system into Wales, and in establishing the Cambrian Association for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, and more recently he took an active part in the revival of the Honourable Cymrodorion Society, the National Eisteddfodd Association, and the Social Science Section of the National Eisteddfodd. He held the post of hon. secretary to the London Fever Hospital for 23 years. For 28 years he was a member of the British and Foreign Schools Society, and for many years the chairman of the Committee of the National Temperance League, and its treasurer at the time of his death. Sir Hugh Owen succeeded Mr. W. M. Torrens, M.P., in the representation of the Finsbury division of the London School Board, but he found it necessary, owing to the pressure of other educational work, to retire from the Board at the end of three years. A knighthood was conferred upon him shortly before his death in recognition of his services to the cause of education in Wales.

On November 1, at Rome, **Raffaele Rubattino**, who, born at Genoa, in 1810, from being the master of a small coasting vessel became the owner of the largest fleet of merchant steamers in Italy, the purchaser of the Bay of Assab, and of the Tunis-Goletta railway. By his connivance in 1860 Garibaldi was able to seize transports for his troops to Marsala.—On November 2, at Saltram, aged 73, **Caroline Augusta, Dowager Countess of Mount-Edgcumbe**. She was the elder daughter of the late Rear-Admiral Charles Feilding. She married in 1831 Ernest Augustus, Viscount Valletort, who in 1839 succeeded his father as third Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe. Lady Mount-Edgcumbe was a member of the Royal Order of Victoria and Albert (Second Class); she was also for some time a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, but resigned in 1854, when she was appointed an Extra Lady of the Bedchamber.—On November 5, **The Very Rev. George Henry Sacheverell Johnson, M.A.**, Dean of Wells, aged 73, at Weston-super-Mare, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health. Born at Keswick, in Cumberland, in 1808, he won the Ireland Scholarship at Oxford in 1827, graduated B.A. as a double first in the following year, obtained his degree of M.A. in 1833, and subsequently became a tutor of Queen's College, where he had among his pupils the two present Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the late Dean Stanley, and Lord Selborne. He held the Savilian Professorship of Astronomy from 1839 till 1842, and the White Professorship of Moral Philosophy from the latter date till 1845. He was preacher at Whitehall from 1852 to 1854, when he was appointed to the Deanery of Wells.—On November 5, at Curriehill, near Edinburgh, **Lord Curriehill** (Mr. John Marshall) aged 54, one of the Judges on the Court of Session, Edinburgh.—On November 10, at Rome, **Cardinal Pietro Giannelli**, aged 74, born of humble parentage at Temi, in the old Pontifical States. He became known in later life as a man of high culture, a distinguished diplomatist, and as the confidential agent of the Holy See.—On November 15, at Wimbledon, **William Rath-**

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bone Greg, the author of "Political Problems." He was a native of Manchester, and was born in 1809. In 1856 he was appointed a Commissioner of Customs, and from 1864 till 1877 he held the post of Controller in Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Mr. Greg was the author of "Essays on Political and Social Science," "Enigmas of Life," "Literary and Social Judgments," "The Creed of Christendom," "Rocks Ahead; or, the Warnings of Cassandra."—On November 19, at Uddens, Dorset, in his 70th year, **General Sir Edward Harris Greathed, K.C.B.**, the eldest son of the late Mr. Edward Greathed, of Uddens, by his marriage with Mary Elizabeth, daughter of the late Sir Richard Glyn, of Gaunt's House, Dorset. He was educated at Westminster School, and entered the Army in 1832, greatly distinguishing himself during the Indian mutiny of 1857 at Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow.—On November 22, at Pitlochrie, Perthshire, **Joseph Nettleford**, managing director and principal proprietor of the great screw-making firm of that name in Birmingham, and a notable benefactor of that town.—On November 25, at Madeira, aged 31, **Mr. Adam M'Call**, the leader of the Livingstone Inland Mission on the river Congo, Central Africa.—On November 28, at Essex Hall, Walthamstow, **Joseph Cooper**, aged 81, hon. sec. of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and a prominent member of the Society of Friends.—On November 29, **Henry Sykes Thornton**, aged 81, for 55 years an active partner in the banking house of Messrs. Williams, Deacon, & Co. He attained to high academical honours, having been Fourth Wrangler of his year, 1822.

DECEMBER.

Cardinal Edward Borromeo, who died at Rome on December 2, was a member of the great Milanese family whose remarkable history has been interwoven with that of the Roman See for at least five centuries. He was the seventh cardinal of his name and family. Born in 1822 at the Borromeo Palace in Milan, he was educated in one of the Milanese seminaries founded by San Carlo. Thence, following the custom of young noblemen destined to the service of the Church, he went to Rome, and entered the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics. Here he showed the intellectual ability which later on justified his elevation in the ranks of the Roman hierarchy. Gregory XVI. conferred on him his first office, after his admission to the priesthood, by naming him one of the private chamberlains in attendance at the Pontifical palace. He was present at the death of Pope Gregory. When Pio Nono ascended the Papal Throne, he at once promoted Monsignor Borromeo—then only 24 years of age—to the office of Chief Chamberlain. In that capacity he accompanied the Pontiff in his flight from Rome to Gaeta during the Roman insurrection, and on the return of Pius to Rome obtained further preferment. To him was committed, in the capacity of major-domo, the reorganisation of the Papal household, and he obtained no small share of enmity among the ecclesiastical members of the household by insisting on a thorough reform in the administration of the Pontifical palaces. During the French occupation, he took so little pains to hide his aversion to the presence of French military officials about the person of the Pope as to lead to an open rupture with the French authorities and his own retirement from the position of major-domo. Other offices were, however, opened to him in which he felt more at home. Possessing a great share of the traditional learning of his family, he had devoted himself specially to the study of the various rites and ceremonials in use in the Catholic Church. Created Cardinal-Deacon with the titles of Saints Vito and Modesto on the 13th of March, 1868, he was therefore named Arch-Priest of the Patriarchal Basilica of St. Peter and Prefect of the Congregation, having charge of the cathedral of the Catholic world. In this capacity his authority over St. Peter's was somewhat akin to that of the Dean over Westminster Abbey. He had thus the duty of preserving the great edifice, with all its monuments, art treasures, shrines, and Pontifical tombs. To him was also committed for the two years preceding the fall of the Temporal Power the arrangement of the great ceremonials conducted at the Basilica in the presence of the Pope, the regulation of the pilgrimages to the Apostolic Tomb, and the framing of the rules by which priests from all countries are accorded the privilege of celebrating Mass at St. Peter's, which included

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ceremonials according to the Coptic, Maronite, Syriac, Greek, Armenian, and other rites. He arranged the public ceremonials connected with the Œcumenical Council of 1869–70, the funeral of Pope Pius IX., and the coronation of Pope Leo XIII. After the decease of Pope Pius a question arose among the Cardinals as to the desirability or otherwise of holding the conclave for the election of his successor outside the walls of Rome. The then Camerlengo —the present Pope—and Cardinal Borromeo were found on the same side, in favour of holding the conclave at the Vatican. Shortly after his accession to the Pontifical chair, Leo XIII. advanced Cardinal Borromeo from the rank of Cardinal-Deacon to that of Cardinal-Priest, and conferred on him the dignity of an Archbishop *in partibus infidelium*, and in the Consistory of February, 1879, appointed him Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church, and besides this he held numerous other appointments, and took upon himself multifarious duties, which left him no leisure, under which his health broke down.

T. F. Burgers, ex-President of the Transvaal, died at Richmond, South Africa, on December 9, aged 47. Born in 1834 he went as a boy to Utrecht, where his education was completed, and on his return was ordained Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. In 1862 his preaching attracted attention, and in 1864 he was suspended by the Church Courts. He appealed successfully against their decision, and carried on his ministrations at Hanover for eight years. In 1872 he was elected President by the Transvaal Boers, and in that position induced the Raad to declare war against Secocoeni. The campaign was, however, unsuccessful, and with its failure the Republic collapsed and Mr. Burgers, accepting a pension from the English Government, settled down to farming in Hanover, and was succeeded by Mr. Shepstone.

Sir Antonio Brady, F.G.S., &c., of Maryland Point, Stratford, Essex, died on December 12. He was the eldest son of the late Mr. Antony Brady, of the Royal William Victualling Yard, Plymouth, by Marianne, daughter of the late Francis Perigal, and was born in 1811. In 1837 he married Maria, daughter of the late Mr. George Kilner, of Ipswich. He began his career as junior clerk in the Victualling Yard, Deptford, and having served there and at Plymouth and Portsmouth was promoted to head-quarters, at Somerset House, and in 1854 became head of the contract office and registrar of public securities. He subsequently assisted in the re-organisation of that office, and was the first superintendent of the new purchase and contract department. He retired from the service in 1870, when he was knighted, and henceforth gave up his time to the promotion of social, educational, and religious reforms. He was Judge in the Court of the Verderers for the Forest of Epping, which he was greatly instrumental in preserving for the public use. The Plaistow and Victoria Dock Mission, the East London Museum, Bethnal Green, the West Ham and Stratford Dispensary, were in a great measure due to his philanthropic labours. He took active interest in Church work of all kinds, not only in the dioceses of London and St. Albans, but generally throughout the country, in connection with which his name was constantly found.

George Edmund Street, R.A., the distinguished architect, died in London on the 18th, at the comparatively early age of 57. Mr. Street was born at Woodford, Essex, in 1824, and educated at the Collegiate School, Camberwell. His architectural studies were begun under Mr. Owen Carter at Winchester, and completed under the late Sir George Gilbert Scott, with whom he remained five years. Like his master, Mr. Street adopted the Gothic style in the buildings he erected, and the numerous essays and lectures which he has written upon architecture have all been directed to illustrate the history and principles and promote the progress of that style. His principal literary works were "The Brick and Marble Architecture of North Italy in the Middle Ages," 1855; and "Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain," 1865. Mr. Street was for many years largely engaged in the work of erecting and restoring churches and other ecclesiastical buildings all over the country. Amongst the most prominent are the Cuddesden Theological College, the chapel and schoolrooms of Uppingham College, and new churches at Bournemouth, Garden Street, Westminster; St. Philip and St. James, Oxford; St. John, Torquay; All Saints, Clifton; St. Saviour, Eastbourne; St. Margaret, Liverpool; and St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington. Among his restorations may be noticed the churches of Eccleshall, Wantage, Uffington, in Berks, and Stone, in Kent,

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and Jesus College Chapel, Oxford. He was also the architect of Lord Crawford and Balcarres's house at Dunecht. Perhaps his most considerable work in church building was the erection of the nave of Bristol Cathedral in the Early English style. He was also engaged upon the restoration of the nave and building of a new choir in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and on building a new synod-house in connection with the Cathedral for the Irish Church. But in London Mr. Street's reputation will mainly rest upon the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand. He was appointed architect for this gigantic undertaking in 1868, after a competition in which the most famous architects of the day, including Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. E. M. Barry, took part. Mr. Street was appointed in 1850 diocesan architect to the diocese of Oxford, and he subsequently filled similar posts in the dioceses of York, Ripon, and Winchester. He was a Fellow of the Institute of Architects, of which he has been Vice-President, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and of other societies. In 1866 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, and was advanced to be a Royal Academician on June 29, 1871. He was also a member of the Imperial and Royal Academy of the Fine Arts at Vienna, and a Knight of the Legion of Honour.

Colonel James O. Lindam, K.H., died on the 20th, at the age of 92. He was half a Devonshire man and half a Dane, got his commission in 1810, and was sent out at once to Portugal, where he joined while the Allies under Wellington were still lying in the lines of Torres Vedras. When the time for the forward movement came he was at once initiated in the serious business of war, for he was one of the 1,800 English soldiers who, after the murderous battle of Albuera, "stood triumphant on the fatal hill." Of the brigade to which he was attached only 600 out of 1,500 were unhurt. After Albuera Lindam followed Wellington's victorious march through North-Western Spain, and was present at most of the fighting, including the taking of San Sebastian. At the close of the Peninsular war, in 1814, he embarked at Toulouse with the British Infantry (the cavalry was marched through France), and came home to enjoy in peace, as he thought, his well-earned laurels. But the "Hundred Days" soon followed, and his regiment was at once ordered to Belgium, where he once more found himself under the command of Wellington. In the battle of Waterloo he was badly hit early in the day, in the hot work at the defence of Hougoumont. He was carried to the rear, and knew no more till long after the struggle was over.

The Right Hon. Sir Robert Lush, Lord Justice of Appeal, died in Avenue Road, Hampstead, on the 27th. Robert Lush was born in October 1807, at Shaftesbury. His father was Mr. Robert Lush, of that town, and his mother was Lucy, daughter of Mr. Foote, of Tollard, Wilts. In his 29th year he was admitted student of Gray's Inn. His previous experience, and especially his practical familiarity with the ministerial business of Judges Chambers, enabled Mr. Lush from the first to earn high distinction as a student; and it was in his student days that he published the first work with which his name is associated. In 1838, two years before his call, he published "The Act for the Abolition of Arrest on Mesne Process (1 & 2 Vict. c. 110)," with copious notes explanatory of the alterations in law and practice effected thereby, and an index. Its success encouraged Mr. Lush to publish in 1840 his more famous work, "Practice of the Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster in Actions and Proceedings over which they have a Common Jurisdiction." On being called to the Bar by his Inn in November, 1840, Mr. Lush joined the Home Circuit, and practised as a special pleader within the Bar. His deserved reputation as a sound and acute lawyer, specially familiar with procedure, but not wanting in acquaintance also with the substantive body of the law, brought him early into practice. In 1857 he was made Queen's Counsel; and immediately elected a bencher of his Inn. He practised as leading counsel for eight years, and, though he never held any official *status* and never had a seat in Parliament, he was for his professional merits alone selected as successor of Mr. Justice Crompton and received his patent as a Justice of the Queen's Bench on October 30, 1865. Mr. Justice Lush was knighted in due course.

In a judicial career of sixteen years Sir Robert Lush presided at many important investigations. Sitting in the same court with Sir Alexander Cockburn and Sir Colin Blackburn, Sir Robert Lush was constantly appealed to on the points of practice and judicial discretion which make up a most important

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part of the duty of all courts of law. Perhaps he came most prominently before the public as one of the three Judges of the famous trial at Bar of Thomas Castro, otherwise Arthur Orton, for perjury and forgery in supporting his claim to the Tichborne estates. A remarkable opportunity of utilising Sir Robert Lush's extensive knowledge of practice was afforded by the framing of the rules under the Judicature Act, which he is credited with having most powerfully helped to mould, in association with Sir George Jessel, the one representing the experience of Common Law and the other that of Equity. He had been sworn a member of the Privy Council in 1879. Sir Robert Lush served on many Commissions and Committees of Judges. One of his latest tasks was to consider Sir James Stephen's well-known draft code relating to indictable offences. He married, in 1839, Elizabeth Ann, eldest daughter of the Rev. Christopher Woollacott, of London.

On the 1st, at Oxford, **The Rev. John Matthias Wilson, B.D.**, aged 65, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.—On the 1st, at Paris, the **General Aide-de-Camp Nicholas Nicolaivitch Mouravieff Amoorsky**, aged 70. The addition to his family name of the title "Amoorsky" was conferred on him for the distinguished services which he rendered in connection with the acquisition of the Russian territory on the river Amoor.—On the 3rd, at Witham, Essex, **Admiral Edward Joseph Bird**, aged 82. He was mate of the "Hecla" in the polar expedition in 1821–23, and of the "Fury" in the polar expedition from 1824 until she was wrecked in the following year. In 1826 he was again in the Arctic regions on board the "Hecla," and was one of the sledge expedition that reached lat. 82 deg. 45 min. He next served as lieutenant on board the "Erebus" during her voyage of discovery to the Antarctic Ocean in 1839–43, and finally commanded the "Investigator" in the expedition under Sir John Ross in search of Sir John Franklin in 1848–9.—On the 14th, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, **Decimus Burton, F.R.S., F.R.G.S., F.S.A.**, aged 81, a distinguished architect. Among his works were the Colosseum, Regent's Park; the Zoological Society's Gardens; Hyde Park improvements and entrances; the Athenæum Club House, Pall Mall; Holford House, Regent's Park; Charing Cross Hospital; Marquis of Hertford's Villa, Regent's Park.—On the 16th, at Banwell, Somersetshire, **General Sir William Erskine Baker, K.C.B.**, aged 73. He held successively in India the appointments of Superintendent of the Delhi Canals, Superintendent of Canals and Forests in Sindh, Director of the Ganges Canal, Consulting Engineer to the Government of India for Railways, and Secretary to the Government of India for Public Works. He served in the Sutlej campaign of 1846, and was commended in despatches for conducting the attacking column into the Sikh entrenchments at Sobraon.—On the 18th, **Dr. Isaac J. Hayes**, aged 53, the Arctic explorer, and firm believer in the "Open Polar Sea."—On the 18th, at Chester, **General Thomas Gerrard Ball**, aged 90, one of the oldest officers in the British service. He went through the Peninsular campaigns with the 34th regiment from June 1809, to November 1813, including the siege of Badajoz, the battles of Busaco and Albuera, the actions at Arroyo de Molina and Almaraz, the battle of Vittoria (in which he was wounded), and the affair at the Pass of Maya, where he was again severely wounded in the leg.—On the 19th, at Thirkley Park, **Sir William Payne Gallwey**, aged 73, who represented Thirsk in Parliament from 1851 to 1880.—On the 20th, at Passy, **Grenville Murray**, a well-known journalist, and author of the "Roving Englishman of the Crimean War."—On the 24th, at Madeira, **Viscount Helmsley**, aged 29, M.P. for the North Riding of Yorkshire, and eldest son of the Earl of Feversham.—On the 26th, at Kiel, **Prince Friedrich Christian Karl August**, of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenbourg, aged 54, Count von Roer, son of the former Statthalter of his native province, and well known for his scientific travels and his researches in Oriental languages.—On the 27th, at Paris, **Marquis Alfred David Augustus d'Espinassy de Fontenelle**, formerly a major in the Imperial Guard. He was the youngest son of the Marquis Marius d'Espinassy de Fontenelle, by his marriage in 1821 with the Lady Maria Capel, sister of the present Earl of Essex, with which lady his father became first acquainted by dancing with her at the historic ball which took place at Brussels on the night before the battle of Waterloo.—On the 29th, at Dublin, **The Hon. James O'Brien**, aged 75, second Justice of the Queen's Bench Division.

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APPENDIX.

THE IRISH LAND LAW.

I.

Land Law (Ireland) Bill, 1881, *as brought in April 7*, 1881.

A BILL TO FURTHER AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO THE OCCUPATION AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND IN IRELAND, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES RELATING THERETO.

Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

PART I.

ORDINARY CONDITIONS OF TENANCIES.

1. The tenant for the time being of every tenancy to which this Act applies may sell his tenancy for the best price that can be got for the same, subject to the following regulations and subject also to the provisions in this Act contained with respect to the sale of a tenancy subject to statutory conditions:

(1.) Except with the consent of the landlord, the sale shall be made to one person only:

(2.) The tenant shall give the prescribed notice to the landlord of his intention to sell his tenancy:

(3.) On receiving such notice the landlord may purchase the tenancy for such sum as may be agreed upon, or in the event of disagreement may be settled by the court to be the value thereof:

(4.) Where the tenancy is sold to some other person than the landlord, the landlord may refuse on reasonable

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, *as passed August 22*, 1881.

CHAPTER 49.

AN ACT TO FURTHER AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO THE OCCUPATION AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND IN IRELAND, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES RELATING THERETO.

[August 22, 1881.]

Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

PART I.

ORDINARY CONDITIONS OF TENANCIES.

1. The tenant for the time being of every holding, not hereinafter specially excepted from the provisions of this Act, may sell his tenancy for the best price that can be got for the same, subject to the following regulations and subject also to the provisions in this Act contained with respect to the sale of a tenancy subject to statutory conditions:

(1.) Except with the consent of the landlord, the sale shall be made to one person only:

(2.) The tenant shall give the prescribed notice to the landlord of his intention to sell his tenancy:

(3.) On receiving such notice he landlord may purchase the tenancy for such sum as may be agreed upon, or in the event of disagreement may be ascertained by the court to be the true value thereof:

(4.) Where the tenant shall agree to sell his tenancy to some other person

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grounds to accept the purchaser as tenant:

(5.) The reasonable grounds on which a landlord may refuse to admit a purchaser as tenant are all or any of the following grounds:

(1.) Insufficiency of means, measured with respect to the liabilities of the tenancy:

(2.) The bad character of the purchaser:

(3.) The failure of the purchaser already as a farmer:

(4.) Any other reasonable and sufficient cause.

In case of dispute the reasonableness of the landlord's refusal shall be decided by the court:

(6.) Where the tenancy is subject to any such conditions as are in this Act declared to be statutory conditions, and the sale is made in consequence of proceedings by the landlord for the purpose of recovering possession of the holding by reason of the breach of any of such conditions, except the condition relating to the payment of rent, the court may grant to the landlord out of the purchase moneys compensation by way of damages for any injury he may have sustained from the tenant by breach of any of such conditions:

(7.) Where improvements have been made on a holding by the landlord or his predecessors, in respect of which an adequate compensation has not, in the opinion of the court, by increased rent or otherwise been made by the tenant or his predecessors to the landlord or his predecessors, the landlord shall, in the absence of any agreement to the contrary, be entitled on application to the court to have any such improvements valued under the direction of the court, and any moneys found due to the landlord on such valuation (subject to any set-off claimed by the tenant) shall be deemed to be a debt payable to the landlord out of the purchase moneys of the tenancy:

(8.) Where a tenant sells his tenancy to any person other than the landlord, the landlord may at any time within the prescribed period give notice both to the outgoing tenant and to the purchaser of any sums which he may claim from the outgoing tenant for arrears of rent or otherwise. And

(*a.*) If the outgoing tenant does not within the prescribed period give notice to the purchaser that he disputes such claims or any of them, the purchaser shall out of the purchase moneys pay the full amount thereof to the landlord; and

than the landlord, he shall, upon informing the landlord of the name of the purchaser, state in writing therewith the consideration agreed to be given for the tenancy:

(5.) If the tenant fails to give the landlord the notice or information required by the foregoing sub-sections, the court may, if it think fit and that the just interests of the landlord so require, declare the sale to be void:

(6.) Where the tenancy is sold to some other person than the landlord, the landlord may within the prescribed period refuse on reasonable grounds to accept the purchaser as tenant:

In case of dispute the reasonableness of the landlord's refusal shall be decided by the court: Provided that the landlord's objection shall be conclusive in the case of any tenancy in a holding where the permanent improvements in respect of which, if made by the tenant or his predecessors in title, the tenant would have been entitled to compensation under the provisions of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, as amended by this Act, have been made by the landlord or his predecessors in title, and have been substantially maintained by the landlord and his predecessors in title, and not by the tenant or his predecessors in title:

(7.) Where the tenancy is subject to any such conditions as are in this Act declared to be statutory conditions, and the sale is made in consequence of proceedings by the landlord for the purpose of recovering possession of the holding by reason of the breach of any such conditions, the court shall grant to the landlord out of the purchase moneys payment of any debt, including arrears of rent, due to him by the tenant and compensation by way of damages for any injury he may have sustained from the tenant by breach of any such conditions, except the condition relating to the payment of rent:

(8.) Where permanent improvements on a holding have been made by the landlord or his predecessors in title solely or by him or them jointly with the tenant or his predecessors in title, or have been paid for by the landlord or his predecessors in title, and the landlord, on the application of the tenant, consents that his property in such improvements shall be sold along with the tenancy, and the same is so sold accordingly, the purchase money shall be apportioned by the court as between the landlord's property in such improvements and the tenancy, and the

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(*b.*) If the outgoing tenant disputes such claims or any of them, the purchaser shall out of the purchase moneys pay to the landlord so much (if any) of such claims as the outgoing tenant admits, and pay the residue of the amount claimed by the landlord into court in the prescribed manner.

Until the purchaser has satisfied the requirements of this sub-section, it shall not be obligatory on the landlord to accept the purchaser as his tenant:

(9.) Where any purchase money has been paid into court it shall be lawful for the landlord and also for the outgoing tenant and for the purchaser to make applications to the court in respect of such purchase money; and the court shall hear and determine such applications, and make such order or orders thereupon as to the court may seem just:

(10.) A tenant who has sold his tenancy on any occasion of quitting the same shall not be entitled on the same occasion to receive compensation for either disturbance or improvements; and a tenant who has received compensation for either disturbance or improvements on any occasion shall not be entitled on the same occasion to sell his tenancy:

(11.) The tenant of a tenancy subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom or to a usage corresponding to the Ulster tenant-right custom may claim to sell his tenancy either in pursuance of that custom or usage, or in pursuance of this section, but he shall not be entitled to sell partly under the custom or usage and partly under the provisions of this section.

part of the purchase money so found to represent the landlord's property in such improvements (but subject to any set-off claimed by the tenant) shall be paid to the landlord; and such improvements so sold shall be deemed to have been made by the purchaser of the tenancy:

(9.) Where a tenant sells his tenancy to any person other than the landlord, the landlord may at any time within the prescribed period give notice both to the outgoing tenant and to the purchaser of any sums which he may claim from the outgoing tenant for arrears of rent or other breaches of the contract or conditions of tenancy. And

(*a.*) If the outgoing tenant does not within the prescribed period give notice to the purchaser that he disputes such claims or any of them, the purchaser shall out of the purchase moneys pay the full amount thereof to the landlord; and

(*b.*) If the outgoing tenant disputes such claims or any of them, the purchaser shall out of the purchase moneys pay to the landlord so much (if any) of such claims as the outgoing tenant admits, and pay the residue of the amount claimed by the landlord into court in the prescribed manner.

Until the purchaser has satisfied the requirements of this sub-section, it shall not be obligatory on the landlord to accept the purchaser as his tenant:

(10.) Where any purchase money has been paid into court it shall be lawful for the landlord and also for the outgoing tenant and for the purchaser respectively to make applications to the court in respect of such purchase money; and the court shall hear and determine such applications, and make such order or orders thereupon as to the court may seem just.

(11.) A tenant who has sold his tenancy on any occasion of quitting his holding shall not be entitled on the same occasion to receive compensation for either disturbance or improvements; and a tenant who has received compensation for either disturbance or improvements on any occasion of quitting his holding shall not be entitled on the same occasion to sell his tenancy:

(12.) The tenant of a holding subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom or to a usage corresponding to the Ulster tenant-right custom may sell his tenancy either in pursuance of that custom or usage, or in pursuance of this section, but he shall not be entitled to sell partly under the custom or usage

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2. Where the tenant of a tenancy to which this Act applies has bequeathed his tenancy to one person only, and the personal representatives of the tenant have assented to the bequest, such person shall have the same claim to be accepted as tenant by the landlord as and partly under the provisions of this section:

(13.) If the tenant of a tenancy subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom or to a usage corresponding to the Ulster tenant-right custom sells his tenancy in pursuance of this section, the tenancy, unless purchased by the landlord, shall continue to be subject to such custom or usage:

(14.) Where a sale of tenancy is made under a judgment or other process of law against the tenant, or for the payment of the debts of the deceased tenant, the sale shall be made in the prescribed manner, subject to the conditions of this section, so far as the same are applicable:

(15.) Any sum payable to the landlord out of the purchase moneys of the tenancy under this section shall be a first charge upon the purchase moneys:

(16.) A landlord, on receiving notice of an intended sale of the tenancy, may, if he is not desirous of purchasing the tenancy otherwise than as a means of securing the payment of any sums due to him for arrears of rent or other breaches of the contract or conditions of tenancy, give notice within the prescribed time of the sum claimed by him in respect of such arrears and breaches, such sum failing agreement between the landlord and tenant to be determined by the court, and should the tenant determine to proceed with the sale, may claim to purchase the tenancy for such sum if no purchaser is found to give the same or a greater sum; and the landlord, if no purchaser be found within the prescribed time to give the same or a greater sum, shall be adjudged the purchaser of the tenancy at that sum.

2. The tenant from year to year of a tenancy to which this Act applies shall not, without the consent of the landlord in writing, subdivide his holding or sublet the same or any part thereof.

Agistment or the letting of land for the purpose of temporary depasturage, or the letting in conacre of land for the purpose of its being solely used and which shall be solely used for the growing of potatoes or other green crops, the land being properly manured, shall not be deemed a sub-letting for the purposes of this Act.

3. Where the tenant of a tenancy to which this Act applies has bequeathed his tenancy to one person only, and the personal representatives of the tenant have assented to the bequest, such person shall have the same claim to be accepted as tenant by the landlord

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if the tenancy had been sold to him by the testator.

Where the tenant of any such tenancy has bequeathed his tenancy to more than one person or dies intestate, his personal representatives shall, if the landlord requires a sale to be made, within twelve months after the death of the tenant sell the tenancy, and in case of their default the landlord may sell the same.

Where the tenant of a tenancy dies intestate and without next of kin such tenancy shall pass to the landlord.

3. Where the landlord demands an increase of rent from the tenant of a present tenancy (except where he is authorised by the court to increase the same as hereafter in this Act mentioned) or demands an increase of rent from the tenant of a future tenancy beyond the amount fixed at the beginning of such tenancy, then,

(1.) Where the tenant accepts such increase, until the expiration of a term of *fifteen years* from the time when such increase was made (in this Act referred to as a statutory term), such tenancy shall (if it so long continues to subsist) be deemed to be a tenancy subject to statutory conditions, with such incidents during the continuance of the said term as are in this Act in that behalf mentioned:

(2.) Where the tenant does not accept such increase and sells his tenancy, in addition to the price paid for the tenancy he shall be entitled to receive from his landlord ten times the amount of such sum (if any) as the court, on the application of the tenant, may determine to be the excess of the increased rent over a fair rent within the meaning of this Act, or, in the case of a holding subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom, or any usage corresponding to that custom, the amount (if any) by which the court may decide the selling value of his tenancy to have been depreciated below the amount which would have been such selling

as if the tenancy had been sold to him by the testator.

Where the tenant of any such tenancy has bequeathed his tenancy to more than one person or dies intestate, then, if his personal representatives serve notice on the landlord nominating some one of the legatees or persons entitled under the Statutes of Distribution to his personal estate, to succeed to the tenancy, such person shall have the same claim to be accepted by the landlord as if the tenancy had been sold to him by the testator or intestate, and in default of such notice the personal representatives shall, if the landlord requires a sale to be made, within twelve months after the death of the tenant, sell the tenancy, and in case of their default the landlord may sell the same under the direction of the court.

Where the tenant of a tenancy dies intestate and without leaving any person entitled to his personal estate, or any part thereof, such tenancy shall pass to the landlord, subject, however, to the debts and liabilities of the deceased tenant.

4. Where the landlord demands an increase of rent from the tenant of a present tenancy (except where he is authorised by the court to increase the same as hereafter in this Act mentioned), or demands an increase of rent from the tenant of a future tenancy beyond the amount fixed at the beginning of such tenancy, then

(1.) Where the tenant accepts such increase, until the expiration of a term of fifteen years from the time when such increase was made (in this Act referred to as a statutory term), such tenancy shall (if it so long continues to subsist) be deemed to be a tenancy subject to statutory conditions, with such incidents during the continuance of the said term as are in this Act in that behalf mentioned:

(2.) Where the tenant of any future tenancy does not accept such increase and sells his tenancy, the same shall be sold subject to the increased rent, and in addition to the price paid for the tenancy he shall be entitled to receive from his landlord the amount (if any) by which the court may, on the application of the landlord or tenant, decide the selling value of his tenancy to have been depreciated below the amount which would have been such selling value if the rent had been a fair rent, together with such further sum (if any) as the court may award in respect of his costs and expenses in effecting such sale:

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value if the rent had been a fair rent, whichever of the said sums may be the greater:

(3.) Where the tenant does not accept such increase and is compelled to quit the tenancy, but does not sell the tenancy, he shall be entitled to compensation as in the case of disturbance by the landlord.

(4.) The tenant of a present tenancy may in place of accepting or declining such increase apply to the court in manner hereafter in this Act mentioned to have the rent fixed.

4. A tenant shall not, during the continuance of a statutory term in his tenancy, be compelled to pay a higher rent than the rent payable at the commencement of such term, and shall not be compelled to quit the holding of which he is tenant except in consequence of the breach of some one or more of the conditions following (in this Act referred to as statutory conditions); that is to say,

(1.) The tenant shall pay his rent at the appointed time:

(2.) The tenant shall not commit persistent waste by the dilapidation of buildings or the deterioration of the soil after notice has been given by the landlord to the tenant to desist from such dilapidation or deterioration of soil:

(3.) The tenant shall not persistently refuse to allow the landlord, or any person or persons authorised by him in that behalf (he or they making reasonable amends and satisfaction for any injury to be done or occasioned thereby) to enter upon the holding for any of the purposes following; that is to say,

Mining or taking minerals;

Quarrying or taking stone, marble, gravel, sand, or slate;

Cutting or taking timber or turf;

Opening or making roads, drains, and watercourses;

Viewing or examining the state of the holding and all buildings or improvements thereon;

Exercising any rights of hunting, shooting, fishing, or taking game or fish which belong to the landlord:

(4.) The tenant shall not, without the consent of his landlord, sub-divide or sub-let his holding:

(5.) The tenant shall not do any act whereby his holding becomes vested in a judgment creditor or assignee in bankruptcy.

Agistment or letting in conacre or for the purpose of temporary depasturage shall not be deemed a sub-letting for the purposes of this Act.

(3.) Where the tenant does not accept such increase, and is compelled to quit the tenancy by or in pursuance of a notice to quit, but does not sell the tenancy, he shall be entitled to claim compensation as in the case of disturbance by the landlord

(4.) The tenant of a present tenancy may, in place of accepting or declining such increase, apply to the court, in manner hereinafter in this Act mentioned, to have the rent fixed.

5. A tenant shall not, during the continuance of a statutory term in his tenancy, be compelled to pay a higher rent than the rent payable at the commencement of such term, and shall not be compelled to quit the holding of which he is tenant except in consequence of the breach of some one or more of the conditions following (in this Act referred to as statutory conditions); that is to say,

(1.) The tenant shall pay his rent at the appointed time:

(2.) The tenant shall not, to the prejudice of the interest of the landlord in the holding, commit persistent waste by the dilapidation of buildings, or, after notice has been given by the landlord to the tenant not to commit or to desist from the particular waste specified in such notice, by the deterioration of the soil:

(3.) The tenant shall not, without the consent of his landlord in writing, subdivide his holding, or sublet the same or any part thereof, or erect or suffer to be erected thereon, save as in this Act provided, any dwelling-house otherwise than in substitution for those already upon the holding at the time of the passing of the Act:

Agistment or the letting of land for the purpose of temporary depasturage, or the letting in conacre of land for the purpose of its being solely used and which shall be solely used for the growing of potatoes or other green crops, the land being properly manured, shall not be deemed a sub-letting for the purposes of this Act.

(4.) The tenant shall not do any act whereby his tenancy becomes vested in an assignee of bankruptcy:

(5.) The landlord, or any person or persons authorised by him in that behalf (he or they making reasonable amends and satisfaction for any damage to be done or occasioned thereby), shall have the right to enter upon the holding for any of the purposes following (that is to say):

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During the continuance of a statutory term in a tenancy, consequent on an increase of rent by the landlord, the court may, on the application of the landlord, and upon being satisfied that he is desirous of resuming the holding for some purpose having relation to the good of the holding or of the estate, or for the benefit of the labourers in respect of cottages, gardens, or allotments, authorise the resumption thereof by the landlord, and require the tenant to sell his tenancy to the landlord upon such terms as may be approved by the court as being full compensation to the tenant,

Provided that the rent of any tenancy subject to statutory conditions may be increased in respect of capital laid out by the landlord under agreement with the tenant to such an amount as may be agreed upon between the landlord and tenant.

Mining or taking minerals, or digging or searching for minerals;

Quarrying or taking stone, marble, gravel, sand, brick clay, fire clay, or slate;

Cutting or taking timber or turf, save timber and other trees planted by the tenant or his predecessors in title, or that may be necessary for ornament or shelter; and save also such turf as may be required for the use of the holding;

Opening or making roads, fences, drains, and watercourses;

Passing and repassing to and from the seashore with or without horses and carriages for exercising any right of property or royal franchise belonging to the landlord;

Viewing or examining at reasonable times the state of the holding and all buildings or improvements thereon;

Hunting, shooting, fishing, or taking game or fish, and if the landlord at the commencement of the statutory term so requires, then as between the landlord and tenant the right of shooting and taking game, and of fishing and taking fish shall belong exclusively to the landlord, subject to the provisions of the Ground Game Act, 1880, and the provisions of the Act twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth Victoria, chapter sixty-seven, shall extend where such right of shooting and taking game belongs exclusively to the landlord as though such exclusive right were reserved by the landlord to himself by deed. The word "game" for the purposes of this subsection means hares, rabbits, pheasants, partridges, quails, landrails, grouse, woodcock, snipe, wild duck, widgeon, and teal;

And the tenant shall not persistently obstruct the landlord, or any person or persons authorised by him in that behalf as aforesaid, in the exercise of any right conferred by this subsection.

During the continuance of a statutory term, all mines and minerals, coals and coal pits, subject to such right and respect thereof as the tenant, under the contract of tenancy subsisting immediately before the commencement of the statutory term, was lawfully entitled to exercise, shall be deemed to be exclusively reserved to the landlord;

(6.) The tenant shall not on his

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holding, without the consent of the landlord, open any house for the sale of intoxicating liquors.

Nothing contained in this section shall prejudice or affect any ejectment for non-payment of rent instituted by a landlord whether before or after the commencement of a statutory term, in respect of rent accrued due for a holding before the commencement of such term.

During the continuance of a statutory term in a tenancy, save as hereinafter provided, the court may, on the application of the landlord, and upon being satisfied that he is desirous of resuming the holding or part thereof for some reasonable and sufficient purpose having relation to the good of the holding or of the estate, including the use of the ground as building ground, or for the benefit of the labourers in respect of cottages, gardens, or allotments, or for the purpose of making grants or leases of sites for churches or other places of religious worship, schools, dispensaries, or clergymen's or schoolmasters' residences, authorise the resumption thereof by the landlord upon such conditions as the court may think fit, and require the tenant to sell his tenancy in the whole or such part to the landlord upon such terms as may be approved by the court, including full compensation to the tenant.

Provided that the rent of any holding subject to statutory conditions may be increased in respect of capital laid out by the landlord under agreement with the tenant to such an amount as may be agreed upon between the landlord and tenant.

Amendment of Law as to Compensation for Disturbance.

5. There shall be repealed so much of section three of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, as provides for the scale of compensation, and so much of the same section as declares that in no case shall the compensation exceed the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds, and so much of the same section as declares that a tenant in a higher class of the scale may at his option claim compensation under a lower class, and so much of the same section as prohibits tenants of holdings valued at such sums as are in the said section mentioned, and making such claims for compensation for disturbance as are in the said section mentioned, from being entitled to make separate or additional claims for improvements

Amendment of Law as to Compensation for Disturbance.

6. There shall be repealed so much of section three of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, as provides for the scale of compensation, and so much of the same section as declares that in no case shall the compensation exceed the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds, and so much of the same section as declares that a tenant in a higher class of the scale may at his option claim compensation under a lower class, and so much of the same section as prohibits tenants of holdings valued at such sums as are in the said section mentioned, and making such claims for compensation for disturbance as are in the said section mentioned, from being entitled to make separate or additional

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other than permanent buildings and reclamation of waste land.

The compensation payable under the said section three in the case of a tenant disturbed in his holding by the act of a landlord after the passing of this Act shall be as follows in the case of holdings—

Where the rent is under thirty pounds, a sum not exceeding *seven years' rent*:

Where the rent is under fifty pounds, a sum not exceeding *five years' rent*:

Where the rent is under one hundred pounds, a sum not exceeding *four years' rent*:

Where the rent is one hundred pounds or upwards, a sum not exceeding *three years' rent.*

Amendment of Law as to Compensation for Improvements.

6. A tenant on quitting the holding of which he is tenant shall not be deprived of his right to receive compensation for improvements under the claims for improvements other than permanent buildings and reclamation of waste land, and the said section three shall hereafter be read as if from such section were omitted the words "for the loss which the court shall find to be sustained by him by reason of quitting his holding," so that the said section shall be read as providing that the tenant therein mentioned shall be entitled to such compensation as the court, in view of all the circumstances of the case, shall think just, subject to the scale of compensation hereinafter mentioned.

The compensation payable under the said section three in the case of a tenant disturbed in his holding by the act of a landlord after the passing of this Act shall be as follows in the case of holdings—

Where the rent is thirty pounds or under, a sum not exceeding seven years' rent:

Where the rent is above thirty pounds and not exceeding fifty pounds, a sum not exceeding five years' rent:

Where the rent is above fifty pounds and not exceeding one hundred pounds, a sum not exceeding four years' rent:

Where the rent is above one hundred pounds and not exceeding three hundred pounds, a sum not exceeding three years' rent:

Where the rent is above three hundred pounds and not exceeding five hundred pounds, a sum not exceeding two years' rent:

Where the rent is above five hundred pounds, a sum not exceeding one year's rent.

Any tenant in a higher class of the scale may, at his option, claim compensation under a lower class, provided such compensation shall not exceed the sum to which he would be entitled under such lower class on the assumption that the rent of his holding was reduced to the sum (or where two sums are mentioned, the higher sum) stated in such lower class.

From and after the passing of this Act the thirteenth section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

Amendment of Law as to Compensation for Improvements.

7. A tenant on quitting the holding of which he is tenant shall not be deprived of his right to receive compensation for improvements under the

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Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, by reason only of the determination by surrender or otherwise of the tenancy subsisting at the time when such improvements were made by such tenant or his predecessors in title, and the acceptance by him or them of a new tenancy.

Where in tracing a title for the purpose of obtaining compensation for improvements, it appears that an outgoing tenant has surrendered his tenancy in order that some other person may be accepted by the landlord as tenant, the outgoing tenant shall not be precluded from being deemed the predecessor in title of the incoming tenant by reason only of such surrender of tenancy by him.

The court, in adjudicating on a claim for compensation for improvements made before any such change of tenancy or of tenants, shall take into consideration all the circumstances under which such change took place, and shall admit, reduce, or disallow altogether such claim as to the court may seem just.

PART II.

INTERVENTION OF COURT.

7. (1.) The tenant of any present tenancy to which this Act applies, may from time to time during the continuance of such tenancy apply to the court to fix what is the fair rent to be paid.

(2.) Such application may also be made by the landlord and tenant jointly.

(3.) A fair rent means such a rent as in the opinion of the court, after hearing the parties and considering all the circumstances of the case, holding, and district, a solvent tenant would undertake to pay one year with another: Provided that the court, in fixing such rent, shall have regard to the tenant's interest in the holding, and the tenant's interest shall be estimated with reference to the following considerations; that is to say,

(*a.*) In the case of any holding subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom or to any usage corresponding therewith—with reference to the said custom or usage;

Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, by reason only of the determination by surrender or otherwise of the tenancy subsisting at the time when such improvements were made by such tenant or his predecessors in title, and the acceptance by him or them of a new tenancy.

Where in tracing a title for the purpose of obtaining compensation for improvements, it appears that an outgoing tenant has surrendered his tenancy in order that some other person may be accepted by the landlord as tenant in his place, and such other person is so accepted as tenant, the outgoing tenant shall not be precluded from being deemed the predecessor in title of the incoming tenant by reason only of such surrender of tenancy by him.

The court, in adjudicating on a claim for compensation for improvements made before any such change of tenancy or of tenants, shall take into consideration all the circumstances under which such change took place, and shall admit, reduce, or disallow altogether such claim as to the court may seem just.

A flax scutching mill otherwise suitable to the holding on which it is erected shall not be deemed to be unsuitable to the holding on which it is erected by reason only that it is available for purposes beyond those of the holding on which it is situate.

PART II.

INTERVENTION OF COURT.

8. (1.) The tenant of any present tenancy to which this Act applies, or such tenant and the landlord jointly, or the landlord, after having demanded from such tenant an increase of rent which the tenant has declined to accept, or after the parties have otherwise failed to come to an agreement, may from time to time during the continuance of such tenancy apply to the court to fix the fair rent to be paid by such tenant to the landlord for the holding, and thereupon the court, after hearing the parties, and having regard to the interest of the landlord and tenant respectively, and considering all the circumstances of the case, holding, and district, may determine what is such fair rent.

(2.) The rent fixed by the court (in this Act referred to as the judicial rent) shall be deemed to be the rent payable by the tenant as from the period commencing at the rent day next succeeding the decision of the court.

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(*b.*) In cases where there is no evidence of any such custom or usage—with reference to the scale of compensation for disturbance by this Act provided (except so far as any circumstances of the case shown in evidence may justify a variation therefrom), and to the right (if any) to compensation for improvements effected by the tenant or his predecessors in title.

(4.) If the rent fixed by the court (in this Act referred to as the judicial rent) is equal to or less than the rent payable by the tenant at the date when the application was made, such equal or less rent shall be deemed to be the rent payable by the tenant as from the period commencing at the next succeeding rent day.

(5.) If the judicial rent is greater than the rent payable by the tenant at the date when the application was made, such greater rent shall, if the landlord either immediately or at any time within *fifteen years* after the determination of the court serves notice on the tenant to that effect, be deemed to be the rent payable by the tenant as from the period commencing at the rent day next succeeding the day on which such notice is given.

(6.) If the landlord fails to serve such notice altogether or serves the same only after an interval, then, in the event of any sale being made of the tenancy before a further determination has been made of the rent by the court, the landlord shall be entitled, on application to the court, to receive out of the purchase moneys of the tenancy such amount as the court may think just, regard being had to the fact that the landlord has abstained, either altogether or for an interval, from increasing the rent to the amount declared to be a fair rent by the court.

(7) Where the judicial rent of any present tenancy has been fixed by the court, then, until the expiration of a term of *fifteen years* after the determination of the court has been given (in this Act referred to as a statutory term), such present tenancy shall (if it so long continue to subsist) be deemed to be a tenancy subject to statutory conditions and having the same incidents as a tenancy subject to statutory conditions consequent on an increase of rent by a landlord, with this modification, that, during the statutory term in a present tenancy consequent on the first determination of a judicial rent of that tenancy by the court, application by the landlord to authorise the resumption of the holding by him for some purpose

(3.) Where the judicial rent of any present tenancy has been fixed by the court, then, until the expiration of a term of fifteen years from the rent day next succeeding the day on which the determination of the court has been given (in this Act referred to as a statutory term), such present tenancy shall (if it so long continue to subsist) be deemed to be a tenancy subject to statutory conditions, and having the same incidents as a tenancy subject to statutory conditions consequent on an increase of rent by a landlord, with this modification, that, during the statutory term in a present tenancy consequent on the first determination of a judicial rent of that tenancy by the court, application by the landlord to authorise the resumption of the holding or part thereof by him for some purpose having relation to the good of the holding or of the estate, shall not be entertained by the court, unless—

(*a.*) Such present tenancy has arisen at the expiration of a judicial lease, or of a lease existing at the time of the passing of this Act, and originally made for a term of not less than thirty-one years; or

(*b.*) It is proved to the satisfaction of the court that before the passing of this Act the reversion expectant on the determination of a lease of the holding was purchased by the landlord or his predecessors in title with the view of letting or otherwise disposing of the land for building purposes on the determination of such lease, and that it is *bonâ fide* required by him for such purpose.

(4.) Where an application is made to the court under this section in respect of any tenancy, the court may, if it think fit, disallow such application where the court is satisfied that on the holding in which such tenancy subsists the permanent improvements in respect of which, if made by the tenant or his predecessors in title, the tenant would have been entitled to compensation under the provisions of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, as amended by this Act, have been made by the landlord or his predecessors in title, and have been substantially maintained by the landlord and his predecessors in title, and not made or acquired by the tenant or his predecessors in title.

(5.) On the occasion of any application being made to the court under this section to fix a judicial rent in respect of any holding which is not

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having relation to the good of the holding or of the estate, or for the benefit of the labourers in respect of cottages, gardens, or allotments, shall not be entertained by the court.

(8.) Where an application is made to the court under this section in respect of any tenancy, the court may, if it think fit, disallow such application where the court is satisfied that the holding in which such tenancy subsists has theretofore been maintained and improved by the landlord.

(9.) On the occasion of any application being made to the court under this section to fix a judicial rent in respect of any holding which is not subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom, or an usage corresponding to the Ulster tenant-right custom, the landlord and tenant may agree to fix, or in the case of dispute the court may fix, on the application of either landlord or tenant, a specified value for the holding; and, where such value has been fixed, then if at any time during the continuance of the statutory term the tenant gives notice to the landlord of his intention to sell the tenancy, the landlord may resume the holding on payment to the tenant of the amount of the value so fixed, together with the value of any improvements made by the tenant since the time at which such value was fixed.

(10.) A further statutory term shall not commence until the expiration of a preceding statutory term, and an alteration of judicial rent shall not take place at less intervals than *fifteen years*.

(11.) During the currency of a statutory term an application to the court to determine a judicial rent shall not be made except during the last *twelve months* of the current statutory term.

subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom, or an usage corresponding to the Ulster tenant-right custom, the landlord and tenant may agree to fix, or in the case of dispute the court may fix, on the application of either landlord or tenant, a specified value for the tenancy; and, where such value has been fixed, then if at any time during the continuance of the statutory term the tenant gives notice to the landlord of his intention to sell the tenancy, the landlord may purchase the tenancy on payment to the tenant of the amount of the value so fixed, together with the value of any improvements made by the tenant since the time at which such value was fixed, but subject to deduction in respect of any damage caused by dilapidation of buildings or deterioration of soil since the time at which the value was so fixed.

(6.) Subject to rules made under this Act, the landlord and tenant of any present tenancy to which this Act applies, may, at any time if such tenancy is not subject to a statutory term, or if the tenancy is subject to a statutory term, then may, during the last twelve months of such term, by writing under their hands, agree and declare what is then the fair rent of the holding; and such agreement and declaration on being filed in court in the prescribed manner, shall have the same effect and consequences in all respects as if the rent so agreed on were a judicial rent fixed by the court under the provisions of this Act.

(7.) A further statutory term shall not commence until the expiration of a preceding statutory term, and an alteration of judicial rent shall not take place at less intervals than fifteen years.

(8.) During the currency of a statutory term an application to the court to determine a judicial rent shall not be made except during the last twelve months of the current statutory term.

(9.) No rent shall be allowed or made payable in any proceedings under this Act in respect of improvements made by the tenant or his predecessors in title, and for which, in the opinion of the court, the tenant or his predecessors in title shall not have been paid or otherwise compensated by the landlord or his predecessors in title.

(10.) The amount of money or money's worth that may have been paid or given for the tenancy of any holding by a tenant or his predecessors in title, otherwise than to the landlord or his predecessors in title, shall not of

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8. Where the court, on the hearing of an application of either landlord or tenant respecting any matter under this Act, is of opinion that the conduct of either landlord or tenant has been unreasonable, or that the one has unreasonably refused any proposal made by the other, the court may do as follows:

It may refuse to accede to the application, or may accede to the same subject to conditions to be performed by either landlord or tenant, or may impose on either party to the application the payment of the costs or the greater part of the costs of any proceedings, and generally may make such order in the matter as the court thinks most consistent with justice.

The court in considering whether the landlord or tenant has unreasonably refused any proposal made by the other, may take into account any proposal that may have been made of the grant by the landlord to the tenant of such a lease as is hereafter in this Act referred to as a judicial lease; but the conduct of the tenant in refusing the grant of any such lease shall not be deemed unreasonable unless the court is satisfied that the interest of the tenant, having regard to the value of his tenancy, would have been sufficiently secured by such lease.

PART III.

EXCLUSION OF ACT BY AGREEMENT.

Judicial Leases.

9. The landlord and tenant of any ordinary tenancy and the landlord and proposed tenant of any holding to which this Act applies which is not subject to a subsisting tenancy, may agree, the one to grant and the other to accept a lease for a term of *thirty-one* years or upwards (in this Act referred to as a judicial lease), on such conditions and containing such provisions as the parties to such lease may mutually agree upon, and such lease, if sanctioned by the court, after considering the interest of the tenant and the value of his tenancy, shall be deemed to be substituted for the former tenancy, if any, in the holding; and the tenancy shall during the continuance of such lease be regulated by the provisions of that lease alone, and shall not be deemed to be a tenancy to which this Act applies.

At the expiration of a judicial lease, itself, apart from other considerations, be deemed to be a ground for reducing or increasing the rent of such holding.

9. Where the court, on the hearing of an application of either landlord or tenant respecting any matter under this Act, is of opinion that the conduct of either landlord or tenant has been unreasonable, or that the one has unreasonably refused any proposal made by the other, the court may do as follows:

It may refuse to accede to the application, or may accede to the same, subject to conditions to be performed by either landlord or tenant, or may impose on either party to the application the payment of the costs or the greater part of the costs of any proceedings, and generally may make such order in the matter as the court thinks most consistent with justice.

PART III.

EXCLUSION OF ACT BY AGREEMENT.

Judicial Leases.

10. The landlord and tenant of any ordinary tenancy and the landlord and proposed tenant of any holding to which this Act applies which is not subject to a subsisting tenancy, may agree, the one to grant and the other to accept a lease for a term of thirty-one years or upwards (in this Act referred to as a judicial lease), on such conditions and containing such provisions as the parties to such lease may mutually agree upon, and such lease, if sanctioned by the court, after considering the interest of the tenant, and where such lease is made by a limited owner, the interest of all persons entitled to any estate or interest in the holding subsequent to the estate or interest of such limited owner, shall be deemed to be substituted for the former tenancy, if any, in the holding; and the tenancy shall during the continuance of such lease be regulated by

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the lessee shall be deemed to be the tenant of a future ordinary tenancy from year to year at the rent and subject to the conditions of the lease, so far as such conditions are applicable to such tenancy.

Fixed Tenancies.

10. The landlord and tenant of any present ordinary tenancy may agree that such tenancy shall become a fixed tenancy within the meaning of this Act, and such fixed tenancy upon being established shall be substituted for the present tenancy previously existing in the holding, and shall not be deemed to be a tenancy to which this Act applies.

11. A fixed tenancy shall be a tenancy held upon such conditions as may be agreed upon between the landlord and tenant establishing such tenancy, subject to the following restrictions; that is to say,

(1.) The tenant shall pay a fee-farm rent which may or may not be subject to re-valuation by the court at such intervals of not less than *fifteen years* as may be agreed upon between the landlord and tenant; and

(2.) The tenant shall not be compelled to quit his holding except on breach of some one or more of the conditions in this Act declared to be statutory conditions.

PART IV.

PROVISIONS SUPPLEMENTAL TO PRECEDING PARTS.

Miscellaneous.

12. Where a tenant sells his tenancy without notice from the landlord that he is about to raise the rent, and the landlord demands a higher rent from the purchaser of the tenancy than he received from the tenant, the purchaser shall be deemed to be a tenant holding under the provisions of that lease alone, and shall not be deemed to be a tenancy to which this Act applies.

At the expiration of a judicial lease made to the tenant of a present tenancy and for a term not exceeding sixty years, the lessee shall be deemed to be the tenant of a present ordinary tenancy from year to year at the rent and subject to the conditions of the lease, so far as such conditions are applicable to such tenancy.

Fixed Tenancies.

11. The landlord and tenant of any tenancy may agree that such tenancy shall become a fixed tenancy within the meaning of this Act, and such fixed tenancy upon being established shall be substituted for the tenancy previously existing in the holding, and shall not be deemed to be a tenancy to which this Act applies.

12. A fixed tenancy shall be a tenancy held upon such conditions as may be agreed upon between the landlord and tenant establishing such tenancy, and in the case of a landlord who is a limited owner the court shall approve after considering the interest of all persons entitled to any estate or interest in the holding subsequent to the estate or interest of such limited owner, subject to the following restrictions; that is to say,

(1.) The tenant shall pay a fee-farm rent which may or may not be subject to re-valuation by the court at such intervals of not less than fifteen years as may be agreed upon between the landlord and tenant, the rent on any such re-valuation being such as the court, after hearing the parties, and having regard to the interests of the landlord and tenant respectively, and considering all the circumstances of the case, holding, and district, shall determine to be fair; and

(2.) The tenant shall not be compelled to quit his holding except on breach of some one or more of the conditions in this Act declared to be statutory conditions.

PART IV.

PROVISIONS SUPPLEMENTAL TO PRECEDING PARTS.

Miscellaneous.

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chaser may sell such tenancy forthwith, and if he sells the same forthwith he shall, in addition to any moneys he may receive from the sale of such tenancy, be entitled to receive from the landlord the amount by which the selling value of his tenancy may have been depreciated by the increase of rent.

13. (1.) Where proceedings are taken by the landlord to compel a tenant to quit his holding, the tenant may sell his tenancy at any time before but not after the expiration of *six months* from the execution of a writ or decree for possession in an ejectment for non-payment of rent and at any time before but not after the execution of such writ or decree in any ejectment other than for non-payment of rent; and, if any judgment or decree in ejectment has been obtained before the passing of this Act, such tenant may within the same periods respectively apply to the court to fix the judicial rent of the holding.

(2.) Where the sale of any tenancy is delayed by reason of any application being made to the court or for any other reasonable cause, the court may, on the application of the tenant, enlarge the time during which the tenant may exercise his power of sale.

(3.) Where any proceedings for compelling the tenant to quit his holding shall have been taken before or after an application to fix a judicial rent and shall be pending before such application is disposed of, the court before which such proceedings are pending shall have power to postpone or suspend such proceedings until the termination of the proceedings on the application for such judicial rent; and the pendency of any such proceedings for compelling the tenant to quit his holding shall not interfere with the power of the court to fix such rent, or with any right of the tenant resulting from the rent being so fixed; and any order made by the court for fixing the rent shall operate in the same manner as if such order had been made on the day of the date of application.

Provided that proceedings shall not be taken by a landlord to compel a tenant to quit his holding for breach of any statutory condition, save as follows:—

(1.) Where the condition broken is a condition relating to payment of rent, then by ejectment subject to the provisions of the statutes relating to ejectment for non-payment of rent; and

(2.) Where the condition broken is

13. (1.) Where proceedings are or have been taken by the landlord to compel a tenant to quit his holding the tenant may sell his tenancy at any time before but not after the expiration of six months from the execution of a writ or decree for possession in an ejectment for non-payment of rent and at any time before but not after the execution of such writ or decree in any ejectment other than for non-payment of rent; and any such tenancy so sold shall be and be deemed to be a subsisting tenancy notwithstanding such proceedings, without prejudice to the landlord's rights, in the event of the said tenancy not being redeemed within said period of six months; and, if any judgment or decree in ejectment has been obtained before the passing of this Act, such tenant may within the same periods respectively apply to the court to fix the judicial rent of the holding, but subject to the provisions herein contained such application shall not invalidate or prejudice any such judgment or decree, which shall remain in full force and effect.

(2.) Where the sale of any tenancy is delayed by reason of any application being made to the court or for any other reasonable cause, the court may, on the application of the tenant, and on such terms and conditions as the court may direct, enlarge the time during which the tenant may exercise his power of sale, or in case of ejectment for non-payment of rent redeem the tenancy.

(3.) Where any proceedings for compelling the tenant of a present tenancy to quit his holding shall have been taken before or after an application to fix a judicial rent and shall be pending before such application is disposed of, the court before which such proceedings are pending shall have power, on such terms and conditions as the court may direct, to postpone or suspend such proceedings until the termination of the proceedings on the application for such judicial rent; and the pendency of any such proceedings for compelling the tenant to quit his holding shall not interfere with the power of the court to fix such rent, or with any right of the tenant resulting from

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any other statutory condition, then by ejectment founded on notice to quit.

the rent being so fixed; and in such case any order made by the court for fixing the rent shall operate in the same manner as if such order had been made on the day of the date of application.

Provided, that proceedings shall not be taken by a landlord to compel a tenant to quit his holding for breach of any statutory condition, save as follows:

(*a.*) Where the condition broken is a condition relating to payment of rent, then by ejectment subject to the provisions of the statutes relating to ejectment for non-payment of rent; and

(*b.*) Where the condition broken is in any other statutory condition, then by ejectment founded on notice to quit.

(4.) Where a notice to quit is served by a landlord upon a tenant for the purpose of compelling the tenant to quit his holding during the continuance of a statutory term in his tenancy in consequence of the breach by the tenant of any statutory condition other than the condition relating to payment of rent, the tenant may, at any time before the commencement of an ejectment founded on such notice to quit, apply to the land commission, and after the commencement, or at the hearing of any such ejectment, may apply to the court in which the ejectment is brought, for an order restraining the landlord from taking further proceedings to enforce such notice to quit.

If the land commission or court to which such application is made are of opinion that adequate satisfaction for the breach of such condition can be made by the payment of damages to the landlord, and that the tenant may justly be relieved from the liability to be compelled to quit his holding in consequence of such breach, the commission or court may make an order restraining further proceedings on the notice to quit, upon the payment by the tenant of such sum for damages as they shall then, or after due inquiry, award to the landlord in satisfaction for the breach of the statutory condition, together with the costs incurred by the landlord in respect to the notice to quit and the proceedings subsequent thereto.

If the land commission or court are of opinion that no appreciable damage has accrued to the landlord from the breach of such condition, and that the tenant may be justly relieved as aforesaid, they may make an order restrain-

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14. The court on being satisfied that the tenant of any holding within the jurisdiction of the court has died, and that the tenancy of such tenant ought to be sold under this Act, and that there is no legal personal representative of such tenant, or no legal personal representative whose services are available for the purpose of selling the tenancy, may appoint any person whom they think fit to be administrator of the deceased tenant, limited to the purposes of such sale, and such limited administrator shall, for the purpose of selling the tenancy, represent the deceased tenant in the same manner as if the tenant had died intestate, and administration had been duly granted to such limited administrator of all the personal estate and effects of the deceased tenant.

Such limited administrator may pay to the landlord, out of the purchase money, any sums due to the landlord by the deceased tenant in respect of his tenancy, and may pay the residue of the purchase money to a general administrator (if any), or into court.

15. If in the case of any holding the immediate landlord for the time being is deprived of his estate by title paramount, effluxion of time, or otherwise, during the continuance of any tenancy, the next superior landlord for the time being shall, for the purposes of this Act, during the continuance of such tenancy, stand in relation of immediate landlord to the tenant of the tenancy, and have the rights and be subject to the obligations of an immediate landlord.

(16.) A tenancy for a year certain shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed to be a tenancy from year to year.

ing further proceedings on the notice to quit, upon such terms as to costs as they may think just.

(5.) The service of a notice to quit, to enforce which no proceedings are taken by the landlord, or the proceedings to enforce which are restrained by the court, shall not operate to determine the tenancy.

(6.) A tenant compelled to quit his holding during the continuance of a statutory term in his tenancy, in consequence of the breach by the tenant of any statutory condition, shall not be entitled to any compensation for disturbance.

14. The court on being satisfied that the tenant of any holding within the jurisdiction of the court has died, and that the tenancy of such tenant ought to be sold under this Act, and that there is no legal personal representative of such tenant, or no legal personal representative whose services are available for the purpose of selling the tenancy, may, on such terms and conditions (if any) as they may think fit, appoint any proper person to be administrator of the deceased tenant, limited to the purposes of such sale, and such limited administrator shall, for the purpose of selling the tenancy, represent the deceased tenant in the same manner as if the tenant had died intestate, and administration had been duly granted to such limited administrator of all the personal estate and effects of the deceased tenant.

Such limited administrator shall pay to the landlord, out of the purchase money, any sums due to the landlord by the deceased tenant in respect of his tenancy, and may pay the residue of the purchase money to a general administrator (if any), or into court.

15. If in the case of any holding the estate of the immediate landlord for the time being is determined during the continuance of any tenancy from year to year, whether subject or not subject to statutory conditions, the next superior landlord for the time being shall, for the purposes of this Act, during the continuance of such tenancy, stand in the relation of immediate landlord to the tenant of the tenancy, and have the rights and be subject to the obligations of an immediate landlord.

16. A tenancy for a year certain created after the passing of this Act shall, for the purposes of this Act and of the Landlord and Tenant (Ire-

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A tenant holding under a tenancy less than a yearly tenancy created after the passing of this Act shall have the same rights under this Act as a yearly tenant, except where land is let merely for temporary convenience or to meet a temporary necessity.

land) Act, 1870, be deemed to be a tenancy from year to year.

A tenant holding under a tenancy less than a yearly tenancy created after the passing of this Act shall have the same rights under this Act as a yearly tenant, except where land is let merely for temporary convenience or to meet a temporary necessity.

17. Where the tenant of a holding by virtue of his tenancy exercises, in common with other persons, over uninclosed land a right of pasturing or turning out cattle or other animals, or exercises a right of cutting and taking turf in common with other persons (which other persons, together with the tenant, are in this section referred to as commoners), then if such holding becomes subject to a statutory term the court may, during the continuance of such term, on the application of the landlord, or of any commoner, by order restrain the tenant from exercising his right of pasture or cutting or taking turf in any manner other than that in which it may be proved to the court that he is, under the circumstances and according to the ordinary usage which has prevailed with the express or implied consent of the landlord amongst the commoners, reasonably entitled to exercise the same.

18. Any person prohibited under this Act from letting or sub-letting a holding may, after service of the prescribed notice upon the landlord, with the sanction of the court, and with power for the court to prescribe such terms as to rent and otherwise as the court thinks just, let any portion of land in a situation to be approved by the landlord, or failing such approval to be determined by the court, with or without dwelling-houses thereon to or for the use of labourers *bonâ fide* employed and required for the cultivation of the holding, and such letting shall not be deemed to be a sub-letting within the meaning of this Act, or to be a letting prohibited by this Act; and notwithstanding such sub-letting, the tenant shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed to be still in occupation of the holding.

Provided, that the land comprised in each letting shall not exceed half an acre in extent, and that where the holding contains not more than twenty-five acres of tillage land, the number of such lettings shall not exceed one, and that where the holding contains more than twenty-five acres of tillage land, but not more than fifty acres of

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such land, the number of such lettings shall not exceed two; and so in proportion to the acreage of tillage land in the holding after fifty acres.

19. Where an application is made to the court for the determination of a judicial rent in respect of any holding, the court, if satisfied that there is a necessity for improving any existing cottages or building any new cottages, or assigning to any such cottage an allotment not exceeding half an acre, for the accommodation of the labourers employed on such holding, may, if it thinks fit, in making the order determining such rent, add thereto the terms as to rent and otherwise on which such accommodation for labourers is to be provided by the person making the application.

Where upon any such application the court requires the tenant of the holding to improve any existing cottage, or to build any new cottage, such tenant shall be deemed to be a person to whom a loan may be made under the Landed Property Improvement (Ireland) Acts for the improvement or building of dwellings for labourers, as if such person were an owner within the meaning of the seventh section of the Act of the session of the tenth and eleventh years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter thirty-two; but any such loan may be made for a less sum than the sum of one hundred pounds.

20. A tenancy to which this Act applies shall be deemed to have determined whenever the landlord has resumed possession of the holding either on the occasion of a purchase by him of the tenancy, or of default of the tenant in selling, or by operation of law, or reverter, or otherwise. Provided that:

(1.) The surrender to the landlord of a tenancy for the purpose of the acceptance or admission of a tenant or otherwise by way of transfer to a tenant shall not be deemed to be a determination of the tenancy:

(2.) Where the landlord has resumed possession of a tenancy from a present tenant, he may, if he thinks fit so to do, reinstate such tenant in his holding as a present tenant; and thereupon such tenancy shall again become subject to all the provisions of this Act which are applicable to present tenancies;

Provided always, that the landlord and tenant may at the time of such reinstatement agree on the rent to be paid by such tenant, and in such case

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such agreement shall have the same effect as if the rent so agreed on were a judicial rent fixed by the court under the provisions of this Act;

(3.) Where a present tenancy in a holding is purchased by the landlord from the tenant in exercise of his right of pre-emption under this Act, and not on the application or by the wish of the tenant, or as a bidder in the open market, then if the landlord within fifteen years from the passing of this Act re-lets the same holding to another tenant, the same shall be subject from and after the time when it has been so re-let, to all the provisions of this Act which are applicable to present tenancies;

(4.) A tenant holding under the Ulster tenant-right custom, or a usage corresponding to the Ulster tenant-right custom, shall be entitled to the benefit of such custom, notwithstanding any determination of his tenancy by breach of a statutory condition, or of an act or default of the same character as the breach of a statutory condition.

Whenever a present tenancy is sold in consequence of a breach by the tenant, after the passing of this Act, of a statutory condition, or, in the case of a tenancy not subject to statutory conditions, of an act or default on the part of a tenant, after the passing of this Act, which would, in a tenancy subject to such conditions, have constituted a breach thereof, the purchaser or his successors in title in such tenancy shall not at any time thereafter be entitled to apply to the court under this Act to fix a judicial rent for the holding; but this provision shall not prejudice or affect the right of such purchaser or his successors to hold at such judicial rent during the residue of such statutory term, if any, as the holding may then be subject to, under the provisions of this Act.

21. Any leases or other contracts of tenancy existing at the date of the passing of this Act, except yearly tenancies and tenancies less than yearly tenancies, which said existing leases and contracts of tenancies (except as aforesaid) are in this section referred to as existing leases, shall remain in force to the same extent as if this Act had not passed, and holdings subject to such existing leases shall be regulated by the lawful provisions contained in the said leases, and not by the provisions relating to tenancies in that behalf contained in this Act: Provided that at the expiration of such

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existing leases, or of such of them as shall expire within sixty years after the passing of this Act, the lessees, if *bonâ fide* in occupation of their holdings, shall be deemed to be tenants of present ordinary tenancies from year to year, at the rents and subject to the conditions of their leases respectively, so far as such conditions are applicable to tenancies from year to year; but this provision shall not apply where a reversionary lease of the holding has been *bonâ fide* made before the passing of this Act; and provided also that where it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court that the landlord desires to resume the holding for the *bonâ fide* purpose of occupying the same as a residence for himself, or as a home farm in connection with his residence, or for the purpose of providing a residence for some member of his family, the court may authorise him to resume the same accordingly, in the manner and on the terms provided by the fifth section of this Act with respect to the resumption of a holding by a landlord: Provided always, that if the holding so resumed shall be at any time within fifteen years after such resumption re-let to a tenant, the same shall be subject, from and after the time of its being so re-let, to all the provisions of this Act which are applicable to present tenancies.

On the termination of any such existing lease in any holding which if it had been held from year to year would have been subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom, or any usage corresponding therewith, the person who would have been entitled to make a claim under the first or second section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, in respect of the same holding shall be entitled to do so notwithstanding that the holding was held under any such lease, but this proviso shall not apply to leases in which there is contained a provision expressly excluding the Ulster tenant-right custom or a usage corresponding therewith.

In any case in which the court shall be satisfied that since the passing of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, the acceptance by a tenant from year to year of a lease of his holding containing terms which, in the opinion of the court, were at the time of such acceptance unreasonable or unfair to the tenant, having regard to the provisions of the said Act, was procured by the landlord by threat of eviction or undue influence, the court may, upon the application of the tenant

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Extent of Power to Contract out of Act.

17. A tenant of a holding or holdings, valued under the Acts relating to the valuation of rateable property in Ireland at an annual value of not less than one hundred and fifty pounds, shall be entitled by writing under his hand to contract himself out of any of the provisions of this Act, but save as aforesaid any provision contained in any lease or contract of tenancy or other contract, which provision is inconsistent with any of the foregoing provisions of this Act, shall be void.

Limited Owner.

18. A landlord being a limited owner, as defined by the twenty-sixth section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, may exercise under the foregoing provisions of this Act any powers which he might exercise if he were an absolute owner, with

made within six months after the passing of this Act, declare such lease to be void as and from the date of the application or order, and upon such terms as to costs or otherwise as to the court shall seem just; and thereupon the tenant shall as and from such date be deemed to be the tenant of a present ordinary tenancy from year to year at the rent mentioned in such lease. Any person aggrieved by the decision of the court in any proceedings under this section may, by leave of the court, which leave shall be granted unless the court shall consider the appeal frivolous or vexatious, appeal to Her Majesty's Court of Appeal in Ireland, and the decision of the said Court of Appeal shall be final and conclusive.

Extent of Power to Contract out of Act.

22. A tenant whose holding or the aggregate of whose holdings is valued under the Act relating to the valuation of rateable property in Ireland at an annual value of not less than one hundred and fifty pounds, shall be entitled by writing under his hand to contract himself out of any of the provisions of this Act or of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870.

Where the tenancy in a holding subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom or to any corresponding usage, has been purchased by the landlord from the tenant by voluntary purchase before the passing of this Act, then, if at the date of the passing of this Act the owner of any such holding is in actual occupation thereof, it shall be lawful, in the case of the first tenancy created in the holding after the passing of this Act, for the parties to the contract creating the same, by writing under their hands, to provide that such tenancy shall be exempt from the provisions of section one of this Act.

Save as in this section mentioned any provision contained in any lease or contract of tenancy or other contract made after the passing of this Act, which provision is inconsistent with any of the foregoing provisions of this Act or with any of the provisions of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, shall be void.

Limited Owner.

23. A landlord being a limited owner, as defined by the twenty-sixth section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, may exercise under the foregoing provisions of this Act any powers which he might exercise if he were an absolute owner, with this

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this exception, that except in the case of a body corporate, commissioners, or other like body, a limited owner shall not create a fixed tenancy without the sanction of the court. Any fines or principal moneys arising from the exercise of such powers shall be dealt with in manner provided by the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts hereafter in this Act defined with respect to the purchase money or compensation coming to parties having limited interests.

PART V.

ACQUISITION OF LAND BY TENANTS, RECLAMATION OF LAND, AND EMIGRATION.

Acquisition of Land by Tenants.

19. (1.) The land commission, out of moneys in their hands, may, if satisfied with the security, advance sums to tenants for the purpose of enabling them to purchase their holdings, as follows, that is to say,—

(*a.*) Where a sale of a holding is about to be made by a landlord to a tenant in consideration of the payment of a principal sum,

the land commission may advance to the tenant for the purposes of such purchase, any sum not exceeding *three fourths* of the said principal sum.

(*b.*) Where a sale of a holding is about to be made by a landlord to a tenant in consideration of the tenant paying a fine and engaging to pay to the landlord a fee farm rent,

the land commission may advance to the tenant for the purposes of such purchase, any sum not exceeding *one half* of the fine payable to the landlord.

Provided that no advance shall be made by the land commission under this section on a holding subject to a fee farm rent, where the amount of such fee farm rent exceeds seventy-five per cent. of the rent which, in the opinion of the land commission, a solvent tenant would pay for the holding,

exception, that except in the case of a body corporate, commissioners, or other like body, a limited owner shall not grant a judicial lease or create a fixed tenancy without the sanction of the court. Any fines or principal moneys arising from the exercise of such powers shall be dealt with in manner provided by the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts hereinafter in this Act defined with respect to the purchase money or compensation coming to parties having limited interests.

In the case of any holding subject to mortgage the prescribed notice of any agreement between landlord and tenant for granting a judicial lease or creating a fixed tenancy of such holding under the foregoing provisions of this Act, shall be served upon the mortgagee, and the mortgagee shall be entitled to intervene in such proceedings in the prescribed manner and subject to the prescribed conditions.

PART V.

ACQUISITION OF LAND BY TENANTS, RECLAMATION OF LAND, AND EMIGRATION.

Acquisition of Land by Tenants.

24. (1.) The land commission, out of moneys in their hands, may, if satisfied with the security, advance sums to tenants for the purpose of enabling them to purchase their holdings, as follows, that is to say,—

(*a.*) Where a sale of a holding is about to be made by a landlord to a tenant in consideration of the payment of a principal sum,

the land commission may advance to the tenant for the purposes of such purchase, any sum not exceeding three fourths of the said principal sum.

(*b.*) Where a sale of a holding is about to be made by a landlord to a tenant in consideration of the tenant paying a fine and engaging to pay to the landlord a fee farm rent,

the land commission may advance to the tenant for the purposes of such purchase, any sum not exceeding one half of the fine payable to the landlord.

Provided that no advance shall be made by the land commission under this section on a holding subject to a fee farm rent, where the amount of such fee farm rent exceeds seventy-five per cent. of the rent which, in the opinion of the land commission, would be a fair rent for the holding.

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(2.) Sales by landlords to tenants may on the application of either landlord or tenant be negotiated and completed through the medium of the land commission at a fixed price or percentage, according to a scale to be settled from time to time by the land commission with the consent of the Treasury.

(3.) Where an estate is subject to incumbrances, or any doubt arises as to the title, the land commission, if satisfied with the indemnity or terms given by the landlord, may themselves indemnify the tenant against any such incumbrances, or any right, title, or interest adverse to or in derogation of the title of the landlord, *and any such indemnity of the land commission shall be a charge upon the Consolidated Fund or the growing produce thereof.*

20. (1.) Any estate may be purchased by the land commission for the purpose of reselling to the tenants of the lands comprised in such estate their respective holdings, if the land commission are satisfied with the expediency

(2.) Sales by landlords to tenants may on the application of either landlord or tenant be negotiated and completed through the medium of the land commission at a fixed price or percentage, according to a scale to be settled from time to time by the land commission with the consent of the Treasury.

(3.) Where an estate is subject to incumbrances, or any doubt arises as to the title, the land commission, if satisfied with the indemnity or terms given by the landlord, may themselves indemnify the tenant against any such incumbrances, or any right, title, or interest adverse to or in derogation of the title of the landlord, and any such indemnity of the land commission shall be a charge upon the Consolidated Fund or the growing produce thereof.

25. A landlord of a holding, being a limited owner as defined by the twenty-sixth section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, may by agreement, subject to the provisions of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts (except so much of the same as relates to the purchase of lands otherwise than by agreement), sell and convey such holding to the tenant, and may exercise to the same extent as if he were an absolute owner the power of permitting any sum not exceeding one fourth in amount of the price which the tenant may pay as purchase money, to remain as a charge upon such holding secured by a mortgage, and in case of any advance being made by the land commission under the provisions of this Act to the tenant for the purchase of such holding any such mortgage shall be subject to any charge in favour of the land commission for securing such advance; and any such mortgage and the principal moneys secured thereby shall be deemed to be part of the purchase money or compensation payable in respect of the purchase of such holding, and shall be dealt with accordingly in manner provided by the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts; and in the construction of the said Acts for the purposes of this section the expression "the special Act" shall be construed to mean this Act, and the expression "the promoters of the undertaking" shall be construed to mean the tenant.

26. (1.) Any estate may be purchased by the land commission for the purpose of reselling to the tenants of the lands comprised in such estate their respective holdings, if the land commission are satisfied with the expedi-

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of the purchase, and are further satisfied that a competent number of the tenants are able and willing to purchase their holdings from the land commission.

(2.) The sale by the land commission of a holding to the tenant thereof may be made either in consideration of a principal sum being paid as the whole price (whether paid immediately or by means of such advance as in this part of this Act mentioned) or in consideration of a fine and of a fee farm rent, with this qualification, that the amount of the fee farm rent shall not exceed seventy-five per cent. of the rent which in the opinion of the land commission a solvent tenant would pay for the holding.

(3.) For the purposes of this section a competent number of tenants means a body of tenants, who are not less in number than three fourths of the whole number of tenants on the estate, and who pay in rent not less than three fourths of the whole rent of the estate, and of whom a number, comprising not less than one half of the whole number of tenants on the estate are willing to pay the whole price of their holdings, either immediately or by means of such advances as in this part of this Act mentioned.

(4.) The land commission may advance to a tenant proposing to pay the whole price of his holding any sum not exceeding seventy-five per cent. of the said price, and to a tenant purchasing subject to a fee farm rent a sum not exceeding one half of the amount of the fine payable by the tenant.

(5.) In sales by the land commission to tenants in pursuance of this section, a separate charge shall not be made for any expenses relating to the purchase, sale, or conveyance of the property, but such expenses shall be included in the price or fine payable by the purchaser.

The land commission may, if they are satisfied with the indemnity or terms offered or given by the vendor, purchase for the purposes of this section an estate subject to incumbrances, or an estate subject to any right, title, or interest adverse to or in derogation of the title of the vendor, and the land commission may indemnify any person to whom they may sell any holding under this section against any such incumbrances, or the enforcement of any such right, title, or interest, ***and such indemnity shall be a charge on the Consolidated Fund or the growing produce thereof.***

ency of the purchase, and are further satisfied that a competent number of the tenants are able and willing to purchase their holdings from the land commission.

(2.) The sale by the land commission of a holding to the tenant thereof may be made either in consideration of a principal sum being paid as the whole price (whether paid immediately or by means of such advance as in this part of this Act mentioned) or in consideration of a fine and of a fee farm rent, with this qualification, that the amount of the fee farm rent shall not exceed seventy-five per cent. of the rent which in the opinion of the land commission would be a fair rent for the holding.

(3.) For the purposes of this section a competent number of tenants means a body of tenants who are not less in number than three fourths of the whole number of tenants on the estate, and who pay in rent not less than two thirds of the whole rent of the estate, and of whom a number, comprising not less than one half of the whole number of tenants on the estate, are able and willing to pay the whole price of their holdings, either immediately or by means of such advances as in this part of this Act mentioned.

The condition as to three fourths of the number of tenants may be relaxed on special grounds with the consent of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, but so that in no case less than half the number of tenants shall be able and willing to purchase.

(4.) The land commission may advance to a tenant proposing to pay the whole price of his holding any sum not exceeding seventy-five per cent. of the said price, and to a tenant purchasing subject to a fee farm rent a sum not exceeding one half of the amount of the fine payable by the tenant.

(5.) In sales by the land commission to tenants in pursuance of this section, a separate charge shall not be made for any expenses relating to the purchase, sale, or conveyance of the property, but such expenses shall be included in the price or fine payable by the purchaser.

The land commission may, if they are satisfied with the indemnity or terms offered or given by the vendor, purchase for the purposes of this section an estate subject to incumbrances, or an estate subject to any right, title, or interest adverse to or in derogation of the title of the vendor, and the land commission may indemnify any person to whom they may sell any holding under this section against any such in-

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21. Where the land commission have purchased an estate, they may sell any parcels which they do not sell to the tenants thereof in such manner as they think fit, in consideration either of a principal sum as the whole price, or of a fine and a fee farm rent, or partly in one way and partly in the other.

The land commission may advance to any purchaser of a parcel under this section, on the security of such parcel, one half of the principal sum paid as the whole price or of the fine.

The provisions of this part of this Act with respect to the charges for expenses and to the mode in which sales are to be made and to the indemnity which the land commission may give to the purchaser shall, except so far as the land commission otherwise direct, apply to the sale of a parcel in pursuance of this section in like manner as if the purchaser had been the tenant of the holding at the time of his making the purchase.

22. (1.) Any advance made by the land commission for the purpose of supplying money for the purchase of a holding from a landlord or of a holding or parcel from the land commission, shall be repaid by an annuity in favour of the land commission for *thirty-five years* of *five pounds* for *every hundred pounds* of such advance, and so in proportion for any less sum.

(2.) Every such advance shall be secured to the commission either in such manner as may be agreed on between the commission and the person to whom the advance is made, and as the commission think sufficient, or in manner provided by Part III. of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, as amended by the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1872, in like manner in all respects as if the same were such an advance as is mentioned in those Acts, and as if the land commission were the Board therein mentioned, and as if the person receiving the advance were a tenant or purchaser therein mentioned.

(3.) Any person liable to pay an annuity in this section mentioned may redeem the same, or any part thereof, as provided by section fifty-one of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870.

cumbrances or the enforcement of any such right, title, or interest, and such indemnity shall be a charge on the Consolidated Fund or the growing produce thereof.

27. Where the land commission have purchased an estate, they may sell any parcels which they do not sell to the tenants thereof in such manner as they think fit, in consideration either of a principal sum as the whole price, or of a fine and a fee farm rent, or partly in one way and partly in the other.

The land commission may advance to any purchaser of a parcel under this section, on the security of such parcel, one half of the principal sum paid as the whole price or of the fine.

The provisions of this part of this Act with respect to the charges for expenses and to the mode in which sales are to be made and to the indemnity which the land commission may give to the purchaser shall, except so far as the land commission otherwise direct, apply to the sale of a parcel in pursuance of this section in like manner as if the purchaser had been the tenant of the holding at the time of his making the purchase.

28. (1.) Any advance made by the land commission for the purpose of supplying money for the purchase of a holding from a landlord or of a holding or parcel from the land commission, shall be repaid by an annuity in favour of the land commission for thirty-five years of five pounds for every hundred pounds of such advance, and so on in proportion for any less sum.

(2.) Every such advance shall be secured to the commission either in such manner as may be agreed on between the commission and the person to whom the advance is made, and as the commission think sufficient, or in manner provided by Part III. of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, as amended by the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1872, in like manner in all respects as if the same were such an advance as is mentioned in those Acts, and as if the land commission were the Board therein mentioned, and as if the person receiving the advance were a tenant or purchaser therein mentioned.

(3.) Any person liable to pay an annuity in this section mentioned may redeem the same, or any part thereof, or may pre-pay any instalments thereof in such manner and on such terms as is provided by section fifty-one of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, or in such other manner, and on

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23. (1.) The land commission shall not purchase a leasehold estate under this part of this Act, unless the lease is for lives or years renewable for ever, or is for a term of years of which not less than sixty are unexpired at the time when the sale is made, or unless the land commission have purchased some greater right or interest in the estate in which the leasehold would be merged: Provided that—

(*a.*) This part of this Act shall not empower the owner of a leasehold holding under a lease containing a prohibition against alienation to sell such leasehold unless such prohibition is determined or is waived; and

(*b.*) Nothing in this section shall prevent the purchase of an estate by reason only of a small part thereof being leasehold.

(2.) Any body corporate, public company, trustees for charities, commissioners or trustees for collegiate or other public purposes, or any person having a limited interest in an estate or any right or interest therein, may sell the same to the land commission, and for the purpose of the purchase by the land commission of any estate or any right or interest therein the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts (except so much as relates to the purchase of land otherwise than by agreement) shall be incorporated with this Act, and in construing those Acts for the purposes of this section the "special Act" shall be construed to mean this Act, and "the promoters of the undertaking" shall be construed to mean the land commission, and "land" shall be construed to include any right or interest in land.

(3.) For the purpose of this Act "the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts" means the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, as amended by the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts Amendment Act, 1860, the Railways Act (Ireland), 1851, the Railways Act (Ireland), 1860, the Railways Act (Ireland), 1864, and the Railway Traverse Act.

(4.) Any sale of a holding to a tenant by a landlord, also any sale to a tenant of a holding by the land commission in pursuance of this part of this Act, may be made either in pursuance of Part II. of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, or in such manner as the land commission may think expedient; and for the purpose of the application of the said Part II., "price" in section thirty-two of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, shall be deemed to such other terms, as the Treasury may from time to time approve, having regard to the due repayment of the loan and the protection of the land commission against loss by the said loan.

29. (1.) The land commission shall not purchase a leasehold estate under this part of this Act, unless the lease is for lives or years renewable for ever, or is for a term of years of which not less than sixty are unexpired at the time when the sale is made, or unless the land commission have purchased some greater right or interest in the estate in which the leasehold would be merged: Provided that—

(*a.*) This part of this Act shall not empower the owner of a leasehold holding under a lease containing a prohibition against alienation to sell such leasehold unless such prohibition is determined or is waived; and

(*b.*) Nothing in this section shall prevent the purchase of an estate by reason only of a small part thereof being leasehold.

(2.) Any body corporate, public company, trustees for charities, commissioners or trustees for collegiate or other public purposes, or any person having a limited interest in an estate or any right or interest therein, may sell the same to the land commission, and for the purpose of the purchase by the land commission of any estate or any right or interest therein the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts (except so much as relates to the purchase of land otherwise than by agreement) shall be incorporated with this Act, and in construing those Acts for the purposes of this section the "special Act" shall be construed to mean this Act, and the "promoters of the undertaking" shall be construed to mean the land commission, and "land" shall be construed to include any right or interest in land.

(3.) For the purpose of this Act "the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts" means the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, as amended by the Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts Amendment Act, 1860.

(4.) Any sale of a holding to a tenant by a landlord, also any sale to a tenant of a holding by the land commission in pursuance of Part II. of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, or in such manner as the land commission may think expedient; and for the purpose of the application of the said Part II., "price" in section thirty-two of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, shall be deemed to

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(Ireland) Act, 1870, or in such manner as the land commission may think expedient; and for the purpose of the application of the said Part II., "price" in section thirty-two of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, shall be deemed to include a fine and a fee farm rent as well as a principal sum, and the enactments relating to the distribution of the price shall apply with the necessary modifications.

24. (1.) As between the land commission and the proprietor for the time being of any holding for the purchase of which the land commission have advanced money in pursuance of this part of this Act, the following conditions shall be imposed so long as such holding is subject to any charge in respect of an annuity in favour of the land commission; that is to say,

(*a.*) The holding shall not be sold by such proprietor without the consent of the land commission until one half of the whole charge has been discharged:

(*b.*) The holding shall not be subdivided or sublet by such proprietor without the consent of the land commission until the whole charge due to the land commission has been repaid:

(*c.*) Where the proprietor sells, subdivides, or sublets any holding or part of a holding in contravention of the foregoing provisions of this section, the land commission may cause the holding to be sold:

(*d.*) Where the title to the holding is divested from the proprietor by bankruptcy, or judgment, the land commission may cause the holding to be sold:

(*e.*) Where, on the decease of the proprietor, the holding would by reason of any devise, bequest, intestacy, or otherwise, become sub-divided the land commission may require the holding to be sold within twelve months after the death of the proprietor to some one person, and if default is made in selling the same, the land commission may cause the same to be sold.

(2.) The land commission may cause any holding which under this section they can cause to be sold, or any part of such holding, to be sold by public auction or private contract, and subject to any conditions of sale they may think expedient, and after such notice of the time, place, terms, and conditions of such sale, as they think just and expedient; and the land commission may convey such holding to the purchaser in like manner in all respects as if the holding had been vested in the land commission.

include a fine and a fee farm rent as well as a principal sum, and the enactments relating to the distribution of the price shall apply with the necessary modifications.

30. (1.) As between the land commission and the proprietor for the time being of any holding for the purchase of which the land commission have advanced money in pursuance of this part of this Act, the following conditions shall be imposed so long as such holding is subject to any charge in respect of an annuity in favour of the land commission; that is to say,

(*a.*) The holding shall not be subdivided or let by such proprietor without the consent of the land commission until the whole charge due to the land commission has been repaid:

(*b.*) Where the proprietor subdivides or lets any holding or part of a holding in contravention of the foregoing provisions of this section, the land commission may cause the holding to be sold:

(*c.*) Where the title to the holding is divested from the proprietor by bankruptcy, the land commission may cause the holding to be sold:

(*d.*) Where, on the decease of the proprietor, the holding would by reason of any devise, bequest, intestacy, or otherwise, become sub-divided the land commission may require the holding to be sold within twelve months after the death of the proprietor to some one person, and if default is made in selling the same, the land commission may cause the same to be sold.

(2.) The land commission may cause any holding which under this section they can cause to be sold, or any part of such holding, to be sold by public auction or private contract, and subject to any conditions of sale they may think expedient, and after such notice of the time, place, terms, and conditions of such sale, as they think just and expedient; and the land commission may convey such holding to the purchaser in like manner in all respects as if the holding had been vested in the land commission.

(3.) The land commission shall apply the proceeds derived from such sale in payment, in the first instance, of all moneys due to them in respect of the holding, and in redemption on

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(3.) The land commission shall apply the proceeds derived from such sale in payment, in the first instance, of all moneys due to them in respect of the holding, and in redemption on the terms specified in section fifty-one of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, of any annuity charged on the said holding, in favour of the commission, or of so much thereof as remains unpaid, and of all expenses incurred by the land commission in relation to such sale or otherwise with respect to the holding, and shall pay the balance to the persons appearing to the land commission to be for the time being entitled to receive the same.

Reclamation of Land and Emigration.

25. (1.) The Treasury may authorise the Board of Works to advance from time to time out of any moneys in their hands to companies, if they are satisfied with the security, such sums as the

the terms specified in section fifty-one of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, of any annuity charged on the said holding, in favour of the commission, or of so much thereof as remains unpaid, and of all expenses incurred by the land commission in relation to such sale or otherwise with respect to the holding, and shall pay the balance to the persons appearing to the land commission to be for the time being entitled to receive the same.

Provided, that in respect of any holding which is subject to any charge in respect of an annuity in favour of the Board of Works, created in pursuance of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, the said Board may, if they shall see fit, at any time during the continuance of such charge, upon the application of that person for the time being liable to pay the same, declare such holding to be subject to the conditions imposed by this Act on a holding subject to any charge in respect of an annuity in favour of the land commission; and thenceforth so much of the forty-fourth and forty-fifth sections of the said Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, as prohibits, without the consent of the Board, the alienation, assignment, sub-division, or sub-letting of a holding charged as in the said section mentioned, and declares that in the event of such prohibition being contravened the holding shall be forfeited to the Board, and also so much of section two of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1872, as relates to the sale of holdings in lieu of forfeiture, shall, as to the holding in respect of which such a declaration has been made, be repealed, and the conditions imposed by this Act on a holding subject to any charge in respect of an annuity in favour of the land commission shall apply to the holding in respect whereof the said declaration has been made in the same manner as if the said conditions had been made applicable to the said last-mentioned holding by the said Acts of one thousand eight hundred and seventy and one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, and the said Board had thereby been authorised to enforce the said conditions.

Reclamation of Land and Emigration.

31. (1.) The Treasury may authorise the Board of Works to advance from time to time out of any moneys in their hands to companies, if they are satisfied with the security, such sums

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Treasury think expedient for the purpose of the reclamation or improvement of waste or uncultivated land, drainage of land, or for any other works of agricultural improvement.

(2.) The Board of Works shall not make to any company in pursuance of this section any advances exceeding in the whole the sums which such company may, within such period as may be determined by the Board of Works, have advanced or expended out of their own moneys for some one of the purposes of this section, with this exception, that where a baronial guarantee has been given for the sum to be advanced to the company, such advance may amount to two thirds of the sum guaranteed.

(3.) Advances made by the Board of Works to a company in pursuance of this section shall be made repayable within such periods and at such rate of interest as are set forth in a minute of the Treasury made on the sixteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, with reference to loans to which section two of the Public Works Loans Act, 1879, applies, or as the Treasury may from time to time fix in pursuance of that section, and save as regards such periods and rate of interest the enactments relating to loans made by the Board of Works for the like purposes to those above in this section mentioned shall, so far as is consistent with this section, apply in like manner as if an advance under this section were a loan made in pursuance of those enactments.

(4.) "A baronial guarantee" means for the purposes of this section a guarantee by a barony in favour of a public company given in pursuance of the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1880, and any company to which this section applies shall be deemed to be a public company within the meaning of the said Act; and in order that a guarantee may be given in pursuance of this section the power of convening extraordinary meetings of the baronial presentment sessions of any barony vested in the Lord Lieutenant may be exercised by the Lord Lieutenant at any time before the *thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six.*

as the Treasury think expedient for the purpose of the reclamation or improvement of waste or uncultivated land or foreshores, drainage of land, or for building of labourers' dwellings, or any other works of agricultural improvement.

(2.) The Treasury may authorise the Board of Works to make advances for like purposes to an occupier of land, when satisfied that the tenancy or other security which he may have to offer is such as to insure repayment of principal and interest within such number of years as the Treasury may fix, or when the landlord joins the occupier in giving such security.

Any advance to an occupier under this sub-section shall be subject to the provisions of the Landed Property Improvement (Ireland) Acts, so far as the Treasury may declare the same to be applicable, and shall have priority over all charges and incumbrances whatever upon the tenancy of such occupier, except rent, unless the landlord is a party to the advance, and agrees to postpone the rent to it; but before such advance is made one month's previous notice thereof shall be given in a newspaper circulating in the district within which the said holding is situated, and in such other manner as the Board of Works may prescribe; and such advance shall not have priority over any charge or incumbrance of which the Board of Works may have had notice in writing given them before making the advance.

(3.) The Board of Works shall not make to any company in pursuance of this section any advances exceeding in the whole the sums which such company may, within such period as may be determined by the Board of Works, have advanced or expended out of their own moneys for some one of the purposes of this section, nor any advances without proper security that those advances shall be expended for such purposes as aforesaid in addition to the sums advanced or expended by the company out of their own moneys.

(4.) Advances made by the Board of Works to a company in pursuance of this section shall be made repayable within such periods and at such rate of interest as are set forth in a minute of the Treasury made on the sixteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, with reference to loans to which section two of the Public Works Loans Act, 1879, applies, or as the Treasury may from time to time fix in pursuance of that section,

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26. The land commission may from time to time, with the concurrence of the Treasury, enter into agreements with any person or body of persons having authority to contract on behalf of the dominion of Canada, or of any province thereof, or on behalf of any British colony or dependency, or any state or other district in such dominion, province, colony, or dependency, or on behalf of any public company or other public body with whose constitution and security the land commission may be satisfied, for the advance by the commission by way of loan, out of the moneys in their hands, of such sums as the commission may think it desirable to expend in promoting emigration from Ireland. Such agreements shall contain such provisions relative to the mode of the application of the loans and the securing and repayment thereof to the commission, and for other purposes, as the commission with the concurrence of the Treasury approve. Such loans shall be made repayable within the periods and at the rate of interest within and at which advances by the Board of Works for the purpose of the reclamation or improvement of land are directed by this Act to be made repayable.

Supplemental Provisions.

27. *The Treasury may from time to time, as they think fit, issue the sums required for advances or purchases of estates by the land commission under this part of this Act not exceeding the sums annually granted by Parliament for the purpose; and, sections twelve, thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen of the Public Works Loans (Ireland) Act, 1877, shall apply in like manner as if they were herein enacted, with the substitution of "Land Commission" for "the Commissioners of Public Works," and as if the said sums required by the*

and save as regards such periods and rate of interest the enactments relating to loans made by the Board of Works for the like purposes as those above in this section mentioned shall, so far as is consistent with this section, apply in like manner as if an advance under this section were a loan made in pursuance of those enactments.

27. The land commission may from time to time, with the concurrence of the Treasury, and on being satisfied that a sufficient number of people in any district desire to emigrate, enter into agreements with any person or persons having authority to contract on behalf of any state or colony or public body or joint stock company with whose constitution and security the land commission may be satisfied, for the advance by the commission by way of loan, out of the moneys in their hands, of such sums as the commission may think it desirable to expend in promoting emigration, especially of families and from the poorer and more thickly populated districts of Ireland. Such agreements shall contain such provisions relative to the mode of the application of the loans and the securing and repayment thereof to the commission, and for securing the satisfactory equipment, transport, and reception of the emigrants, and for other purposes, as the commission with the concurrence of the Treasury approve. Such loans shall be made repayable within the periods and at the rate of interest within and at which advances by the Board of Works for the purpose of the reclamation or improvement of land are directed by this Act to be made repayable: Provided always, that there shall not be expended by virtue of the authority hereby given a greater sum than two hundred thousand pounds in all, nor a greater sum than one third part thereof in any single year.

Supplemental Provisions.

28. The Treasury may from time to time, as they think fit, issue the sums required for advances or purchases of estates by the land commission under this part of this Act not exceeding the sums annually granted by Parliament for the purpose; and sections twelve, thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen of the Public Works Loans (Ireland) Act, 1877, shall apply in like manner as if they were herein enacted, with the substitution of "Land Commission" for "the Commissioners of Public Works," and as if the said sums required by the land

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land commission were the loans in the said sections mentioned.

28. (1.) The land commission before buying any estate shall satisfy themselves that a resale can be effected without loss, and that the purchasers will be in a position to work their holdings profitably.

(2.) The land commission upon purchasing any estate shall certify to the Treasury that they are satisfied with the matters of which they are by this section, or by any other provision of this part of this Act, required to be satisfied before such purchase, and such certificate shall be conclusive evidence to any purchaser that they were so satisfied and that the purchase was made in accordance with this Act.

(3.) An advance made by the land commission to a purchaser of a holding or of any parcel of land, in respect of any one purchase by him under this Act whether from the landlord or from the land commission, shall not exceed *three thousand pounds*, unless the commission report to the Treasury that by reason of special circumstances they deem it expedient to make an advance not exceeding *five thousand pounds*, in which case they may make such advance with the approval of the Treasury.

(4.) The land commission shall, from time to time, by sale by auction, or in such other manner as may be allowed by the Treasury, dispose of all fee farm rents for the time being vested in them.

(5.) The land commission shall in purchasing estates, in making advances, in dealing with the funds that come into their possession, and in accounting for the same, and generally in the performance of their duties under this part of this Act, conform to any directions, whether given on special occasions or by general rule or otherwise, which may from time to time be given to them by the Treasury, and shall from time to time report as the Treasury may direct all matters which may be transacted by the land commission.

(6.) All sums received by the commission as repayments of any advance, and all sums received by the commission for fees, percentages, rents, or otherwise shall, except so far as they may be applied under directions from the Treasury in payment of expenses, be paid into the Exchequer.

29. All powers exercisable by the Board of Works under the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, and the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1872, in relation to the purchase

commission were the loans in the said sections mentioned.

34. (1.) The land commission before buying any estate shall reasonably satisfy themselves that a resale can be effected without loss.

(2.) The land commission upon purchasing any estate shall certify to the Treasury that they are satisfied with the matters of which they are by this section, or by any other provision of this part of this Act, required to be satisfied before such purchase, and such certificate shall be conclusive evidence to any purchaser that they were so satisfied and that the purchase was made in accordance with this Act.

(3.) An advance made by the land commission to a purchaser of a holding or of any parcel of land, in respect of any one purchase by him under this Act whether from the landlord or from the land commission, shall not exceed three thousand pounds, unless the commission report to the Treasury that by reason of special circumstances they deem it expedient not to make an advance not exceeding five thousand pounds, in which case they may make such advance with the approval of the Treasury.

(4.) The land commission shall, from time to time, by sale by auction, or in such other manner as may be allowed by the Treasury, dispose of all fee farm rents for the time being vested in them.

(5.) The land commission shall in purchasing estates, in making advances, in dealing with the funds that come into their possession, and in accounting for the same, and generally in the performance of their duties under this part of this Act, conform to any directions, whether given on special occasions or by general rule or otherwise, which may from time to time be given to them by the Treasury, and shall from time to time report as the Treasury may direct all matters which may be transacted by the land commission.

(6.) All sums received by the commission as repayments of any advance, and all sums received by the commission for fees, percentages, rents, or otherwise shall, except so far as they may be applied under directions from the Treasury in payment of expenses, be paid into the Exchequer.

35. All powers exercisable by the Board of Works under the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, and the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1872, in relation to the purchase by

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by tenants of their holdings shall, after *the passing of this Act*, be transferred to and may be exercised by the land commission, and the said Act and any enactments amending the same so far as they relate to the matter aforesaid shall be construed as if the land commission were substituted for the Board: Provided that this section shall not affect or interfere with any of the powers of the Board of Works in relation to any transactions which are completed before the passing of this Act or which the Board declare are being carried into effect at the passing of this Act.

(30.) In fixing the purchase moneys, fines, rents, fees, per-centages, and other sums to be charged or made payable to the land commission in respect of transactions under this part of this Act care shall be taken to fix the same in such manner as to make the amount resulting therefrom, as nearly as can be estimated, not less than the amount required to defray the expenses.

PART VI.

COURT AND LAND COMMISSION.

Description of Court and Proceedings.

31. (1.) The expression "The Court" as used in this Act shall mean the civil bill court of the county where the matter requiring the cognisance of the court arises.

(2.) Where a matter requiring the cognisance of the court arises in respect of a holding situate within the jurisdiction of more than one civil bill court, any civil bill court within the jurisdiction of which any part of the holding is situate may take cognisance of the matter.

(3.) The court shall have jurisdiction in respect of all disputes between landlords and tenants arising under this Act.

(4.) In determining any question relating to a holding, the court may direct an independent valuer to report to the court his opinion on any matter the court may desire to refer to such valuer, such report to be accompanied with a statement, if so directed, of all such facts and circumstances as may be required for the purpose of enabling the court to form a judgment as to the subject-matter of such report. The court may or may not, as it thinks fit, adopt the report of such valuer, and it may make such order with respect to

tenants of their holdings shall, after the passing of this Act, and subject to the provisions of this Act, be transferred to and may be exercised by the land commission, and the said Acts and any enactments amending the same so far as they relate to the matter aforesaid shall be construed as if the land commission were substituted for the Board: Provided that this section shall not affect or interfere with any of the powers of the Board of Works in relation to any transactions which are completed before the passing of this Act or which the Board declare are being carried into effect at the passing of this Act.

36. In fixing the purchase moneys, fines, rents, fees, per-centages, and other sums to be charged or made payable to the land commission in respect of transactions under this part of this Act care shall be taken to fix the same in such manner as to make the amount resulting therefrom, as nearly as can be estimated, not less than the amount required to defray the expenses.

PART VI.

COURT AND LAND COMMISSION.

Description of Court and Proceedings.

37. (1.) The expression "The Court" as used in this Act shall mean the civil bill court of the county where the matter requiring the cognisance of the court arises.

(2.) Where a matter requiring the cognisance of the court arises in respect of a holding situate within the jurisdiction of more than one civil bill court, any civil bill court within the jurisdiction of which any part of the holding is situate may take cognisance of the matter.

(3.) Any proceedings which might be instituted before the civil bill court may, at the election of the person taking such proceedings, be instituted before the land commission, and thereupon the land commission shall, as respects such proceedings, be deemed to be the court.

(4.) Where proceedings have been commenced in the civil bill court any party thereto may, within the prescribed period, apply to the land commission to transfer such proceedings from the civil bill court to the land commission; and thereupon the land commission may order the same to be transferred accordingly.

(5.) The court shall have jurisdic-

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the costs incurred in respect of such report as it thinks just.

32. There shall be incorporated with this Act the following provisions of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870; that is to say,

(1.) Section twenty-three, relating to the powers of the judge of the civil bill court; and section twenty-five, relating to the court of arbitration;

(2.) Section forty, relating to the apportionment of rents, and in that section rents shall include any rent payable to the Crown;

(3.) Section fifty-nine, relating to administration on death of tenant;

(4.) Section sixty, containing provisions as to married women;

(5.) Section sixty-one, containing provisions as to other persons under disability;

(6.) Section sixty-two, relating to additional sittings of civil bill court;

(7.) Section sixty-four, relating to power to appoint a substitute in civil bill court if judge cannot attend.

tion in respect of all disputes between landlords and tenants arising under this Act.

(6.) In determining any question relating to a holding, the court may direct an independent valuer to report to the court his opinion on any matter the court may desire to refer to such valuer, such report to be accompanied with a statement, if so directed, of all such facts and circumstances as may be required for the purpose of enabling the court to form a judgment as to the subject-matter of such report. The court may or may not, as it thinks fit, adopt the report of such valuer, and it may make such order with respect to the costs incurred in respect of such report as it thinks just.

38. There shall be incorporated with this Act the following provisions of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, as if the purposes therein referred to included the purposes of this Act; that is to say,

(1.) Section twenty-three, relating to the powers of the judge of the civil bill court; and section twenty-five, relating to the court of arbitration;

(2.) Section forty, relating to the apportionment of rents, and in that section rents shall include any rent payable to the Crown;

(3.) Section fifty-nine, relating to administration on death of tenant;

(4.) Section sixty, containing provisions as to married women;

(5.) Section sixty-one, containing provisions as to other persons under disability;

(6.) Section sixty-two, relating to additional sittings of civil bill court;

(7.) Section sixty-four, relating to power to appoint a substitute in civil bill court if judge cannot attend.

39. There shall be paid, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, to clerks of the peace appointed to their office before the fourteenth day of August one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, and who have not accepted any permanent office under the County Officers and Courts (Ireland) Act, 1877, and also to clerks of the Crown and peace who, under the provisions of the sixteenth section of the said Act have elected to continue to practise as solicitors, such annual sums, by way of remuneration for any additional duties imposed on them by this Act, as the Lord Lieutenant, with the consent of the Treasury, may direct.

Notwithstanding the conditions imposed by any other Act upon the grant

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Arbitration.

33. Any matter capable of being determined by the court under this Act, may, if the parties so agree, be decided by arbitration, and an arbitration shall be conducted by the court of arbitration in manner provided by the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, and where the amount of rent is decided by arbitration, such rent shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be the judicial rent.

Appointment and Proceedings of Land Commission.

34. The following persons, that is to say, *A.B.*, of , *C.D.*, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and *E.F.*, of , shall be constituted commissioners under this Act. They shall hold office during Her Majesty's pleasure, and if any vacancy occurs in the office of any commissioner, by death, resignation, incapacity, or otherwise, Her Majesty may, by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, appoint some other fit person to fill the vacancy, with this qualification, that one member of the commission shall always be a person who is or has been a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland.

of a pension to a county court judge it shall be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant, with the concurrence of the Lord Chancellor and of the Treasury, at any time before the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, to grant to any county court judge now entitled to practise at the bar who shall show to the satisfaction of the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury that the discharge of the additional duties imposed on him by this Act would deprive him of professional emoluments which, if this Act had not been passed, he would have received, such special retiring pension, not exceeding two thirds of his salary, as, having regard to the circumstances of each case, shall appear to the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury to be reasonable.

Arbitration.

40. Any matter capable of being determined by the court under this Act, may, if the parties so agree, be decided by arbitration, and an arbitration shall be conducted by the court of arbitration in manner provided by the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, and where the amount of rent is decided by arbitration, such rent shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be the judicial rent.

Appointment and Proceedings of Land Commission.

41. A land commission shall be constituted under this Act consisting of a judicial commissioner and two other commissioners.

The judicial commissioner, and every successor in his office, shall be a person who at the date of his appointment is a practising barrister at the Irish bar of not less than ten years standing.

The judicial commissioner for the time being shall forthwith on his appointment become an additional judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland with the same rank, salary, tenure of office, and right to retiring pension as if he had been appointed a puisne judge of one of the common law divisions of the High Court of Justice.

He may be required by order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council to perform any duties which a judge of the said Supreme Court of Judicature is by law required to perform; but, unless so required, he shall not be bound to perform any of such duties.

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35. The commissioners under this Act shall be a body corporate, with a common seal, and a capacity to acquire and hold land for the purposes of this Act, and shall be styled "The Irish Land Commission."

Judicial notice shall be taken by all courts of justice of the corporate seal of the land commission, and any order or other instrument purporting to be sealed with it shall be received as evidence without further proof.

36. The Lord Lieutenant may from time to time, with the consent of the Treasury as to number, appoint and remove assistant commissioners.

The central office of the land commission shall be in Dublin, but the land commission may form sub-commissions in any province, particular district or districts of Ireland, and such sub-commissions shall consist of such number of the said assistant commissioners as the land commission may think fit, and the land commission may delegate to any sub-commission such powers as they think expedient, and may from time to time revoke, alter, or modify any powers so delegated to a sub-commission.

The first judicial commissioner shall be Mr. Serjeant O'Hagan.

If any vacancy occurs in the office of the judicial commissioner by death, resignation, incapacity, or otherwise, Her Majesty may, by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, appoint some other qualified person to fill the vacancy.

The two commissioners, other than the judicial commissioner, shall respectively hold their offices for seven years next succeeding the passing of this Act.

If during the said period of seven years a vacancy occurs in the office of any of such other commissioners by death, resignation, incapacity, or otherwise, Her Majesty may by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual appoint some other fit person to fill such vacancy, but the person so appointed shall hold his office only until the expiration of the said period of seven years.

The first commissioners, other than the judicial commissioner, shall be Mr. Edward Falconer Litton and Mr. John E. Vernon.

42. The land commission under this Act shall be a body corporate, with a common seal, and a capacity to acquire and hold land for the purposes of this Act, and shall be styled "The Irish Land Commission."

Judicial notice shall be taken by all courts of justice of the corporate seal of the land commission, and any order or other instrument purporting to be sealed with it shall be received as evidence without further proof.

43. The Lord Lieutenant may from time to time, with the consent of the Treasury as to number, appoint and by Order in Council remove assistant commissioners, who shall have the prescribed qualifications and hold office for the prescribed times.

The central office of the land commission shall be in Dublin, but they may hold sittings in any other part of Ireland.

The land commission may form sub-commissions in any province, particular district or districts of Ireland, and such sub-commissions shall consist of such number of the said assistant commissioners or of a commissioner and one or more assistant commissioners as the land commission may think fit, and the land commission may delegate to any sub-commission such of the powers, except as to appeals, by this Act conferred upon the land commission, as they think expedient, and may

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37. Any power or act by this Act vested in or authorised to be done by the land commission may be exercised or done by any one member of the land commission, or by such assistant commissioner or number of assistant commissioners as the land commission may from time to time determine with the assent of the Lord Lieutenant.

38. The land commission may from time to time, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury, appoint and remove a secretary, and appoint and remove such number of officers, agents, clerks, and messengers as they deem necessary for the purposes of this Act.

They may also, with the consent of the Treasury, employ such number of actuaries, surveyors, and other persons as they may think fit for the purpose of enabling the land commission to carry into effect any of the provisions of this Act.

39. There shall be paid to each of the commissioners a salary not exceeding *two thousand pounds* a year, and to the assistant commissioners, secretary, officers, and other persons above mentioned such salaries or remuneration as the Lord Lieutenant may, with the consent of the Treasury, determine.

The salaries of the commissioners and assistant commissioners and of all persons employed by the commissioners and all expenses incurred by the land commission in carrying into effect this Act, not otherwise provided for, shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament.

40. Any person aggrieved by the decision of any civil bill court with respect to the determination of any matter under this Act may appeal to the land commission, and such commission may confirm, modify, or reverse the decision of the civil bill court.

The land commission may determine from time to time revoke, alter, or modify any powers so delegated to a sub-commission.

44. Any power or act by this Act vested in or authorised to be done by the land commission, except the power of hearing appeals, may be exercised or done by any one member of the land commission or by any sub-commission, with this qualification, that any person aggrieved by any order of one commissioner, or by any order of a sub-commission, may require his case to be reheard by all three commissioners sitting together, except in the case of the illness or unavoidable absence of any one commissioner, when any such case may be heard by two commissioners sitting together; provided that neither of such two commissioners be the commissioner before whom the case was originally heard.

45. The land commission may from time to time, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant, appoint and remove a solicitor and a secretary, and such officers, agents, clerks, and messengers as they, with the consent of the Treasury, and subject to such regulations as the Treasury may from time to time prescribe, deem necessary for the purposes of this Act.

They may also, with the consent of the Treasury, employ such actuaries, surveyors, and other persons as they may think fit for the purpose of enabling the land commission to carry into effect any of the provisions of this Act.

46. There shall be paid to each of the commissioners, other than the judicial commissioner, a salary not exceeding three thousand pounds a year, and to the assistant commissioners, secretary, officers, and other persons above mentioned such salaries or remuneration as the Lord Lieutenant may, with the consent of the Treasury, determine.

The salaries of the commissioners, other than the Judicial Commissioner, and of the assistant commissioners, and of all persons employed by the land commission, and all expenses incurred by the land commission in carrying into effect this Act, not otherwise provided for, shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament.

47. Any person aggrieved by the decision of any civil bill court with respect to the determination of any matter under this Act or under the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, may appeal to the land commission, and such commission may confirm, modify, or reverse the decision of the

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any appeal in Dublin or may proceed to any place or places in Ireland for the purpose of from time to time determining the same.

41. (1.) For the purposes of this Act the land commission may refer any matter to the land judges of the Chancery Division of the High Court.

(2.) The land commission shall have full power to decide all questions whatsoever, whether of law or fact, which it may be necessary to decide for the purposes of this Act, and they shall not be subject to be restrained in the execution of their powers under this Act by the order of any court, nor shall any proceedings before them be removed by *certiorari* into any court.

(3.) The land commission with respect to the following matters; that is to say,

(*a.*) Enforcing the attendance of witnesses, (after a tender of their expenses,) the examination of witnesses orally or by affidavit, and the production of deeds, books, papers, and documents; and

(*b.*) Issuing any commission for the examination of witnesses; and

(*c.*) Punishing persons refusing to give evidence or to produce documents, or guilty of contempt in the presence of the land commission or any of them sitting in open court; and

(*d.*) Making or enforcing any order whatever made by them for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects of this Act;

shall have all such powers, rights, and privileges as are vested in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland for such or the like purposes, and all proceedings before the land commission shall in law be deemed to be judicial proceedings before a court of record.

civil bill court. All appeals to the land commission under this Act shall be heard by all three commissioners sitting together, except in the case of illness or unavoidable absence of any one commissioner, when any appeal may be heard by two commissioners sitting together, one of whom shall be the Judicial Commissioner.

The land commission may determine any appeal in Dublin or may proceed to any place or places in Ireland for the purpose of from time to time determining the same.

The twenty-fourth section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, is hereby repealed. All appeals under the said section pending at the time of the passing of this Act are hereby transferred to the land commission; and all further proceedings thereon shall be taken in the prescribed manner.

48. (1.) For the purposes of this Act the land commission shall have full power and jurisdiction to hear and determine all matters, whether of law or fact, and shall not be subject to be restrained in the execution of their powers under this Act by the order of any court, nor shall any proceedings before them be removed by *certiorari* into any court.

(2.) The land commission may of its own motion, or shall on the application of any party to any proceeding pending before it, unless it considers such application frivolous and vexatious, state a case in respect of any question of law arising in such proceedings, and refer the same for the consideration and decision of Her Majesty's Court of Appeal in Ireland.

The land commission may also, in case it thinks fit, permit any party aggrieved by the decision of the land commission in any proceedings to appeal in respect of any matter arising in such proceedings to Her Majesty's Court of Appeal in Ireland; provided that no appeal from the land commission to the Court of Appeal in Ireland shall be permitted in respect of any matter arising under Part V. of this Act, or in respect of any decision as to the amount of fair rent, or any question of value or of damages, or any matter left in the discretion of the land commission.

The decision of the said Court of Appeal on any such question so referred to it shall be final and conclusive.

(3.) The land commission with respect to the following matters: that is to say,

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(4.) In determining any question relating to a holding the commission may direct an independent valuer to report to it his opinion on any matter the commission may desire to refer to such valuer, such report to be accompanied with a statement, if so directed, of all such facts and circumstances as may be required for the purpose of enabling the commission to form a judgment as to the subject-matter of such report. The commission may or may not, as it thinks fit, adopt the report of such valuer, and it may make such order with respect to the costs incurred in respect of such report as it thinks just.

(5.) The land commission may review and rescind or vary any order or decision previously made by them, or any of them; but save as aforesaid, every order or decision of the said commission shall be final.

Nothing in this section shall authorise the land commission to determine any question or to exercise any power of a judge in relation to any purchase of an estate by them, or to the purchase of a holding through the medium of the land commission.

(*a.*) Enforcing the attendance of witnesses, (after a tender of their expenses,) the examination of witnesses orally or by affidavit, and the production of deeds, books, papers, and documents; and

(*b.*) Issuing any commission for the examination of witnesses; and

(*c.*) Punishing persons refusing to give evidence or to produce documents, or guilty of contempt in the presence of the land commission or any of them sitting in open court; and

(*d*) Making or enforcing any order whatever made by them for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects of this Act;

shall have all such powers, rights, and privileges as are vested in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland for such or the like purposes, and all proceedings before the land commission shall in law be deemed to be judicial proceedings before a court of record.

(4.) In determining any question relating to a holding the commission may direct an independent valuer to report to it his opinion on any matter the commission may desire to refer to such valuer, such report to be accompanied with a statement, if so directed, of all such facts and circumstances as may be required for the purpose of enabling the commission to form a judgment as to the subject-matter of such report. The commission may or may not, as it thinks fit, adopt the report of such valuer, and it may make any such order with respect to the costs incurred in respect of such report as it thinks just.

(5.) The land commission may review and rescind or vary any order or decision previously made by them, or any of them; but save as by this Act provided every order or decision of the said commission shall be final: Provided always, that any order or decision made by three members of the land commission shall not be reviewed, rescinded, or varied, except by three members of the land commission.

Nothing in this section shall authorise the land commission to determine any question or to exercise any power of a judge in relation to any purchase of an estate by them, or to the purchase of a holding through the medium of the land commission.

49. Where the land commission or any sub-commission hold sittings elsewhere than in Dublin, such land commission or sub-commission may use the courthouses commonly used for civil

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42. (1.) The land commission shall circulate forms of application and directions as to the mode in which applications are to be made under this Act, and may from time to time make, and when made may rescind, amend, or add to, rules with respect to such circulation and to the following matters, or any of them:

(*a.*) The proceedings on the occasion of sales under this Act:

(*b.*) The proceedings in the civil bill court under this Act:

(*c.*) The security (if any) to be given by applicants to, or persons dealing with, the commission:

(*d.*) The proceedings in appeals under this Act:

(*e.*) The forms to be used for the purposes of this Act:

(*f.*) The scale of costs and fees to be charged in carrying this Act into execution, and the taxation of such costs and fees, and the persons by or from whom and the manner in which such costs and charges are to be paid or deducted, subject nevertheless to the sanction of the Treasury as to the amount of fees to be charged:

(*g.*) The mode of service of civil bill processes in ejectment and for the recovery of rent:

(*h.*) The service of notices on persons interested, and any other matter by this Act, or any part of any Act incorporated herewith, directed to be prescribed:

(*i.*) The mode in which consents on the part of any landlord, tenant, or other person may be signified under this Act:

(*j.*) As to any other matter or thing, whether similar or not to those above mentioned, in respect of which it may seem to the land commission expedient to make rules for the purpose of carrying this Act into effect.

(2.) Any rules made in pursuance of this section shall be judicially noticed in all courts of Her Majesty's dominions.

(3.) Any rules made in pursuance of this section shall be laid before Parliament within three weeks after they are made if Parliament be then sitting,

bill purposes or for the holding of courts of petty sessions, and the officers of the civil bill courts shall, in the prescribed manner and at the prescribed times, be bound to attend the sittings of the said land commission and sub-commissions, and to perform analogous duties to those which they perform in the case of a sitting of the civil bill court.

50. (1.) The land commission shall from time to time circulate forms of application and directions as to the mode in which applications are to be made under this Act, and may from time to time make, and when made may rescind, amend, or add to, rules with respect to the following matters, or any of them:

(*a.*) The proceedings on the occasion of sales under this Act:

(*b.*) The proceedings on the occasion of applications to fix judicial rents under this Act and the withdrawal of such applications:

(*c.*) The proceedings in the civil bill court under this Act:

(*d.*) The consolidation of cases and the joinder of parties:

(*e.*) The security (if any) to be given by applicants to, or persons dealing with, the commission:

(*f.*) The proceedings in appeals under this Act:

(*g.*) The proceedings in respect of cases stated for the decision of Her Majesty's Court of Appeal in Ireland under this Act:

(*h.*) The proceedings on the occasion of applications for transfer of cases from the Civil Bill Court to the land commission under this Act:

(*i.*) The qualifications and tenure of office of assistant commissioners:

(*j.*) The forms to be used for the purposes of this Act:

(*k.*) The scale of costs and fees to be charged in carrying this Act into execution, and the taxation of such costs and fees, and the persons by or from whom and the manner in which such costs and charges are to be paid or deducted, subject nevertheless to the sanction of the Treasury as to the amount of fees to be charged:

(*l.*) The attendance and discharge of duties by the officers of the civil bill courts before the land commission and sub-commissions when holding sittings under this Act:

(*m.*) The mode in which consents on the part of the land commission or of any landlord, tenant, or other person may be signified under this Act:

(*n.*) The service of notices on mort-

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and if Parliament be not then sitting, within three weeks after the beginning of the then next session of Parliament.

gagees and persons interested, and any other matter by this Act, or any part of any Act incorporated herewith, directed to be prescribed:

(*o.*) As to any other matter or thing, whether similar or not to those above mentioned, in respect of which it may seem to the land commission expedient to make rules for the purpose of carrying this Act or any part of any Act incorporated herewith into effect.

(2.) Any rules made in pursuance of this section shall be judicially noticed in all courts of Her Majesty's dominions.

(3.) Any rules made in pursuance of this section shall be laid before Parliament within three weeks after they are made if Parliament be then sitting, and if Parliament be not then sitting, within three weeks after the beginning of the then next session of Parliament; and if an Address is presented to Her Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next subsequent one hundred days on which the said House shall have sat praying that any such rule may be annulled, Her Majesty may thereupon by Order in Council annul the same, and the rule so annulled shall thenceforth become void and of no effect, but without prejudice to the validity of any proceedings which may in the meantime have been taken under the same.

(4.) The Public Offices Fees Act, 1879, shall apply to fees payable under this Act.

51. The making of rules and orders prescribing and regulating the mode of service of civil bill processes in ejectment, and for recovery of rent, is hereby declared to be within the provisions of the seventy-ninth section of the County Officers and Courts (Ireland) Act, 1877; and notwithstanding any other enactment, the service of such processes in the manner prescribed by such rules or orders shall be valid and sufficient.

Whenever an action for the recovery of rent not exceeding twenty pounds or for the recovery of land, whether for nonpayment of rent or for overholding, is brought in the High Court of Justice in Ireland, in any case in which the plaintiff in such action could have sued for the recovery of such rent or land in a civil bill court, the plaintiff in such action shall not be entitled to any costs, unless the judge before whom such action is tried, or the divisional court to which such action is attached, shall by order declare the said plaintiff entitled to costs.

52. Subject to rules made under

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43. No person being a member of or employed by the land commission shall by reason of such membership or employment acquire any right to compensation, superannuation, or other allowance on abolition of office or otherwise.

this Act, it shall be lawful for the party to any proceeding before the land commission or any sub-commission, or, with the leave of such commission or sub-commission, for the father or husband of such party, or for a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland (but not a solicitor retained as an advocate by such first-mentioned solicitor), or for a barrister retained by or on behalf of such party and instructed by his or her solicitor, but without any right of exclusive audience or pre-audience, to appear and address such commission or sub-commission and conduct the case subject to such rules and regulations as may be from time to time prescribed.

53. No person being a member of the land commission other than the judicial commissioner, or being an assistant commissioner or employed by the land commission, shall by reason of such membership or employment acquire any right to compensation, superannuation, or other allowance on abolition of office or otherwise.

54. No person being a member of, or holding office under, the land commission, or being an assistant commissioner, shall, during the time that he holds his office, be capable of being elected a member of or sitting in the Commons House of Parliament.

55. The land commission shall once in every year after the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one make a report to the Lord Lieutenant as to their proceedings under this Act, and every such report shall be presented to Parliament.

56. The land commission shall from time to time prepare in such form and at such times as the Treasury from time to time direct accounts of their receipts and expenditure, and within six months after the expiration of the year to which the accounts relate the land commission shall transmit the same to the Controller and Auditor General to be audited, certified, and reported upon in conformity with the regulations from time to time made by the Treasury for that purpose, and the accounts, with the reports of the Controller and Auditor General thereon, shall be laid before the House of Commons not later than three months after the date on which they were transmitted for audit if Parliament be then sitting, and if not sitting, within fourteen days after Parliament next assembles.

Provided, that the regulations made by the Treasury under this section shall

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PART VII.

DEFINITIONS, APPLICATION OF ACT, AND SAVINGS.

44. In the construction of this Act the following words and expressions shall have the meaning hereby assigned to them, unless there be something in the context repugnant thereto; that is to say,

"Lord Lieutenant" includes the Lords Justices or any other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland for the time being:

"Treasury" means the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury:

"Board of Works" means the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland:

"Contract of tenancy" means a letting of land for a term of years or for lives, or for lives and years, or from year to year:

"Tenant" means a person occupying land under a contract of tenancy, and includes the successors in title to a tenant:

"Landlord" means the immediate landlord or the person for the time being entitled to receive the rents and profits or take possession of the land held by his tenant, and includes the successors in title to a landlord:

"Holding" during the continuance of a tenancy means a parcel of land held by a tenant of a landlord for the same term and under the same contract of tenancy, and upon the determination of such tenancy, means the same parcel of land discharged from the tenancy:

"Tenancy" means the interest in a holding of a tenant and his successors in title during the continuance of a tenancy; and "rent of a tenancy" means the rent for the time being payable by such tenant or some one or more of his successors:

"Present tenancy" means a tenancy subsisting at the time of the passing of this Act:

"Future tenancy" means a tenancy beginning after the passing of this Act:

"Ordinary tenancy" means a tenancy to which this Act applies, and which is not a tenancy subject to statutory conditions, or a judicial lease, or a fixed tenancy:

be laid before the House of Commons within one month of the date thereof, if Parliament be then sitting, and, if not, then within fourteen days after Parliament next assembles, and that such regulations shall not have effect until they have lain for thirty days upon the Table of the House.

PART VII.

DEFINITIONS, APPLICATION OF ACT, AND SAVINGS.

57. In the construction of this Act the following words and expressions shall have the meaning hereby assigned to them, unless there be something in the context repugnant thereto; that is to say,

"Lord Lieutenant" includes the Lords Justices or any other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland for the time being:

"Treasury" means the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury:

"Board of Works" means the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland:

"County" includes a riding of a county:

"Contract of tenancy" means a letting or agreement for the letting of land for a term of years or for lives, or for lives and years, or from year to year:

"Tenant" means a person occupying land under a contract of tenancy, and includes the successors in title to a tenant:

Where the tenant sub-lets part of his holding with the consent of his landlord he shall, notwithstanding such sub-letting, be deemed for the purposes of this Act to be still in occupation of the holding.

"Landlord" means the immediate landlord or the person for the time being entitled to receive the rents and profits or take possession of the land held by his tenant, and includes the successors in title to a landlord:

"Holding" during the continuance of a tenancy means a parcel of land held by a tenant of a landlord for the same term and under the same contract of tenancy, and, upon the determination of such tenancy, means the same parcel of land discharged from the tenancy:

"Tenancy" means the interest in a holding of a tenant and his successors in title during the continuance of a tenancy; and "rent of a tenancy" means the rent for the time being payable by such tenant or some one or more of his successors:

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"Sale," "sell," and cognate words, include alienation, and alienate, with or without valuable consideration:

"Ejectment" includes action for recovery of land:

"An estate" means any lands which the opinion of the land commission may be deemed for the purposes of this Act to constitute an estate:

"Prescribed" means prescribed by rules made in pursuance of this Act.

Any words or expressions in this Act which are not hereby defined, and are defined in the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, shall, unless there is something in the context of this Act repugnant thereto, have the same meaning as in the last-mentioned Act.

45. A tenancy to which this Act applies shall be deemed to have determined whenever it is sold in consequence of a breach by the tenant of a statutory condition, or, in the case of a tenancy not subject to statutory conditions, of an act or default on the part of a tenant which would, in a tenancy subject to such conditions, have constituted a breach thereof, or whenever the landlord has resumed possession of the holding either on the occasion of a purchase by him of the tenancy, or of default of the tenant in selling, or by

"Present tenancy" means a tenancy subsisting at the time of the passing of this Act or created before the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three in a holding in which a tenancy was subsisting at the time of the passing of this Act, and every tenancy to which this Act applies shall be deemed to be a present tenancy until the contrary is proved:

"Future tenancy" means, except as aforesaid, a tenancy beginning after the passing of this Act:

"Ordinary tenancy" means a tenancy to which this Act applies, and which is not a tenancy subject to statutory conditions, or a judicial lease, or a fixed tenancy:

"Sale," "sell," and cognate words, include alienation, and alienate, with or without valuable consideration:

"Ejectment" includes action for recovery of land:

"An estate" means any lands which the land commission may by order declare fit to be purchased as a separate estate for the purposes of this Act:

"Prescribed" means prescribed by rules made in pursuance of this Act:

"Landed Property Improvement (Ireland) Acts" means the Act of the session of the tenth and eleventh years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter thirty-two, intituled "An Act to facilitate the improvement of landed property in Ireland," and any Acts amending or extending the same.

Any words or expressions in this Act which are not hereby defined, and are defined in the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, shall, unless there is something in the context of this Act repugnant thereto, have the same meaning as in the last-mentioned Act, and the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, except in so far as the same is expressly altered or varied by this Act or is inconsistent therewith, and this Act shall be construed together as one Act.

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operation of law, or reverter, or otherwise. Provided that:

(1.) The surrender to the landlord of a tenancy for the purpose of the acceptance or admission of a tenant or otherwise by way of transfer to a tenant shall not be deemed to be a determination of the tenancy;

(2.) Where a present tenancy in a holding is purchased by the landlord from the tenant in exercise of his right of pre-emption under this Act, and not on the application or by the wish of the tenant, or as a bidder in the open market, then if the landlord within fifteen years from the passing of this Act re-lets the same holding to another tenant, the same shall be subject from and after the time when it has been so re-let, to all the provisions of this Act which are applicable to present tenancies;

(3.) A tenant holding under the Ulster tenant-right custom, or a usage corresponding to the Ulster tenant-right custom, shall be entitled to the benefit of such custom, notwithstanding any determination of his tenancy by breach of a statutory condition, or of an act or default of the same character as the breach of a statutory condition.

46. This Act, with the exception of so much thereof as amends the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, in respect of compensation for improvements, and with the exception of Part Five of this Act, shall not apply to tenancies in—

(1.) Any holding which is not agricultural or pastoral in its character, or partly agricultural and partly pastoral; or

(2.) Any demesne land, or any holding ordinarily termed "town-parks" adjoining or near to any city or town which bears an increased value as accommodation land over and above the ordinary letting value of land occupied as a farm, and is in the occupation of a person living in such city or town, or the suburbs thereof; or

(3.) Any holding let to be used wholly or mainly for the purpose of pasture, and valued under the Acts relating to the valuation of property at an annual value of not less than fifty pounds; or

(4.) Any holding let to be used wholly or mainly for the purposes of pasture, the tenant of which does not actually reside on the same, unless such holding adjoins or is ordinarily used with the holding on which such tenant actually resides; or

(5.) Any holding which the tenant

58. This Act, with the exception of so much thereof as amends the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, in respect of compensation for improvements, and with the exception of Part Five of this Act, shall not apply to tenancies in—

(1.) Any holding which is not agricultural or pastoral in its character, or partly agricultural and partly pastoral; or

(2.) Any demesne land, or any land being or forming part of a home farm or any holding ordinarily termed "town-parks" adjoining or near to any city or town which bears an increased value as accommodation land over and above the ordinary letting value of land occupied as a farm, and is in the occupation of a person living in such a city or town, or the suburbs thereof; or

(3.) Any holding let to be used wholly or mainly for the purpose of pasture, and valued under the Acts relating to the valuation of property at an annual value of not less than fifty pounds; or

(4.) Any holding let to be used wholly or mainly for the purposes of pasture, the tenant of which does not actually reside on the same, unless such holding adjoins or is ordinarily used with the holding on which such tenant actually resides; or

(5.) Any holding which the tenant

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holds by reason of his being a hired labourer or hired servant; or

(6.) Any letting in conacre or for the purposes of agistment or for temporary depasturage; or

(7.) Any holding let and expressed in the document by which it is let to be so let for the temporary convenience or to meet a temporary necessity either of the landlord or tenant;

(8.) Any cottage allotment not exceeding a quarter of an acre.

47. Any leases or tenancies existing at the date of the passing of this Act, except yearly tenancies and tenancies less than yearly tenancies, which existing leases and tenancies (except as aforesaid) are in this Act referred to as existing leases, shall remain in force to the same extent as if this Act had not passed, and holdings subject to existing leases shall be regulated by the provisions contained in the said leases, and not by the provisions relating to tenancies in that behalf contained in this Act: Provided that on the termination of any existing lease in any holding which if it had been held from year to year would have been subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom, or any usage corresponding therewith, the person who would have been entitled to make a claim under the first or second section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, in respect of the same holding shall be entitled to do so notwithstanding that the holding was held under any such lease, but this proviso shall not apply to leases in which there is contained a provision expressly excluding the Ulster tenant-right custom or a usage corresponding therewith.

holds by reason of his being a hired labourer or hired servant; or

(6.) Any letting in conacre or for the purposes of agistment or for temporary depasturage; or

(7.) Any holding let to the tenant during his continuance in any office, appointment, or employment, or for the temporary convenience or to meet a temporary necessity either of the landlord or tenant: Provided that any such letting made after the passing of this Act shall be by contract in writing, which shall express the purpose for which such letting is made;

(8.) Any cottage allotment not exceeding a half of an acre;

(9.) Any "glebe" as defined by the Act of thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth Victoria, chapter forty-two, which now is, or hereafter shall be held or occupied by any "ecclesiastical persons" as by the same Act defined, and no such ecclesiastical person shall in respect of such glebe be entitled to make any claim for compensation under any of the provisions of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, or of this Act.

59. Where it appears to the court, on the joint application of the landlord and tenant of any holding valued under the Acts relating to the valuation of rateable property in Ireland at a

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sum not exceeding thirty pounds a year—

That the tenant has paid the whole (or such sum as the landlord may be willing to accept as the equivalent of the whole) of the rent payable in respect of the year of the tenancy expiring on the gale day next before the passing of this Act, and that antecedent arrears are due, the land commission may make, in respect of such antecedent arrears, an advance of a sum not exceeding one year's rent of the holding, and not exceeding half the antecedent arrears, and thereupon the court shall by order declare the holding to be charged with the repayment of the advance to the land commission, by a rentcharge payable half-yearly during the fifteen years from the date specified in the order, and calculated at the rate of eight pounds ten shillings a year for every hundred pounds of the advance.

Whenever in the case of any tenant evicted for nonpayment of rent since the first day of May one thousand eight hundred and eighty, the landlord agrees to reinstate such tenant on the terms in this section set forth, this section shall apply as if such tenant had not been so evicted from his holding.

The charge declared by the order as aforesaid shall have priority over all charges affecting the holding except quit rent and Crown rent and sums payable to the Commissioners of Public Works or the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland, and the landlord for the time being of the holding shall pay to the land commission the sum for the time being due on account of such rentcharge.

Every half-yearly amount of such rentcharge shall be deemed to be an addition to the half-year's rent of the holding (whether a judicial rent or otherwise) due from the tenant to the landlord, and may be recovered by the landlord accordingly.

On the order of the court being made as aforesaid in relation to any holding, all arrears of rent due in respect of that holding on or prior to the gale day next before the passing of this Act shall be deemed to be absolutely released.

The landlord and tenant may agree that any rent paid by the tenant during the twelve months immediately preceding the passing of this Act shall be deemed, for the purposes of this section, to have been paid in respect of the rent due for the then current year, and not in respect of arrears of rent.

Where arrears of rent in respect of

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48. Any application which a tenant is authorised by this Act to make to the court shall, if made to the court on the first occasion on which it sits after the passing of this Act, have the same operation as if it had been made on the day on which this Act comes into force; and any order made upon such application shall be of the same effect as if it had been made on the day on which this Act comes into force, unless the

a holding are due to some person or persons besides the landlord, the advance made by the land commission under this section shall be rateably distributed by the court amongst the persons entitled thereto.

An application for an advance under this section shall not be made after the twenty-eighth day of February one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two.

The omission or refusal by either landlord or tenant of any holding to join with the other of them in obtaining a loan from the land commission under this section shall not prejudice any other application or proceeding which either of them may make or institute under this Act or the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, in relation to the holding.

The land commission may make advances for the purpose of this section out of any moneys for the time being in their hands for the purposes of this Act.

The land commission shall at such time after the expiration of each period of twelve months as the Treasury may from time to time appoint, make up an account showing for the said period of twelve months the amount of all such payments due to them in respect of rentcharges payable to them under this section as they have failed to recover at the expiration of the said period (in this section referred to as payments in arrear), and the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland shall, out of any moneys at their disposal, pay to the land commission any sums appearing from such account to be due to the land commission. Any such payment by the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland shall not discharge any person indebted to the land commission in respect of any payments in arrear, and it shall be the duty of the land commission to take any proceedings they may be advised for the recovery of payments in arrear, and to repay to the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland any sums so recovered.

60. Any application which a tenant is authorised by this Act to make to the court shall, if made to the court on the first occasion on which it sits after the passing of this Act, have the same operation as if it had been made on the day on which this Act comes into force; and any order made upon such application shall be of the same effect as if it had been made on the day on which this Act comes into force, unless

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court otherwise directs; and the person by whom such application is made shall, if the court thinks just, be in the same position and have the same rights in respect of his tenancy as he would have been in and would have had if the application had been made on the day on which this Act comes into force.

49. This Act shall not apply to England or Scotland.

50. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.

the court otherwise directs; and the person by whom such application is made shall, if the court thinks just, be in the same position and have the same rights in respect of his tenancy as he would have been in and would have had if the application had been made on the day on which this Act comes into force.

61. This Act shall not apply to England or Scotland.

62. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.

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LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

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IN COURSE OF PUBLICATION BY

MESSRS. RIVINGTON

WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON

JULY, 1884.

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Crown 8*vo.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

The Annual Register.

A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the Year 1883.

8*vo.* 18*s.*

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